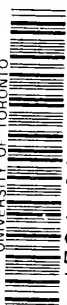


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**"To the Builders of the West:**

**"Long Life to the hearts still beating**

**"And Peace to the hearts at rest". . .**

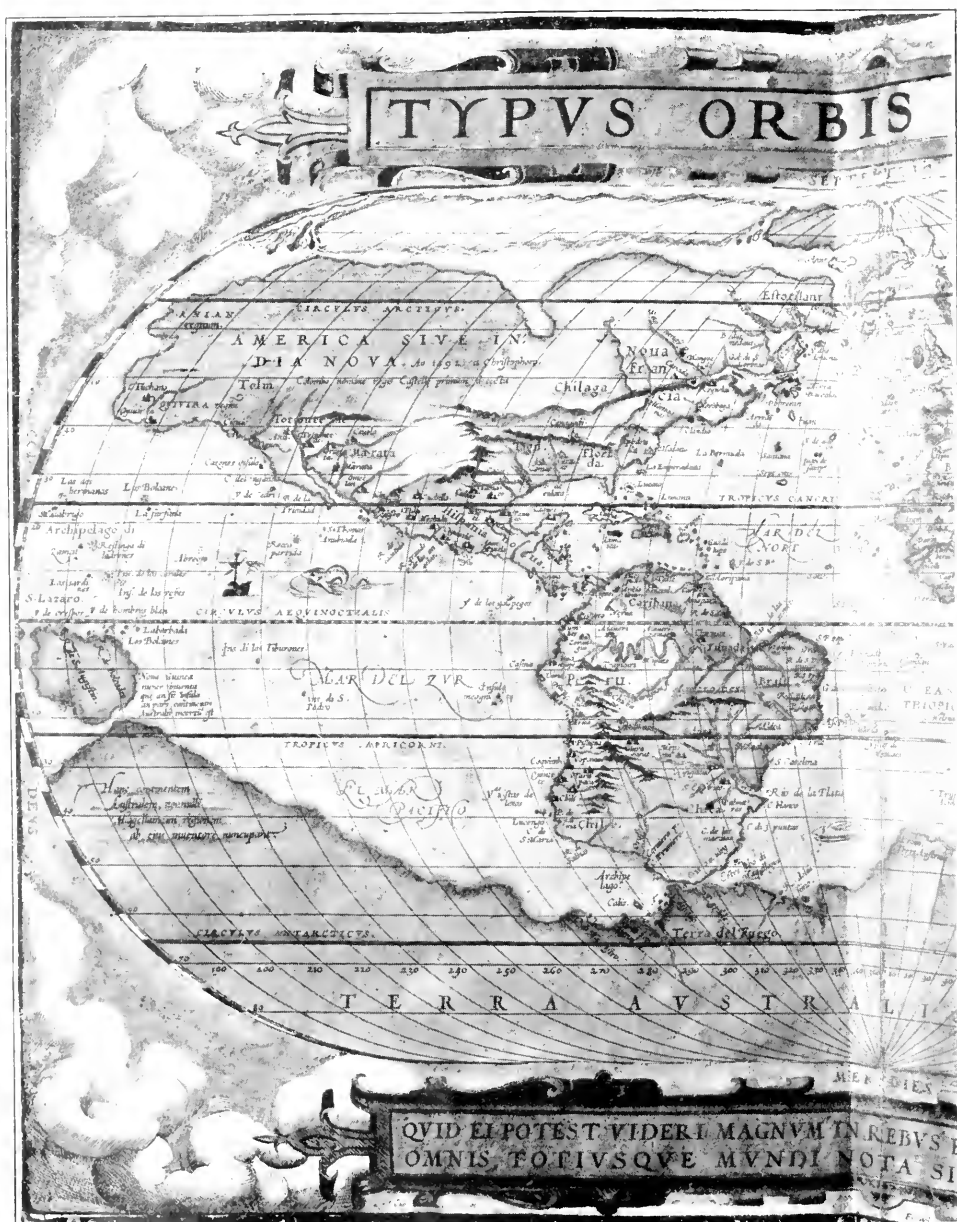












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# BRITISH COLUMBIA

FROM THE  
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE  
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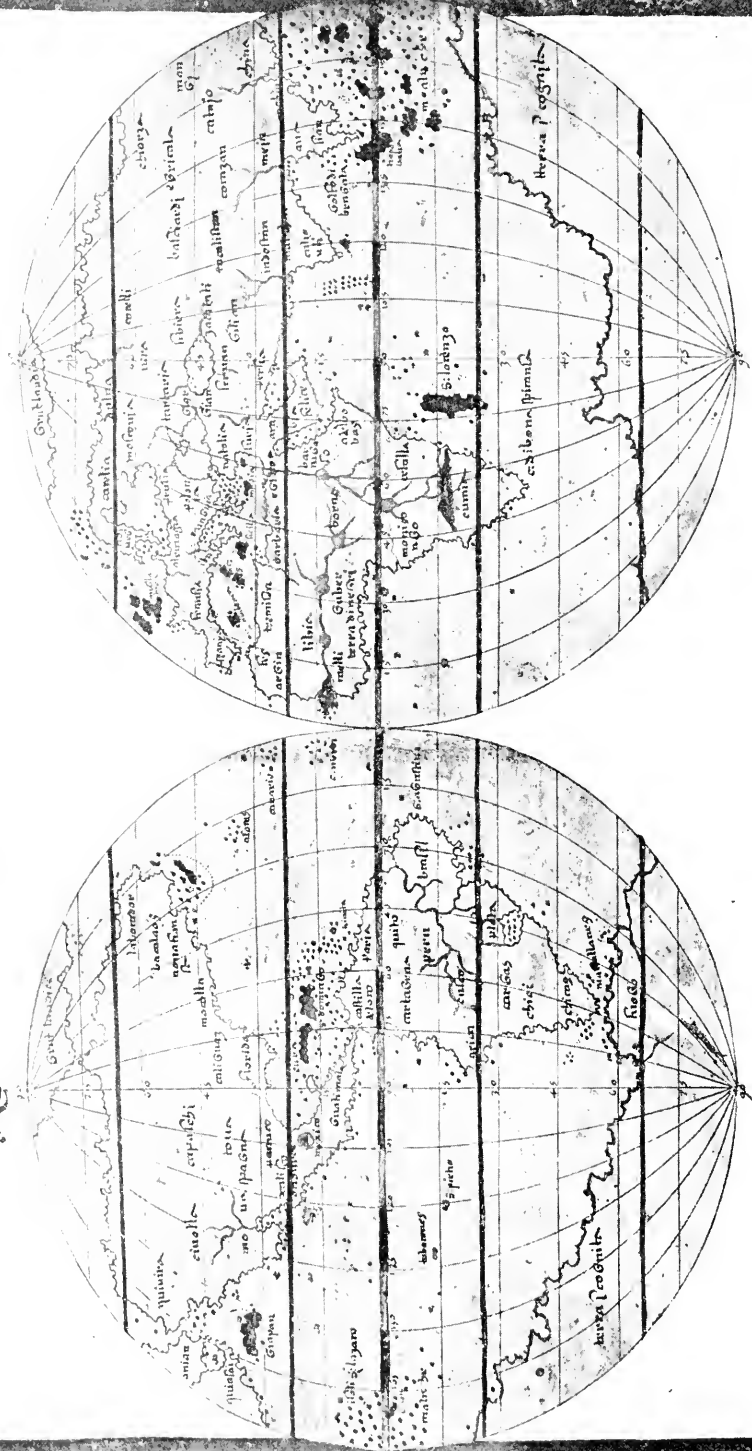
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## CHAPTER I

### PREHISTORIC NORTHWEST AMERICA

The Colony of Vancouver Island, constituted in 1849, was the first British Colony to be formally established in the northwestern region of North America. It was not until 1858 that British Columbia became a geographical expression. In that year the Crown Colony of British Columbia was called into being by act of the Imperial Parliament, although its northern boundary as it exists today was not so defined until 1863. The new colony in the North Pacific was formed out of the territory hitherto loosely called New Caledonia, which term was applied generally, both before and after the Oregon Treaty of 1846, to the country lying to the north of the forty-ninth parallel. The district of New Caledonia, however, was not really so extensive as the preamble of the Act of 1858 might lead one to imagine, for it can scarcely be claimed that it extended far beyond the limits assigned by the Reverend A. G. Morice, who defines the territory as that vast tract of land "lying between the Coast Range and the Rocky Mountains, from  $51^{\circ} 30'$  to  $57^{\circ}$  of latitude north." The central interior was named New Caledonia by Simon Fraser, of the North-West Company of Montreal, who built Fort St. James at the outlet of Stuart Lake in 1806.

Capt. George Vancouver in his famous survey of the western seaboard of North America named the coasts he visited in the years 1792 and 1793 New Georgia, New Hanover and New Cornwall, but these titles scarcely survived the explorer. At the same time Vancouver gave the name of "Quadra and Vancouver" to the large island which guards the continental shore between parallels forty-eight and fifty. Two centuries before Capt. James Cook sailed on his third and last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Sir Francis Drake, of the Golden Hynde, had given the name New Albion to the region of Northern California, a title which had a vogue in many successive generations of cartographers. The Spaniard, on the other hand, did

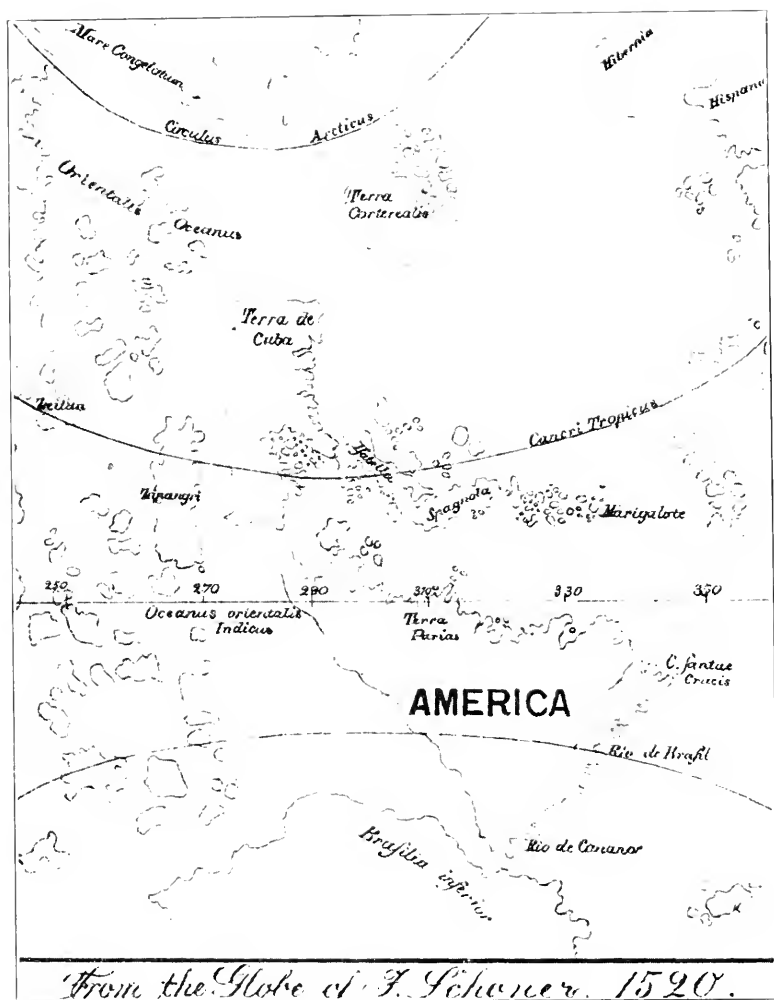
not divide the country into districts, he being content to designate the whole western seaboard of North America as "The Californias."

Although the country now known as British Columbia was not so named until 1858, nor its boundaries finally fixed until 1863, the history of the land reaches back into a far earlier period of discovery and exploration, when at least three great European powers were rivals in that virgin field, and farther back again into the pre-historic period when the aboriginal tribes held undisputed sway in and over the whole of it. Great Britain, Spain, and Russia all exhibited a keen interest in the distant and unknown region of Northwestern America concerning which conjecture was rife. Each of these nations, in fact, sought to establish sovereign jurisdiction in that quarter. Later the situation was complicated by the efforts of the young American nation to extend its territory westward to the Pacific Ocean.

The political boundaries of the territories of Northwestern America are the result of a process of elimination and evolution, or of progressive geographical discoveries, in the course of which Spain and Russia relinquished their claims, leaving the field to Great Britain and the United States of America. The rival claims of Great Britain and the United States gave rise to a long and bitter controversy which was not laid at rest until the Treaty of 1846 settled the Oregon boundary question. It is because the early history of the territory now known as the Province of British Columbia is fraught with international jealousies, as well as because it is concerned with the brilliant efforts of the navigator and the explorer, that it offers a peculiarly inviting field to the student and to the historian. The exploration of the northwest coast of North America culminated in a series of noble efforts no less worthy of admiration than the essays of European navigators on the eastern shores of the continent. The search for a broad and safe channel leading to the Orient, the dream of generations of navigators, melted into thin air with the charting of this coast.

The history of geographical discovery throughout the world is one of absorbing interest, for the making of it is sealed with the indomitable heroism of the explorer, who laboured in the face of untold difficulties to establish an accepted theory, or to prove its incorrectness. The slow and painful processes by which the true configuration of the earth has been established present all the features of,





a long drawn out drama, in the course of which many strange and fascinating and cruel and repellent scenes are enacted. The curtain was rung up in the dim dawn of civilization when the primitive progenitors of the nations of today began their migrations towards the setting sun, for these early tribal movements seem to have taken their course from the diurnal journey of that heavenly body from east to west. The curtain will not drop upon the last act of this age-long drama, the *dramatis personae* for which have been drawn from all countries and peoples, until the last exploring expeditions to the northern and to the southern poles shall have set forth the extent and physical characteristics of the frozen wastes of the Arctic and Antarctic regions.

The configuration of the earth was always a lively subject of discussion amongst geographers and men of science, from the days of the classic theorists and Arabian mathematicians down to the Columbian age, whether that discussion were concerned with the shape of the planet or with the outline of some particular region of it. Thus the geographers of old fought among themselves as to whether the earth was spheroid or plane, and thus later generations waged a wordy conflict as to the configuration of the eastern part of Asia, and over the position of its islands of Zipangu or Japan, first reported to the modern world by Marco Polo. Then Columbus reported his epochal discovery of the Islands of the Indies, and another great discussion ensued as to the extent of the archipelago which was reputed to shield the shores of India, China and Japan from the prying eye of the European fortune-hunter.

The longing of the West for the East was expressed in the terms of that vigorous debate concerning a safe and navigable water way to India, which it was hoped that Columbus had at last discovered. Such is the strength of men's hopes that years after the general trend of the eastern seaboard of the North, Central and South America had been established, there were still some geographers who clung to the old theory of the archipelago and the open channel to the jewelled East. An eminent German geographer and cartographer, named Schöner, in the year 1520, published a map of Northern America, depicting that continent as a group of islands threaded by wide channels leading to the South Sea. Perhaps there is in all the history of the discovery of the New World no more pathetic exemplification of the old belief in the existence of a septentrional

water way to India than this chart of Schöner, which appeared after Waldseemüller's famous map of North and South America. It was on Waldseemüller's map that the name "America" appeared for the first time, that appellation being bestowed upon the southern continent in honour of Amerigo Vespucci, whose achievements otherwise might have been lost in oblivion, with those of many another "forgotten worthy."

After Balboa sighted the Pacific Ocean from the Isthmus of Darien, or Panama as it is now called, in 1513, the search for a channel through the continent leading thereto was pursued with renewed zeal. Northward and southward along the eastern coasts of the northern and southern continents the explorers of the great maritime powers of Europe groped their way, ever hoping to find the reputed channel, but their dreams were never realized. The coast stretched interminably northward and southward. At last Magellan found his strait at the far southern extremity of the southern continent and he, first of Europeans, set sail upon the ocean he named "Pacific." To the northward Cabot, Cortereal, Frobisher, Baffin and Hudson were no more successful, the entrance of the channel, if such existed, being sealed by Arctic mist and ice. Then it was, after years of futile effort, which none the less is a glorious chapter in the annals of seamanship, the quest of the Orient resolved itself into a search for the Strait of Anian, or, as it came to be called by a later generation of navigators, the Northwest Passage.

Naturally, the dreams of the navigators and the conjectures of the geographers with regard to the mythical passage leading to Japan and India had a marked effect upon the earliest cartography of Eastern America. Not otherwise is it with the western portion of the continent, which from age to age assumed all imaginable shapes and deformities as this or that geographer gave expression to his pet theory as to the configuration of the "backside" of America, as Sir Humphrey Gilbert called it. It is a matter of fact and history that the earliest extant European records of this region are not written accounts but crude cartographical representations which exhibit in rich abundance the eccentric notions of their several ages. Having delineated the eastern coastline of the continent with some degree of accuracy, and having failed to find the long-sought channel, the navigator turned his attention to the western seaboard until at last it was determined to search for the Pacific outlet of the Northwest

Passage, and so it may be said with truth that the search for this fabled communication led to the lifting of the veil from the vast domain which stretches from California to the Arctic Ocean between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean.

"*Now*," writes the learned Dr. J. G. Kohl already quoted, "the huge bulk of the American block began to show something of its *true* proportions. At least, this was the case on its eastern side, which lay towards Europe, and with which the first European navigators soon became tolerably well acquainted, whilst the western side still remained untouched and hidden in darkness. On the maps of this period, America looks like one of those gigantic statues of gods or kings which we see carved in high relief in the rock-temples of Hindustan and Egypt. Their front parts, turned towards us, are tolerably well drawn and sculptured, but their backs still adhere to, and form a portion of, the shapeless mountainside. After Magellan had pierced through his strait into the open water to the west, when Pizarro had worked his laborious way down the coast of Peru, and when Cortez in the latter part of his career, in search of something like Japan or China, had navigated to the northwest and explored the shores of California, then, likewise, this western side was cut loose from the mass of the unknown, and began to assume at least the principal features of its true configuration."

Investigations of old maps and charts displayed in chronological order disclose the very earliest impressions of geographers respecting the physical features and ethnography of Northwest America. These maps also reveal the tedious progress which marked maritime discoveries in that quarter. No student of history will, therefore, think that undue emphasis has been laid upon this point. It is not possible, nor is it desirable, to set forth here the whole history of cartography as it relates to the North Pacific, but a general outline of the story is indispensable.

North America became known in detached pieces. And these detached pieces were believed to be separate islands or peninsulas of Northern Asia, which was prolonged towards the east much more than the southern part of that continent. The generality of the maps, which were made and published soon after Columbus, show the ocean between Eastern Asia and Western Europe filled with large and small islands. Some of them are the old islands mentioned by Marco Polo, while others are the new ones discovered by

Columbus and his companions, of which the most important were "Isabella" (Cuba), "Spagnuola" (Haiti), "Terra de Cuba" (North America), and "Sanctae Crucis" (South America). South America is always by far the most extensive of them all.

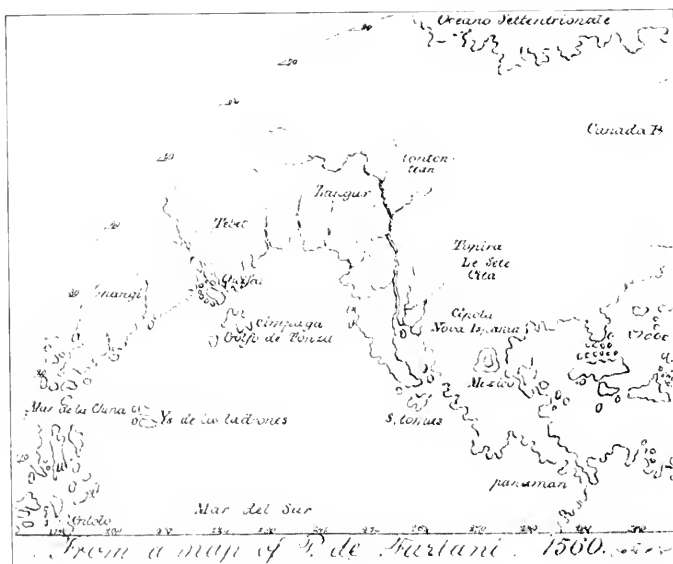
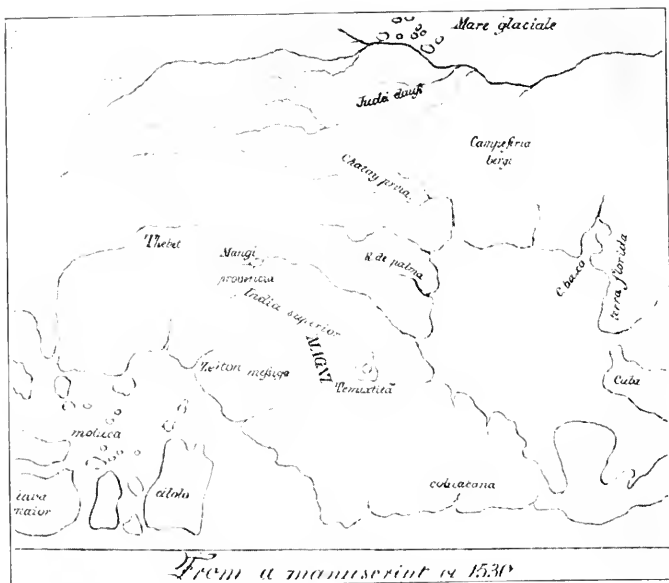
Dr. J. G. Kohl, in his valuable monograph entitled "Asia and America," or "A Historical Disposition Concerning the Ideas Which Former Geographers Had About the Geographical Relation of the Old and New World," admirably sets forth the difficulties of the early explorers in charting the results of their work and the fanciful conceptions they had of the geography of the country. This source will be freely drawn upon in the following pages.

Towards the time when the great exploring activity of the Portuguese and Spaniards developed itself, it was pretty generally admitted by the well-instructed cosmographers that the world was a globe of not very great dimensions, and that therefore "Asia must bear around this globe and must with its eastern end approach again somewhere to the western coast of Europe and Africa." The question was how far Asia stretched eastward and how long the distance was between it and Europe across the unknown waters. Marco Polo, the most celebrated traveller of the fourteenth century, was the great authority and oracle on this point. He had been to China and had actually visited the coasts of the Eastern Ocean. Marco Polo informed the world that in the ocean which laved the eastern coast of Asia was situated a large rich island, called "Zipangu" (the modern Japan) and besides whole archipelagos of smaller islands. Likewise on the side of Europe the navigators and discoverers of the Canary Islands and the Azores had created a belief that there were still more islands towards the west, amongst which were "Holy Brandan" and another larger island called "Antilia." But of all these islands said to be situated between Eastern Asia and Western Europe none was considered to be more worth exploring than that of "Zipangu," described by Marco Polo as the residence of an emperor and as being rich in gold, silver and other precious products.

Cortes and his companions in arms entered Mexico with ideas more or less similar to those with which Columbus and his contemporaries had entered the archipelago of the Antilles—that is to say with the expectation of finding Asiatic kingdoms and nations. When Cortes set out upon his discoveries on the Pacific he hoped





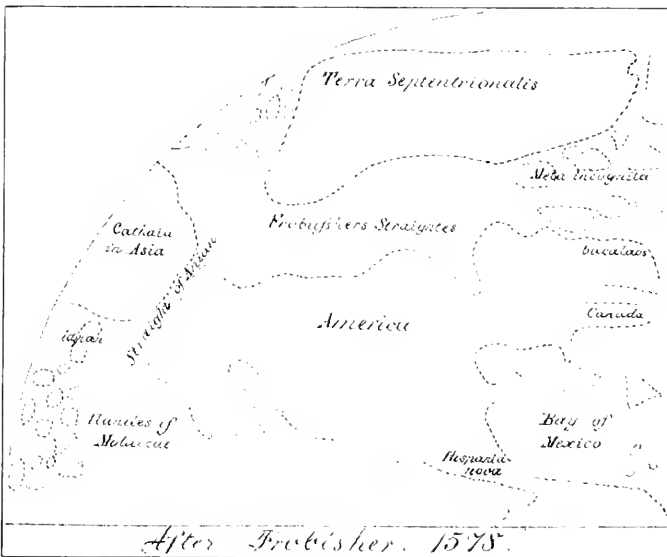
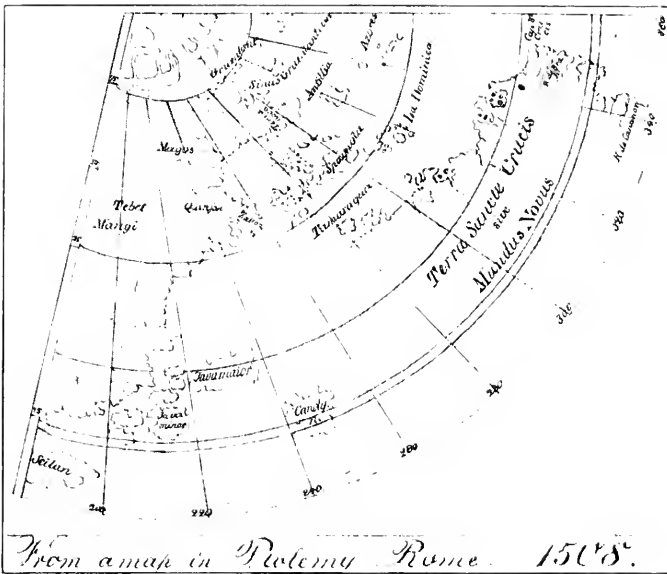


to reach Japan, which he thought to be near. When his successors arrived on the shores of Upper California, sometimes called Quivira, they reported upon their return that they had seen richly laden Chinese vessels. Whether these statements were founded on fact, or whether the wish was the father of the thought it is now too late to ascertain. Be that as it may, many geographers after Cortes accordingly painted North America, of which so far only the eastern coast was known, as connected with Northern Asia. They represented on their maps Mexico and other American places as Asiatic cities, adorned with mosques and minarets. They placed the sources of the Rio Colorado in Northern Asia, and they laid down the Chinese province of "Magni" as bordering on Mexico. When they heard of the wild bison, they thought these to be the herds of the nomadic tribes of Asia, and put down on their maps of this western region—sometimes called Cibola, after the famous mythical city of that name—inscriptions like the following: "Here the people live like the Tartars and raise large droves of cattle." In the British Museum they still preserve a Spanish map of the year 1560 on which the portrait of a true Chinese is posted in the center of the Mississippi valley and near him is an elephant grazing. The maps of the middle of the sixteenth century which adopted this view of a connection between Asia and America are numerous. This connection is found broadly marked on the French maps as well as on those of Italian, German and English cosmographers. Thus a manuscript chart of the year 1530, or thereabouts, that is to say soon after Cortes' conquest of Mexico, depicts the Chinese province Magni as bordering on that country. This old manuscript serves to illustrate in a certain manner the ideas and expectations which Cortes had when he set out from the western coast of Mexico upon the discovery and conquest of California.

Again the well-known Italian geographer, Paulo de Furlani, prepared a chart in 1560, on which the Pacific stretches northward only as far as the fortieth parallel. In common with other maps of the age this one connects North America and Asia on a very broad basis. "Cimpaga," or Japan, is placed at a distance of about twenty degrees of longitude from California. "Quisai," the famous Chinese port, Thibet and other Asiatic places are still very near. The Colorado river of the Californian Gulf, the entrance of which had been discovered by the Spaniards some twenty years before, has

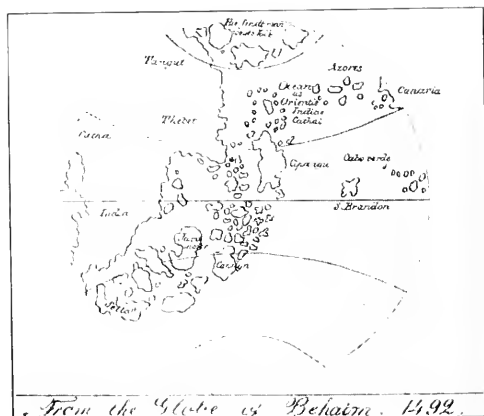
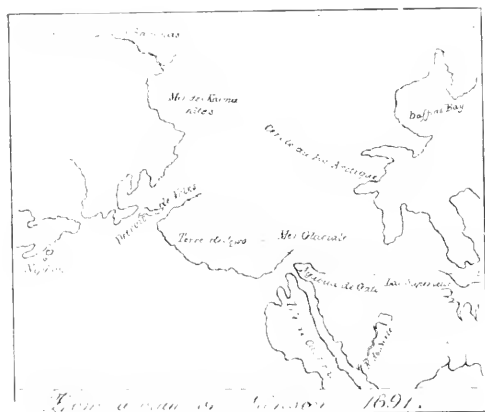
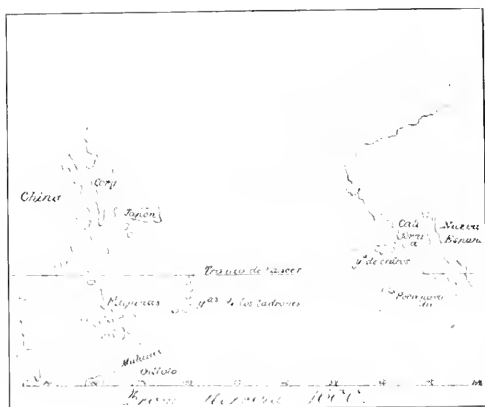
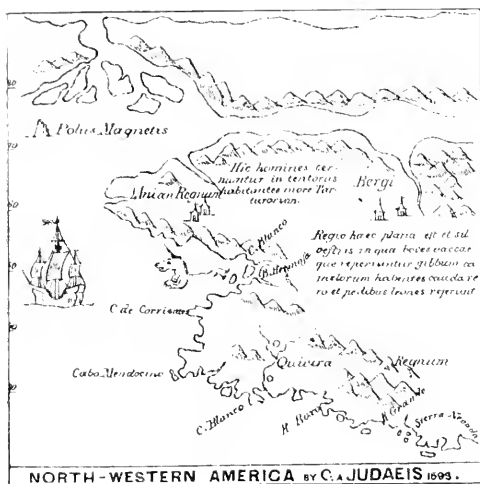
its source and headwaters in the interior of Asia and flows round the whole North Pacific. Such views were very common in the period after Cortes, still they were not generally adopted. There were always many navigators and mapmakers who still believed in the existence of open water or a strait between Asia and America. A report was current, which was indeed more or less credited, that Cortereal, a Portuguese sailor, had already in the year 1500 entered a strait in about sixty degrees north latitude and that he had called this strait after one of his brothers "the Strait of Anian." According to this tradition there was open water to the north of America and to the west again a narrow channel between the two continents which was likewise called the Strait of Anian. Eventually this name, which figures so prominently in the early history of the North Pacific, was almost exclusively applied to the western strait. The old Strait of Anian came to be called the Northwest Passage. The belief in the existence of the Strait of Anian became more or less general after the middle of the sixteenth century. Seemingly the first maps on which the mythical waterway is actually laid down are those of the Italian Zalteri of 1566 and of the German Ortelius of 1570. John Barrow states in his "Chronological History of Voyages in the Arctic Regions" that "the name of Anian was given to the strait supposed to have been discovered by Gaspar Cortereal, in honour of two brothers who accompanied him; but there are no grounds for such a supposition. . . . In the earliest maps Ania is marked as the name of the western-most part of America. Ania in the Japanese language is said to signify brother; hence, probably, the mistake."

Turning again to the specific work of the early cartographers, attention may be called to the very famous map of the German Ruysch published in 1508 in the Roman edition of Ptolemaeus, the principal features of which are as follows: South America (*Terra Sancte Crucis* or *Mundus Novus*) appears as a detached country of which the southern and western coasts are not represented at all. An extensive archipelago lies to the north of South America, while Northwest America does not appear at all. The expanse of ocean between Asia and America is still very narrow, in the south about fifty degrees of longitude and in the north not quite twenty. As usual Asia stretches a long arm toward the northeast. Martin Frobisher embodied his views in a chart on which he showed in











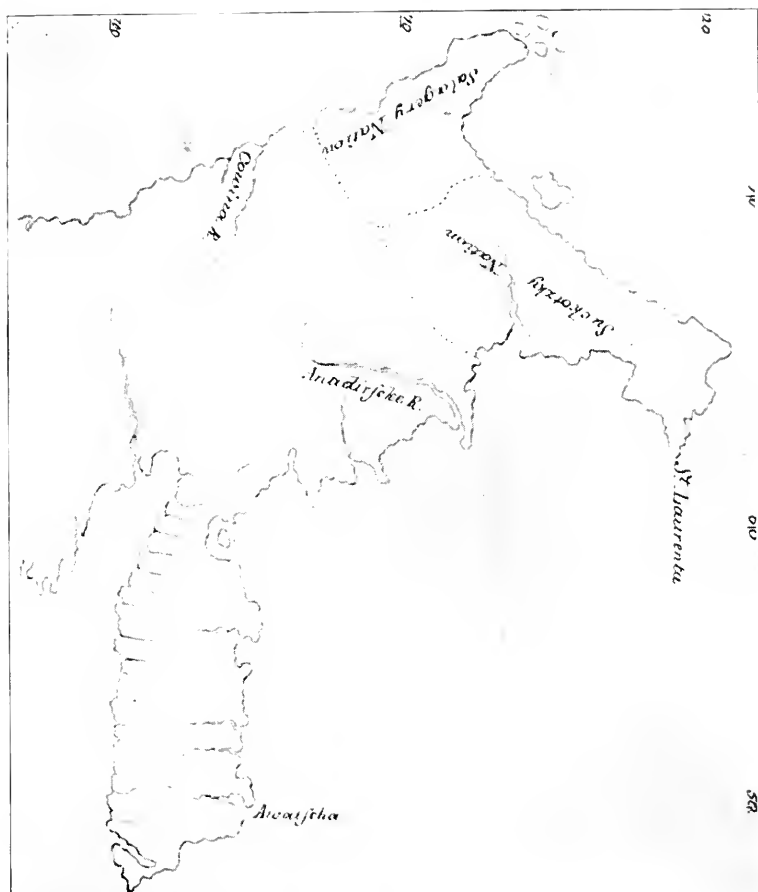
what manner the strait discovered and named by him might be combined with the Strait of Anian, so giving safe conduct to China. This sketch was published in the work entitled "A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discovery for the Finding of a Passage to Cathay," which appeared in 1578. On the maps of Peter Apian, of Ortelius, of Sebastian Munster, of Martinez, of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, similar views were adopted though they sometimes vary with respect to latitude and dimensions given to the strait. Cornelius a Judaeis also contributed his conjectures touching the geographical puzzle of the age. The map of this worthy is a quite remarkable representation of the western seaboard of North America. On the headlands appear the names bestowed by the earliest Spanish navigators—Corrientes, Mendocino and Blanco. The northwestern peninsula is called Anian Regnum, while in the northeast a high rock is marked with the legend "Polus Magnetis." A Spanish galleon sails in mid-ocean and a fabulous monster disports itself in a great bay to the north of Cape Corrientes. This map is truly a wonderful conception, but it is no more remarkable than many other charts which appeared in later times.

In 1600 the Spanish historian Herrera shows a stunted north-west coast to the northward of which is a great sea which separates the Asian and American continents and stretches indefinitely towards the pole. The Moluccas, the Philippines and Japan are clearly marked. California appears as a peninsula, whereas ninety years later in a map after Sanson, the geographer of the King of France, that country becomes an island with a broad channel on the north leading to the "Mer Glaciale," which extends far into the continent. Thus it will be seen how from age to age the tide of conjecture ebbed and flowed. First of all there is the globe of Martin Behaim, made in 1492, which shows the eastern coast of Asia protected by a vast cluster of islands, notable among which stand Java and Japan (Cipangu). Behind this mythical constellation of islands is the coast of Asia bearing the names India, Cathai and Thebet. There is no sign of the North American continent, except it be the island called Brandon, midway between the outermost islands and the Cape Verde group. This map was succeeded by a notable series of grotesque delineations until at last the great British navigators of the eighteenth century set forth the true character of the coast.

At first the European nations confined their attention to the more southern parts of the Pacific so that the northern expanse of this

broad ocean for a long time was completely neglected. The Dutch did not advance beyond Japan which they had already reached in 1643. The Spaniards did not proceed beyond California, known to them for two and a half centuries, while the English, who under Drake had been on the northwest coast in 1578, did not make their appearance again until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. "Everybody," says Kohl, "seems to shun those stormy, cold, useless regions, and the world remained in total ignorance about this part of the globe until a new nation appeared on the coast of Northeastern Asia, which gave the sign for an earnest exploring activity in these regions, and which at last conducted this long agitated geographical question to a satisfactory solution." The Russians had passed the dividing mountain ridge between Asia and Europe at the end of the sixteenth century and had worked their way through the whole of Siberia towards the east and the northern sea. Already in the year 1648 Deschnev, one of those enterprising Cossak adventurers, with a few companions had circumnavigated the whole northeast end of Asia, from the mouth of the Lena through Bering Strait to the northern coast of Kamchatka. But Deschnev did not realize the extent and importance of his discoveries. His reports remained for more than one hundred years hidden in the archives of Siberia and his voyage therefore achieved nothing for geography. It was left to Vitus Bering, a Dane in the service of Russia, to execute the first official and scientific exploration of Northeastern Asia. He penetrated the strait named after him without however seeing the coast of America, and brought home the first map of those regions which was founded upon an actual astronomical survey. This voyage was undertaken in the years 1728 and 1729. Bering's map shows Kamchatka for the first time in something like its true position. During his sojourn at the port of St. Peter and St. Paul, Bering received information concerning land to the eastward, and in 1741 he embarked upon his memorable enterprise to the northwestern extremity of the North American continent, making a landfall on the coast of Alaska. He was cast away upon his return voyage upon Bering Island of the Komandorskii group where he perished miserably with many of his crew, as related by the German naturalist, Steller, the historian of the expedition.

Europe heard only through vague rumours that the Russians had made discoveries to the east of Siberia and Kamchatka. Some be-



*Easter Asia after Berin 1728.*







lieved that they might have been in America. Others thought that the land seen by them might be a new country lying between Asia and America. How very vague and uncertain the opinions of European geographers were with respect to these Russian discoveries may best be shown by the inspection of certain maps which were published soon after Bering's ill-fated expedition. For instance Bellin's chart of 1748 exhibits in a quite remarkable manner the ignorance of European geographers with regard to the achievements of Bering. Of all the Russian discoveries scarcely anything is given. The northwest corner of the map bears the legend: "The Russians have come as far as this in the year 1743 (1741), but they have been shipwrecked on the shoals and drowned."

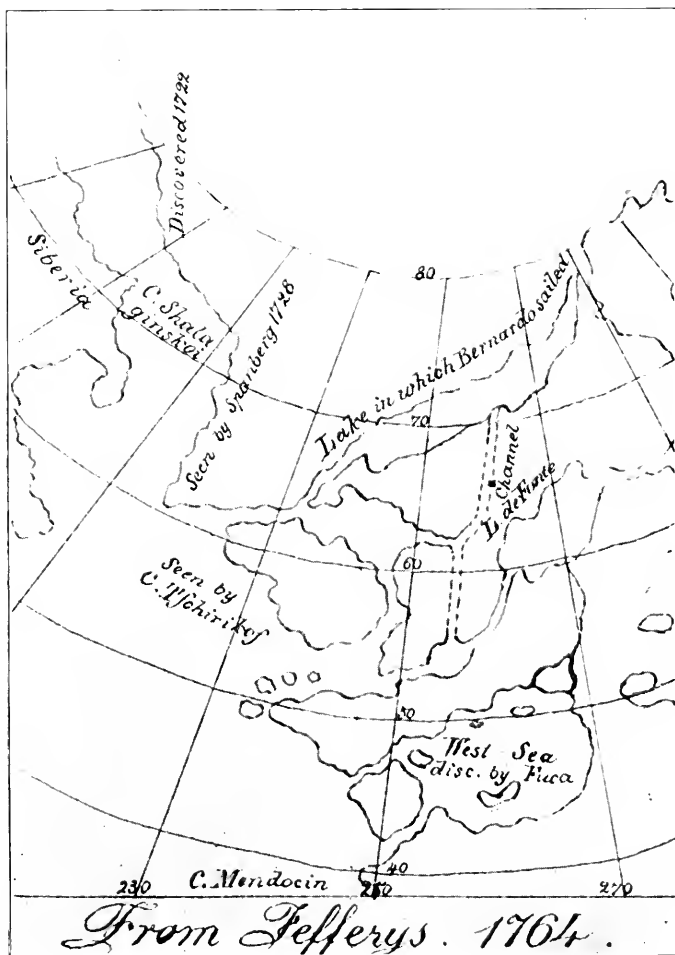
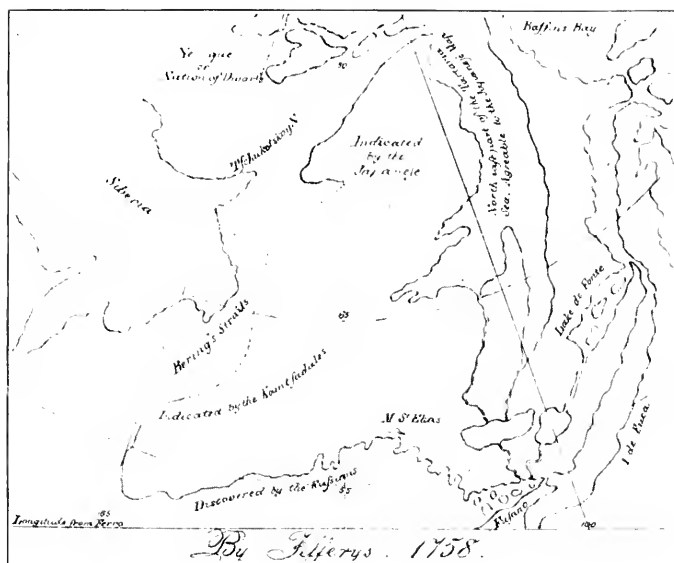
Northwestern America is indicated by a dotted line running from north to south as far as the Bay of Aguilar in California, with the inscription running along it: "Probably America goes as far as this." At the northern end of California is added the observation that "Here the sea begins to be very boisterous." As Kohl justly remarks, a more laconic report on the Russian discoveries could not have been made.

To this period also belongs the map of the French geographer Philippe Buache, made as he said after the memoirs of the astronomer De L'Isle, who accompanied the expedition of Bering across Siberia. Apart from the fact that Buache attempted to give the result of the Russian voyages in Bering Sea, his map is remarkable because it gives expression to the fabulous discoveries of the so-called Spanish Admiral de Fonte, who, so it was claimed, had penetrated the whole extent of the continent by means of a chain of rivers and lakes, which extended from the Pacific to the North Atlantic. He laid down all the great lakes and rivers which de Fonte was reported to have seen, as well as the "Sea of the West" which was entered by the strait claimed to have been discovered by the Greek Apostolos Valerianos, or Juan De Fuca, in 1592. Of Bering's discoveries little is shown except the island where the explorer died. Buache made the whole of Northwestern America a broken country of "curiously formed peninsulas and unfinished coast pieces." Strange as it may seem the chart of Buache and De L'Isle was considered authoritative and it was copied in many countries and by different geographers, who sometimes added to it a little of their own. Thus the English

geographer, Thomas Jefferys, combined in his maps of 1758 and 1764 the real discoveries of the Russians with the supposed explorations of the Chinese and Japanese, in addition to which he did not forget to show the routes of de Fonte and another mythical hero named Barnardo, who was also credited with having discovered the Strait of Anian. Nor is Juan De Fuca forgotten, witness the inscription: "West Sea disc. by Fuca." In other charts the vaunted exploits of the impostor Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado are seriously recorded.

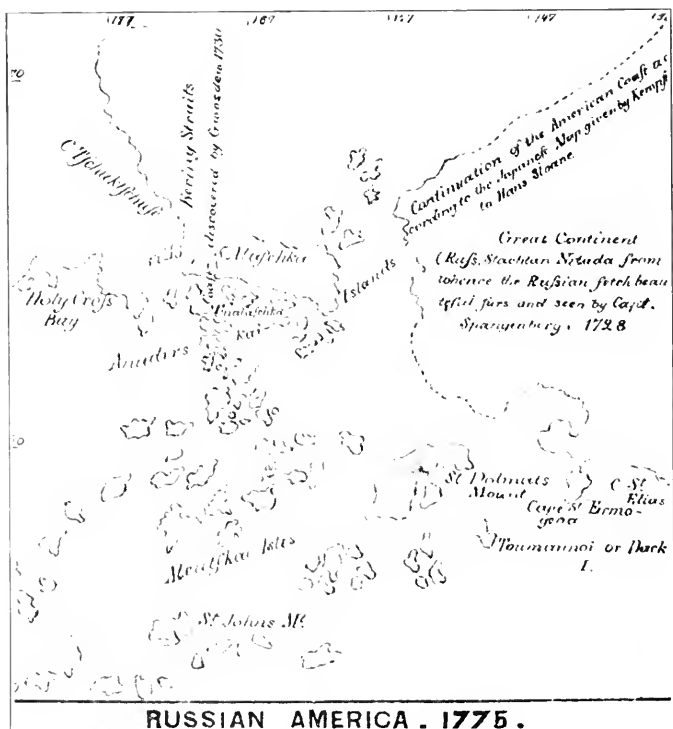
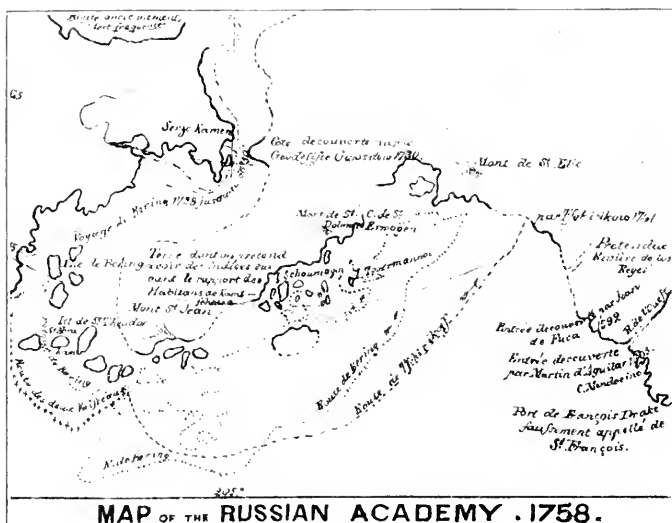
At last in the year 1758 the Russian Academy of Sciences published an authentic and complete chart of the discoveries made by Bering and his companion Chirikoff. The coasts seen by those navigators are joined by dotted lines, which show the outlines of the seaboard as the members of the academy, particularly Müller, the historian of Siberia, thought them to be. Though the name America does not appear on this map, still it is evident that the Russian Academy thought the new country to be a part of that continent. It was supposed even that the islands of the Aleutian group formed a long peninsula, which error was only corrected by later discoveries. This map of the Russian Academy was now of course adopted and copied by all the geographers of Europe. It still left open a large field for speculation. Besides the old traditions concerning the discovery of a channel through, or to the northward of, the American continent, to which some map makers still adhere, other reports of certain discoveries made by the Chinese and Japanese gained credit in this age. It is interesting if nothing more to recall at this time, when the question of Oriental immigration is attracting such widespread attention, the fact that in 1761 the learned French sinologist, Deguignes, set forth in an ably written paper in the "*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*" (Vol. XXVIII) that he had found in the works of early Chinese historians a statement that, in the fifth century of our era, certain travellers of their race had discovered a country which they called Fusang, which from the direction and distance as described by them appeared to be Western America, and in all probability Mexico. The original document, says Charles G. Leland in his book entitled "*Fusang or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century*," on which the Chinese historians based their account of Fusang was the report of a Buddhist monk or missionary











named Hoei-shin in the year 499 A. D., who returned from a long journey to the East. This report was regularly entered in the year book or annals of the Chinese Empire, whence it passed, not only to the pages of historians, but also to those of poets and writers of romances, by whom it was so confused with absurd inventions and marvellous tales, that discredit has been thrown upon the entire narrative.

"The evidence offered," continues the author just mentioned, "in favour of the discovery of America by the Chinese Buddhists of the fifth century is very limited, but it has every characteristic of a serious state document, and of authentic history. It is distinctly recorded among the annals of the Empire. At the time these journeys were undertaken, thousands of monks, inspired by the most fanatical zeal, were extending their doctrines in every direction; and this they did with such success, that though Buddhism has now been steadily declining for many centuries, it still numbers more followers than Christianity, or any other religion on the face of the earth, for they are literally counted by hundreds of millions. And as their doctrines urged propagandism, it would be almost a matter of wonder if some of the missionaries of the faith had not found their way over an already familiar route."

These records open a fascinating field for speculation, and while they may not establish the right of the Chinese to claim the discovery of America for their race, yet the chain of general and presumptive evidence as to the discovery of this continent by the Norsemen in the eleventh century is scarcely stronger than the evidence contained in the old year books of the Celestial Empire touching the voyage of Hoei-shin. The claim of the Norsemen is based upon the sagas and folk-lore of their race while that of the Chinese is supported by contemporary state papers, or rather records, if Professor C. F. Neumann is correct. Perhaps one day it will be established beyond doubt that the honour of discovering the New World after all belongs to the ancient Chinese nation and not to Spain. But so far the enquiry has scarcely travelled beyond the limits of delightful surmise. It is indeed interesting, if not startling, to realize that perhaps America may not have been found by Europeans from the east but by Asiatics from the west.

It need only be added in this connection that there are authentic records of the wrecking of Chinese and Japanese junks on this coast

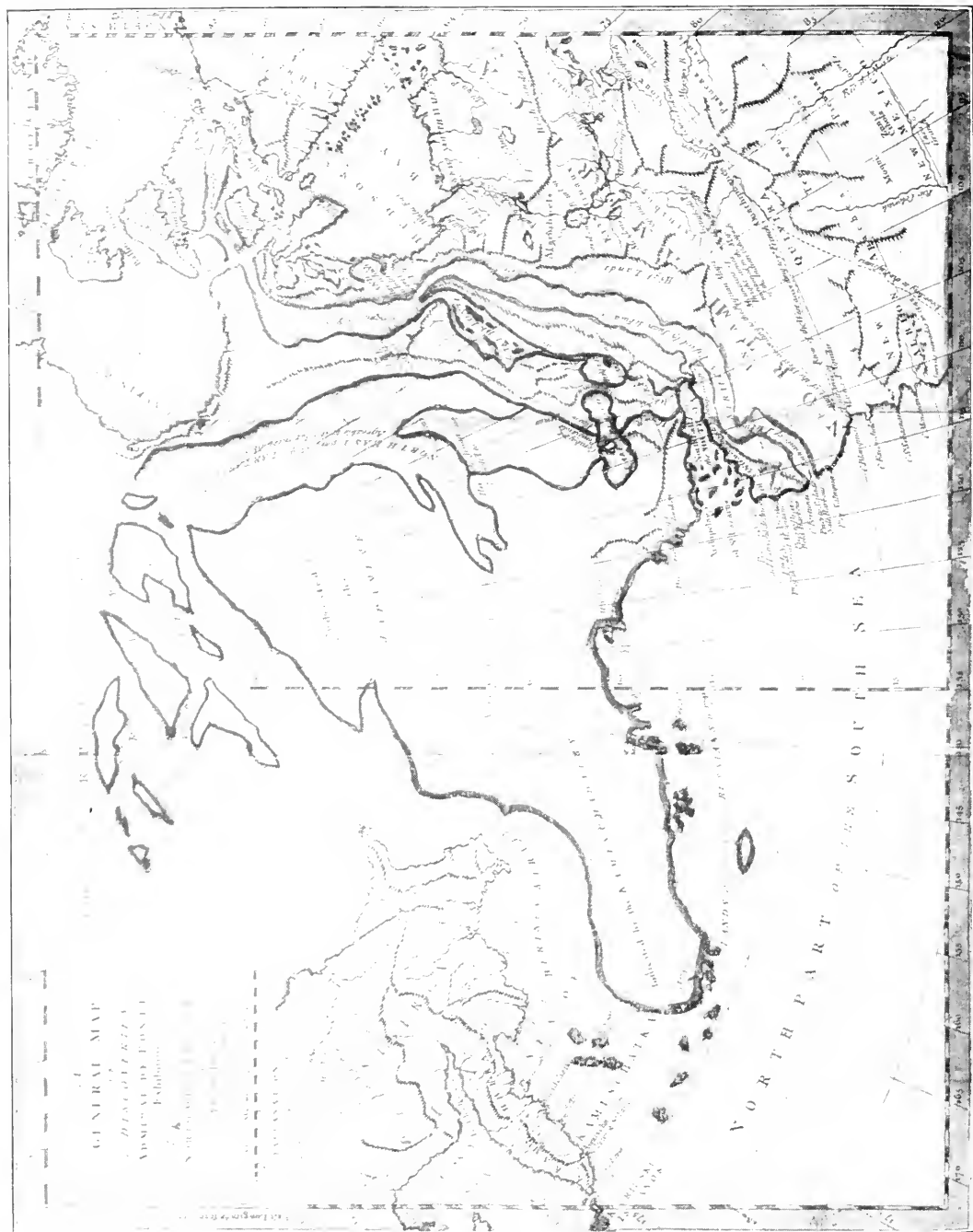
as late as the nineteenth century. Little more than fifty years ago a Chinese vessel was driven ashore near Cape Flattery, her unfortunate sailors being captured and held as slaves by the Indians of Neah Bay. James Douglas, then in charge of Fort Victoria, sent a force to demand the release of the prisoners, who were ultimately returned to their native land.

In days of old the alchemist at first carefully hugged his secret and for long years the world at large knew little or nothing of the results of his labours. With like jealousy governments guarded the information gained from their officers engaged in the exploration of the New World. Neither alchemist nor governments wished others to profit by their discoveries. Thus it came to pass that often and for many years the narratives of explorers were locked away in the archives of kings and councillors until the ink which preserved them faded with age. By reason of this secretiveness many invaluable manuscripts have been lost, or are even now only just coming to light, too late to establish territorial claims, or to be of value to any except the antiquarian.

No government guarded more carefully the records of its discoveries than did the government of Spain, and no government gained less by so doing. This point is of peculiar interest to the historian of British Columbia, because, for a time at least, if not forever, the whole history of this land might have been changed, if a different policy had been adopted. It is scarcely to be doubted that had Spain advertised her discoveries on the northwest coast, if only in the day of her waning power, it would have had no unimportant bearing on the controversies of later years touching the Nootka Affair and the Louisiana Purchase, even though the Spanish discoveries, before the day that Capt. James Cook landed on these shores, were, relatively speaking, of small value and extent.

The same ideals that impelled Christopher Columbus, in the face of ridicule and opposition, to sail on his adventurous quest in search of a direct route by water to India, inspired other navigators to search for a northwest passage through the continent of North America, even when it had been ascertained that the passage must be, if it existed at all, so far to the northward as to render it practically useless. The legacy bequeathed by the earliest explorers of America to those of later times was a persistent belief in the existence of the Strait of Anian, or a Northwest Passage. That faith acted indeed







as the lodestar of the navigators of three centuries, and the search for that mythical waterway inspired deeds of heroism and led to sacrifices and sufferings, nobly borne, that are scarcely equalled in all the annals of the sea. Years rolled on, mariner after mariner was lost, or returned to add some small stock of knowledge to that already acquired, but the result was that the belief gained ground that no such strait or passage existed. Opinions, however, are apt to cling to life long after practical men have lost in them all active interest. So it came to pass from time to time that there remained some men of standing in the scientific world who laboured to show from old records, or reputed discoveries, that the strait was there after all. A notable instance of such obstinacy was the effort of Buache to prove that the Portuguese, Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, navigated the passage in the year 1588. M. Buache formulated his theory in a lecture given before the Academy of Sciences of Paris, Nov. 13, 1790, for which resurrection of an old story he became renowned in Europe. Twenty-two years later M. Amoretti published the narrative of Maldonado in a small quarto, which was printed in France in 1812 and in Italy the following year. Yet so perverse in its prejudices is human nature that, after Samuel Hearne's narrative of his journey to the mouth of the Coppermine River and the results of Captain Cook's third and last voyage to the Pacific had been given to the world, credence was nevertheless placed in a story so palpably false, in as far as the chief points of the relation were concerned.

No history of this period would be complete without a reference to the Bull of Pope Alexander VI which gave rise in after years to heated disputes, not only between Spain and Portugal, the immediate beneficiaries, but also between those countries and England and Holland. By that memorable ordinance, which was promulgated in 1493, the undiscovered world, from a point in Africa easterly to the Indies, was divided between the Kings of Spain and Portugal. The imaginary line, which demarked the spheres of activity of the two monarchs, ran from the North to the South Pole, a hundred leagues west of the Azores. The Pope's professed object was to prevent disputes "between Christian Princes" as to the domination over such territories and islands as might be discovered by their respective subjects.

The English seafarer from his island home, looked out upon the broad ocean, and, in the natural course of events, became the eager competitor of the Spaniard and the Portuguese. England did not acknowledge the right of the Pope to divide the undiscovered world between the two Catholic countries. Queen Elizabeth's characteristic reply to the Spanish ambassador, who had complained of the inroads of her subjects, sufficiently indicates the spirit of the English of all ages in that regard. The Virgin Queen remarked with asperity that the "Spaniards had drawn these inconveniences upon themselves by their severe and unjust dealings in their American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the Indies; that, as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title, by donation of the Bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those of which they were in actual possession; for that their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers or capes, were such insignificant things, as could in no ways entitle them to a propriety farther than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit."

And so the English buccaneers sailed the high seas, levying tribute upon all and sundry with rare audacity, under the protection of, if not openly sanctioned by, the English government. Of these famous worthies, whose exploits have been so eloquently recorded by the historian Froude, there was none greater than Sir Francis Drake, the first of Englishmen, as indeed he was the first of Europeans, to visit the northwest coast, of which he took possession for Queen Elizabeth, at the same time naming it New Albion.

The period of scientific discovery as far as this seaboard is concerned began in the year 1774 with the arrival of the Spanish corvette *Santiago*, in command of Juan Perez. It but remains to be observed that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the lines of exploration converged upon a land heretofore unexplored and unknown; for the first time reliable information concerning it became available, which supplanted the mythical and legendary accounts, till then the current coin of the geographers and cartographers who had given it their attention. Now the historian is concerned with the expeditions of the Spaniards from their estab-





FRENCH MAP OF NORTH AMERICA, CIRCA, 1775

lishments on the Mexican Pacific seaboard, of the Russians from their posts on the Kamchatkan Peninsula, of the British discoverers who used the Sandwich Islands as a base for their operations on the northwest coast, of the French explorers who followed the course of the British, of the American traders who, like the British, used the Sandwich Islands as a supply depot, of the overland expeditions of the Canadian fur traders, and with the westward movement of the people of the United States of America.

In summing up it may be said that the earliest history of the territory now known to the world as the Province of British Columbia is intimately associated with the apocryphal voyages of glib-tongued impostors and the vague conjectures of the geographer. To this early period belong the doubtful relations of Maldonado (1588), Juan de Fuca (1592), de Fonte (1640) and others, and all those charts and maps in which were embodied the loose impressions which led at last to the actual exploration of this vast extent of coastline. It will be seen then that by studying the first charts of the Pacific coast, the historian will be richly rewarded, for thereby would be revealed to him the many difficulties and uncertainties under which the explorer and map maker laboured. He will learn that tardily and gradually the time comes when knowledge ousts conjecture and rumour from their place of honour and the coastline assumes its true shape, until after a lapse of more than two hundred and fifty years, Capt. George Vancouver's great chart of 1798 gives the first accurate representation of what is now the western seaboard of Canada.



## CHAPTER II

### APOCRYPHAL VOYAGES

It is the inveterate tendency of the human mind to presume that the great inventions which have enriched human life issue full grown from the brain of the inventors, like Minerva from the head of the Father of the Gods. As a matter of fact and of history this has never been the case. Months and years of unsuccessful experiments have always preceded the birth of an idea, and genius, which has been defined as a transcendent capacity for taking pains brings forth its products only after

“long days of labour and nights devoid of ease.”

And as it has been with great inventions, the offspring of Science, so has it been with the origin of the great discoveries on land and sea. The Earth feels many a blow before she yields up the riches concealed in her bowels, and the lonely keel of the navigator has ploughed many a barren sea before finding the passage or the harbourage, which has been the quest of the world of his time, and it has always remained a problem to the historian of an after-age to declare with precision how far premature claims to discoveries of unknown waters and countries have been founded on conscious or unconscious imposture.

The story of the discovery of the Northwest Passage has formed no exception to this apparently universal rule—that the era of historical fact has always been preceded by a mythical age. But there were other and political causes which made the exploration of the northwest coast of America so long in coming. The Spaniard, who dominated the southern seas for centuries, was continually haunted by the fear of his Dutch and English rivals. Obstacles therefore, of which there are authentic records, were placed in the way of foreign adventurers.

Lack of space renders it impossible to deal with all the accounts of the voyages through the Strait of Anian which were feigned in the prehistoric age. Three stories, however, stand out with such prominence that they cannot be overlooked by a faithful chronicler, specially since they have obtained a certain amount of credence among men of sobriety and common sense. On the other hand it must be conceded at once, that the fact that the accounts of these voyages were without exception published many years after the dates at which the voyages themselves were declared to have been undertaken, begets an element of suspicion as to the genuineness of the narratives.

Foremost among these stands the story of Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, a narrative at one time regarded as authentic by men whose knowledge and attainments would, it might be supposed, have prevented their being carried away by the impostures of an inventive quack. A manuscript is preserved to this day, written by Maldonado, verbosely entitled, "A Relation of the discovery of the Strait of Anian, made by me, Captain Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in 1588, in which is described the course of the navigation, the situation of the place, and the manner of fortifying it." Briefly, it recites that the writer—a Portuguese—crossed the North Atlantic to Davis Strait, and moving on, entered the Northwest Passage, or, as he called it, the Strait of Anian. With wind abeam he sailed to the North East, to the North-North-East, and again to the North, and at last reached Tartary, or Cathaia, not far from the coast, where, it was surmised, must be the metropolis of Tartary. Sailing on for fifteen days he reached the open sea. "This we knew to be the South Sea,"—so runs the chronicle,—“where are situated Japan, China, the Moluccas, India, New Guinea and the land discovered by Captain Quirus, with all the coast of New Spain and Peru.” A fairly full description of the Strait is given and the coast of Asia described, while probability is lent to the tale by a description of the harbour at the entrance of the Strait, where a large vessel of eight hundred tons burden was encountered.

The cargo of this vessel, it is solemnly recorded, consisted of "Brocades, silks, porcelain, feathers, precious stones and gold." The crew were said to be Hanseatics from Archangel, so that, in order to understand each other, the voyagers were obliged to converse in Latin. Possibly this account of the meeting with the strange merchantman is the origin of de Fonte's story of his encounter with the



Boston ship at the South Sea entrance to the mythical passage. The paper concludes with plans for the occupation and defence of the Strait. It is significant that nothing is said as to the circumstances which induced the navigator to return to Europe by the passage which he claimed to have discovered, instead of proceeding to the Philippine Islands or to a Mexican port.

The record of the so-called discoveries of Bartholomew de Fonte is beset with discrepancies somewhat analogous to the tale of Maldonado. De Fonte's narrative, setting forth those discoveries, was not published until April, 1708, although the voyage itself was said to have taken place in 1640. In a letter to a monthly publication, entitled "Memoirs for the Curious," are contained remarkable statements respecting the adventure. Astonishing as the story is, it was yet believed by many sailors of that credulous age, although there was no information with regard to de Fonte that could be called in any sense authentic. All that is now known is that an officer of that name was employed in the Pacific by the Spaniards, all else is outside the region of fact.

According, however, to the story as printed, de Fonte sailed on the 3rd of April, 1640, from Lima, in the ship *San Spiritus*, accompanied by Don Diego Pennelossa, in the *San Lucia*, Pedro de Barnardo in the *Rosario*, and Philip de Ronquillo in the *King Philip* (1). Arriving at the entrance of an archipelago which he named San Lazarus, he sailed in an easterly direction into a large inlet, which by means of a chain of rivers and lakes opened into the Sea of Ronquillo, that in turn communicated directly with the North Sea, or Atlantic Ocean, between Baffin and Hudson Bays. It is of course quite natural that de Fonte's narrative should at first have excited the curiosity of seamen and geographers. But it soon came to be looked upon as a hoax, rather than as an authentic record. However, there are always men, not only among mariners but also among men of science, ready to give credence to any strange story of discovery, and an echo of Maldonado and de Fonte's fabrication is found in the instructions given to navigators of a later age, that great care should be taken in examining that portion of the Northwest Coast where these navigators had placed the openings leading to their waterways.

The two stories of Maldonado and of de Fonte have of course long since been exploded. That the events recorded took place at

all is a clear impossibility. That the tales were believed, however, proves how little was known of the northwestern part of North America, even as late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It is strange that Thomas Jefferys, geographer to the King, should have prepared a monograph in which it is gravely taken for granted that the account of these voyages was accurate in all its details as reported. Jefferys' work was published in 1768 and with it appeared his "General map of the discoveries of de Fonte," which shows the chain of rivers and lakes stretching across the continent in an easterly direction from the Pacific to the North Atlantic. But it was not the first time in history that men of learning have been hypnotized by impostors.

There is the celebrated defence of Maldonado by the French scientist, Buache, the publication of which created a stir among the learned societies of Europe. Buache laboured to prove that Maldonado was not an impostor but a much maligned explorer, whose discoveries would yet redound to his credit. All this, because some historian or litterateur in groping amongst musty archives, had unearthed a copy of Maldonado's manuscript. In Spain it had been long known that he was a man of no character. Yet, in spite of expostulations, the spirited defence of Buache was in some quarters received with deference. Just at that time the unfortunate Malaspina was being despatched by the Spanish Government upon a scientific expedition to the North Pacific, and so great was the influence of the French geographer that he was particularly instructed to search for the supposed Strait of Maldonado. His examination, of course, revealed the fact that there was no strait such as that which had been described so minutely.

In William Goldson's "Observations on the Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans," which appeared in 1793 the historian finds yet another learned defence of Maldonado and de Fonte, and a most extravagant map purporting to show their discoveries. That Jefferys, Buache, Amoretti, Goldson, and other learned men, should have been so easily misled, is indeed an ironical comment on the adage that "knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." It would be almost impossible to believe that they had been so beguiled if their own maps and writings did not prove it.

A third voyage must now be considered, which, while not to be placed in the same class as the fictions already mentioned, yet may





THE TITLE PAGE OF PURCHAS, HIS PILGRIMES  
From the Copy in the Legislative Library, Victoria

at least be maintained to be apocryphal. The account of Juan de Fuca's voyage by Michael Lok created a stir in the world of adventure. Indeed, from the time of its publication by Samuel Purchas in "His Pilgrimes" in the year 1625, until the present time, there have not been wanting those who have stoutly averred their belief in the authenticity of the narrative. The voyage was said to have taken place in the year 1592, exactly one hundred years after Columbus had discovered the West Indies.

The arguments for and against the veracity of de Fuca's account may be briefly summarized thus: As in all the apocryphal voyages, the first fact to be noted is that nothing was known or said of de Fuca until many years after the reputed date of the voyage. The story rests entirely upon the testimony of Michael Lok, who was a reputable merchant trading in the Levant. It is worthy of notice in this connection that Purchas does not say where or how he got Lok's narrative. Perhaps he found it among the papers of Hakluyt, whose literary executor he was. Lok's statement that he had sent an account of the voyage to Hakluyt lends colour to this theory. In that event, it is only fair to add, the stories may have been reported some time before Purchas "His Pilgrimes" appeared in 1625.

Lok's Memoir, if such it may be called, is entitled "A Note made by me Michael Lok the elder, touching the Strait of Sea, commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the Northwest passage of Meta incognita."

He begins:—"When I was at Venice, in April, 1596, happily arrived there an old man, about threescore yeares of age, called commonly Juan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolos Valerianos, of Nation a Greeke, borne in the Iland Cefalonia, of Profession a Mariner, and an ancient Pilot of Shippes. This man being come lately out of Spaine, arrived first at Ligorno, and went thence to Florence in Italie, where he found one John Dowglas, an Englishman, a famous Mariner, ready comming for Venice, to be Pilot of a Venetian Ship, named Ragasona, for England, in whose company they came both together to Venice. And John Dowglas being well acquainted with me before, he gaue me knowledge of this Greeke Pilot, and brought him to my speech: and in long talke and conference between vs, in presence of John Dowglas: this Greeke Pilot declared in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth.

"First he said, that he had bin in the West Indies of Spaine by the space of fortie yeeres, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, as Mariner and Pilot, in the seruice of the Spaniards.

"Also he said, that he was in the Spanish Shippe, which in returning from the Ilands, Philippinas and China, toward Noua Spania, was robbed and taken at the Cape California, by Captaine Candish Englishman, whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets, of his owne goods.

"Also he said, that he was Pilot of three small Ships which the Vizeroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, Souldiers, vnder a Captain, Spaniards, to discover the Straits of Anian, along the coast of the South-Sea, and to fortifie in that Strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English Nation, which were feared to passe through those Straits into the South Sea. And that by reason of a mutinie which happened among the Souldiers, for the Sodomie of their Captaine, that voyage was overthrowne, and the Ships returned backe from California coast to Nova Spania, without any effect of things done in that Voyage. And that after their returne, the Captaine was at Mexico punished by justice.

"Also he said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill ended, the said Viceroy of Mexico sent him out againe Anno 1592, with a small Carauela and a Pinnace, armed with Mariners onely, to follow the said Voyage, for discovery of the same Straits of Anian, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the North Sea, which is our North-west Sea. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of Nova Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America (all which Voyage hee signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laied before him) vntill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seven degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad inlet of Sea, between 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude: hee entred thereinto, sayling therein more than twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometime North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by diuers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon.

"Also he said, that he went on Land in diuers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins: and that the Land is very fruitful, and rich of gold, Siluer, Pearle, and other things, like Nova Spania.

"And also he said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough everywhere, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where hee entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe: and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Saluage people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned homewards againe towards Nova Spania, where hee arriued at Acapulco, Anno 1592, hoping to be rewarded greatly of the Viceroy, for this seruice done in this said Voyage.

"Also he said, that after his coming to Mexico, hee was greatly welcommed by the Viceroy, and had great promises of great reward, but that having sued there two yeares time, and obtaining nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him, that he should be rewarded in Spaine of the King himself very greatly, and willed him therefore to goe into Spaine, which Voyage hee did performe.

"Also he said, that when he was come into Spaine, he was greatly welcomed there at the Kings Court, in wordes after the Spanish manner, but after long time of suite there also, hee could not get any reward there neither to his content. And that therefore at the length he stole away out of Spaine, and came into Italie, to goe home againe and liue among his owne Kindred and Countrimen, he being very old.

"Also he said, that hee thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to bee for that they did vnderstand very well, that the English Nation had now giuen ouer all their voyages for discouerie of the North-west passage, wherefore they need not feare them any more to come that way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his seruice therein any more.

"Also he said, that in regard of this ill reward had of the Spaniards, and vnderstanding of the noble minde of the Queene of England, and of her warres maintayned so valiantly against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Maiestie would doe him justice for his goods lost by Captaine Candish, he would bee content to goe into England, and serue her Maiestie in that voyage for the discouerie

perfectly of the North-west passage into the South Sea, and would put his life into her Maiesties hands to performe the same, if shee would furnish him with onely one ship of fortie tunnes burden and a Pinnasse, and that he would performe it in thirtie dayes time, from one end to the other of the Streights. And he willed me to write into England.

"And vpon this conference had twise with the said Greeke Pilot, I did write thereof accordingly into England vnto the right honourable the old Lord Treasurer Cecill, and to Sir Walter Raleigh and to Master Richard Hakluyt that famous Cosmographer, certifying them hereof by my Letters. And in the behalfe of the said Greeke Pilot, I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds of money, to bring him into England with my selfe, for that my owne purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answere here of by Letters of friends, that this action was very well liked, and greatly desired in England to bee effected; but the money was not readie, and therefore this action dyed at that time, though the said Greeke Pilot perchance liueth still this day at home in his owne Countrie in Cefalonia, towards the which place he went from me within a fortnight after this conference had at Venice.

"And in the meantime, while I followed my owne businesse in Venice, being in Law suit against the Companie of Merchants of Turkie, and Sir John Spencer their Gouvernour in London, to recouer my pension due for my office of being their Consull at Aleppo in Turkie, which they held from me wrongfully. And when I was (as I thought) in a readinesse to returne home into England, for that it pleased the Lords of her Maiesties honourable Priuie Counsell in England, to looke unto this Cause of my Law suit for my reliefe; I thought that I should be able of my owne purse to take with me into England the said Greeke Pilot. And therefore I wrote unto him from Venice a letter, dated in July, 1596, which is copied here-under."

Michael Lok's various efforts to communicate with Juan de Fuca were of no avail, as is shown by the last paragraph of his narrative, which reads:

"And yet lastly, when I my selfe was at *Zante*, in the moneth of June 1602. minding to passe from thence for *England* by Sea, for that I had then recovered a little money from the Companie of *Turkie*, by an order of the Lords of the Priuie Counsell of England, I wrote



another Letter to this *Greeke* Pilot to *Cefalonia*, and required him to come to me to *Zante*, and goe with mee into England, but I had none answere thereof from him, for that as I heard afterward at *Zante*, he was then dead, or very likely to die of great sicknesse."

Here ends the story of Juan de Fuca, as related by Michael Lok. It will at once occur to the critic as being suspicious that Lok should have kept this information to himself for so many years, particularly when the efforts of all the seafaring nations had been directed towards the discovery of the Northwest Passage. If a discovery of such importance had been made in 1592, and knowledge of it had been gained in 1596, it may well be asked why it was that Michael Lok did not give his account to the world until 1625. Of the facts related it is worthy of notice that an opening does exist on the northwest coast near the latitude assigned to it by de Fuca, and that off the Cape Flattery of Captain Cook there is a pinnacle or spiral rock; also that that opening does lead to an archipelago and to sheets of water which stretch southward, eastward and northward; and the writers who have taken up the cudgels on behalf of de Fuca point to these and other correlated statements as conclusive evidence that the voyage belongs to the region of fact, rather than to the realm of fancy. It is impossible, they claim, that any man should have so accurately described a region without some personal knowledge of it.

On the other hand, it may be pointed out that de Fuca's narrative does not differ greatly from the accounts of other mariners of that age. The fact should not be overlooked that de Fuca according to his own statement was hoping to obtain command of an expedition to explore the coast of northwestern America, and it was to his advantage to colour his story with extravagant descriptions of the lands he claimed to have discovered. It should also be borne in mind that the belief in the existence of the Strait of Anian was then general throughout the world.

Strangely enough, however, in the very quarter where one should expect to find confirmation of de Fuca's explorations, one finds instead absolute disbelief in his pretensions. In all the great mass of material gathered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, not one word is to be found with regard to de Fuca, and the same remark applies to the archives of Mexico. Seeing that the Greek claimed that he had been sent by the Viceroy of that country upon an important mission, and that upon his return he had reported to that

official the results of his voyage, there should be at least some document relating thereto in the Spanish Archives. But the records of New Spain are silent upon the subject. Navarette, the Spanish historian, to whom was confided the task of preparing the official version of Spanish explorations on the Northwest coast, claims in his account of the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* that there is no information in the Spanish Archives respecting the "ancient pilot of ships." This is an important point, because de Fuca averred that he had spent some time at the court of Spain seeking a dispensation from the King to pursue his explorations to the north of California.

Therefore, de Fuca's story rests wholly and solely upon the narrative of the Englishman, Michael Lok. Lok claims that he laid the matter before Burleigh, Queen Elizabeth's great minister, Sir Walter Raleigh and Richard Hakluyt "that famous Cosmographer," but without result. And yet the English records are as dumb with regard to that transaction as are those of Spain and Mexico. Moreover, as de Fuca himself remarks, Spain had long given up the search for the Strait of Anian, because she regarded such a discovery as being inimical to her own interests. She dreaded it for the simple reason that it would encourage the operations of the European buccaneers in the Pacific, which she had long looked upon as her own peculiar preserve. So secure had Spain been in the possession of that great ocean (always excepting the forays of Drake, Cavendish and the Dutch free-booters), that she left her ships, which plied that ocean, almost unprotected. The galleons sailing from the Philippines to Panama were not armed to resist attack, and that explains why they fell so easy a prey to the buccaneers of other nations.

It would certainly seem *a priori* unlikely that in view of these facts Spain should have fitted out an expedition for the examination of that very passage the discovery of which she so much feared.

It has been seen that de Fuca claimed that he was upon the *Santa Anna* when that vessel was captured by Cavendish off Cape San Lucas in 1588 and that he lost sixty thousand ducats on that occasion. Now, in Cavendish's own account of that incident, which was published by Hakluyt in 1589, no such person is mentioned. In terse Elizabethan English Cavendish relates: "wee came into a Bay called Masaclan, where we had fruite and fish, but were in great danger of our enemies: We trauersed from thence unto the Southermost cape of California, where beating up and downe we discouered a Port called

by the Spaniards Agua Segura, and found good store of fresh water: we lay off & on off this cape untill the fourth of Nouember, on which day in the morning wee espied the goodly shippe comming from the Philippinas called *Saint Anna* the great, being of seuen hundreth tunnes: we chased her untill noone, so fetching her up, we gave them fight to the losse of twelve or fourteene of their men, and the spoyle and hurt of many more of them, whereupon at last they yeelded unto us: in this conflict we lost onely two of our men. So on the sixt of the sayde Nouember we went into the Port of Agua Segura, where wee ankered and put nine score prisoners on land: and ransacking the great shippe, wee laded our owne two shippes with fourtie tunnes of the chiefest marchandise, and burnt all the rest as well shippe as goods, to the quantitie of sixe hundred tunnes of rich marchandise, because we were not able to bring it away: This was one of the richest vessels that euer sayled on the Seas, and was able to haue made many hundreds wealthie, if we had had meanes to haue brought it home."

Later authorities, amongst whom may be mentioned the late Professor George Davidson, for many years employed on the Pacific seaboard in the service of the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States, and a geographer of international repute, does not hesitate to affirm that Michael Lok's account of de Fuca was a mere tissue of untruths. Without going quite as far as that, it may at least be said that it is in a high degree probable that Juan de Fuca's account of his discoveries should be placed in the list of apocryphal voyages. It is unlikely that further evidence will throw fresh light on that much disputed point. There will always be some who are content to abide by the Lok document, while others will as firmly maintain that it yields far from satisfactory evidence that the Greek pilot was the first European to visit the Strait that bears his name.

This brief notice of Juan de Fuca's reputed voyage may well be concluded with the clear-cut statement of the learned Dr. J. G. Kohl, who in his "History of Discovery and Exploration on the Coasts of the United States" remarks that Navarette asserts "that no navigator of the name of Juan de Fuca or Apostolos Valerianos was ever at any time known in Spain or mentioned by contemporary Spanish writers; nor is there extant any record of the visit of such a person to the King of Spain or to the Vice Roy of Mexico. In none of the papers relating to the expeditions of Vizcaino, written

only a few years after 1592 (the time of de Fuca's supposed voyage), can be found any allusion to him; nor is any document bearing on his history in the archives of Seville or New Spain. It seems probable that Juan de Fuca never made a voyage in the service of the Vice Roy of Spain nor discovered a strait in the latitude indicated, and it may be considered as a mere accident that in the beginning of the 17th Century a strait in that region was described in a manner coinciding so nearly with the reality as was ascertained at a much later date."

One other name is worthy of notice in this connection. The celebrated Friar Andres de Urdañeta, the discoverer of the trade routes of the Pacific from east to west, had the honour of discovering the mythical passage thrust upon him. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in "A Discourse to Prove a Passage by the North-West to Cathaia and the East Indies," states that "one Salvatierra, a gentleman of Victoria, in Spain, that came by chance out of the West Indies into Ireland in 1568," there assured him that Urdañeta had come from *Mar del Sur* (the Pacific) into Germany through the northern passage." Sir Humphrey adds that Urdañeta had shown Salvatierra "a sea-card, made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described the north-west passage." Apparently, however, this was an amplification on the part of Salvatierra to induce Sir Humphrey to employ him in the exploration of the strait, the discovery of which he had naively attributed to Urdañeta. It is scarcely necessary to add that although there are many original papers by the Friar in the archives of the Council of the Indies there is nothing of the nature of Salvatierra's assertion. The nearest approach to anything of the sort is the Friar's report that some Frenchman had sailed through the strait from the Atlantic to the Pacific and thence to China.

As to the extravagant story of Martin Chake (or Chaque), a Portuguese, who is alleged to have sailed in 1555 from the Atlantic to a point on the Pacific coast north of California, in latitude 59°, and as to the pretensions of the Spaniard, Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, who professed that he had certain knowledge of a passage north of New Spain, critical enquiry seems superfluous. These legends carry their own condemnation on their face: they are indeed of more interest to the psychologist than to the historian.

Travellers' tales have proverbially borne an unenviable repute, and the cynic might well speculate whether after all truth is not an acquired rather than an instinctive quality in human nature—a quality grudgingly conceded to the necessity of conforming with the opinions of society at large, and that when a man is freed from the shackles of convention, and disappears from the horizon of his fellows, the desire to excite wonder dominates over the desire to recount fact, and almost instinctively imagination, as if shocked by the nakedness of truth, proceeds to clothe and adorn her in all the fashions which taste and fancy may prescribe. And mankind, defined by Carlyle as “mostly fools,” prone to credulity, and to whom *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, greedily swallow any new and fancy viands which may be set before them to devour. It is only when an age of criticism is evolved from an age of superstition that fiction becomes indigestible, and fact is found to be the only useful food for the community at large.







EARLY MAP OF VANCOUVER ISLAND AND ENTRANCE TO THE STRAIT OF  
JUAN DE FUCA



## CHAPTER III

### SPANISH EXPLORATIONS

It has been shown that the first printed information concerning Northwestern America consisted of the imaginative efforts of the cartographers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and it has also been remarked that the first printed descriptions concerning that region were the narratives of men who apparently wished to test the credulity of the age; now the student must follow the navigators whose ships were the first actually to plough the North Pacific, and from whom were obtained the first authentic accounts of the seaboard of that immense territory which stretches from California to the Arctic Ocean, between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean.

At first there was little disposition displayed on the part of European governments to colonize America. Navigators were too intent upon finding a short route to India and China and so imbued were they with the theories advanced by the leading geographers of the day, who wrongly computed the circumference of the earth, that in the beginning the continents of North and South America were looked upon as nothing more than a barrier in the path of the explorer, whose sole ambition had been to reach the Orient. The search for a strait or open sea which might afford direct access to Japan and the East led men to brave cold and hunger in desolate Arctic regions, to suffer untold hardships, unknown dangers, sickness, and death. At last Balboa in 1513 sighted the Pacific Ocean from the isthmus of Darien and gave a new impulse to the quest, which from that time was carried on with unabating zeal. Then Magellan, a gifted Portuguese, in the service of Spain, discovered the strait which bears his name. He reached the great ocean which separates America from Asia and was the first European to sail into the Pacific from the East.

A new direction was given American affairs at this juncture. Cortes, in the years 1519 and 1520, conquered Mexico and with an iron hand ruled its unfortunate peoples and wrested from them untold treasures which reached the coffers of the Spanish king, and a new era dawned for Spain.

From the subjugation of Mexico sprang many things, not the least of which was the exploration of the western coast of North America. Cortes pushed his conquest to the Pacific seaboard and with great energy prepared to explore the unknown regions of the North. The knowledge gained by Cortes and the discovery of the Philippine Islands by Magellan in 1520 kindled afresh the ambition of Spain to be supreme in the South Sea, and Philip II, in 1523, being informed of the efforts of the English to find a passage through or above the continent, ordered Cortes to search for the Pacific outlet of the Strait of Anian.

In pursuance of instructions given him by the King of Spain, Cortes ordered the construction of two caravels and two brigantines. The material for these, however, which had been transported six hundred miles, was destroyed by fire at Tehuantepec. But Cortes solaced himself with the reflection that the vessels would be ready to sail in 1525. In one of his despatches of that time we find the following memorable words:

"I attach such importance to these ships that I could not express it; for I consider it very certain that with them, if it please God, I shall be the means of your Imperial Majesty becoming in these regions Lord of more kingdoms and dominions than there is any knowledge of in our nation up to the present time. \* \* \* For I believe that when I do this your Highness will have nothing more to do in order to become monarch of the world."

Cortes' troubles, however, did not end here. The brigantines were burned just as they were ready to sail from Zacatula. To replace these craft, orders were given for the construction of three or four vessels at Tehuantepec (1527-28). While the vessels were in course of construction, the conqueror of Mexico, being obliged to visit Spain to counteract by the weight of his personal influence the effects of the envy and persecution which his successes had brought upon him, placed Pedro Nunez Maldonado in command of the new arsenal and shipyards. In the month of July, 1528, that officer sailed from the mouth of the River Zacatula towards the Northwest. He returned in course of six months, bringing with him, as usual,

imaginative accounts of the extent, richness, and fertility of the lands he had seen. This expedition marked the beginning of Spanish effort in the new field.

Cortes returned from Spain in 1530 and injected a new spirit into the affairs of the Pacific. At his own expense he brought with him "many noble adventurers, artizans, workmen and sailors, to the number of more than four hundred, for employment in expeditions he had planned." His vessels were refitted, and the *St. Miguel* and *St. Marcos*, under command of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, sailed from Tehuantepec on June 30, 1532, having in view the exploration of the islands of the Pacific off the coast of New Spain. According to his own accounts Mendoza reached the twenty-seventh degree of latitude. Here the crew mutinied and the *St. Miguel* was ordered to return with the papers of the expedition and the disaffected sailors, while the commander continued the voyage. The returning vessel, under the command of Juan de Mazuela, endeavoured to reach Acapulco, but she went ashore, and all on board, with the exception of three, were put to death by the natives of the country, after which the vessel was seized and plundered by Nuno de Guzman. As to the ship in which Mendoza continued his voyage, an account was received that she had been thrown on the coast far to the north and that all her crew had perished.

After the lapse of a year Cortes learned of the loss of the vessels, commanded by Hurtado de Mendoza, and he then despatched two ships from Tehuantepec in search of the missing expedition. These ships left the port on the 30th of September, 1533, but were soon after separated. Hernando Grijalva discovered a group of islands situated about fifty leagues from the coast, which he named Islands of St. Thomas. He remained until the following spring and returned to Acapulco, without adding much to geographical knowledge. Diego Becerra, commander of the other ship, was less fortunate, being murdered by the pilot, Fortuño Ximenes. Other labours of Cortes in the discovery and exploration of the Pacific side of North America will be mentioned in brief.

On the 3d of May, 1535, he entered the bay near the shore of Xalisco, where Becerra had been murdered, and in honour of the day the name of Santa Cruz was bestowed upon the place, of which possession was solemnly taken for the Spanish sovereign. It was the

southeast part of the great peninsula which projects from the American continent on the Pacific side in nearly the same direction and between nearly the same parallels of latitude as that of Florida on the Atlantic side. It soon afterward received the name of California. The bay called Santa Cruz by Cortes, says Greenhow, was probably the same later known as Port La Paz.

Returning to Mexico in the beginning of 1537, by reason of his having been removed as commandant of the country which he had added to the dominions of Spain, he thereupon recalled from Santa Cruz his lieutenant, Francisco de Ulloa, with the forces which had been left there, and in 1539 the last expedition made by water by Cortes was begun. It was commanded by Francisco de Ulloa, who sailed from Acapulco on the 8th of July, 1539, with three vessels, and took his course for California. One of the vessels was driven ashore near Culiacan. With the others Ulloa proceeded to the Bay of Santa Cruz, and in a few days departed to survey the coast towards the northeast. He examined both shores of the great gulf which separates California from the mainland on the east and ascertained the fact of the junction of the two territories near the thirty-second degree of latitude. Then rounding Cape San Lucas the expedition followed the oceanic coast of the Californian peninsula, at length reaching, under the twenty-eighth parallel, an island which Ulloa named the Isle of Cedars. Thence, on the 5th of April, the *Santa Agueda* set sail for Santiago, where she was seized by the officers of Don Antonio de Mendoza, who had succeeded Cortes as Viceroy. Of the fate of Ulloa there are contradictory accounts. Cortes in the meantime having come into conflict with the Viceroy and others in regard to continuing his explorations in a certain direction, returned in disgust to Spain, where he passed the remaining seven years of his life in vain efforts to recover his authority in Mexico or to obtain indemnification for his losses.

Other explorations were made overland by expeditionary parties sent out from Mexico. Friar Marcos tells of having discovered in Northwest Mexico beyond the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, extensive territories richly cultivated and abounding in gold, silver, and precious stones. In these countries were many towns and seven cities, one of which the friar called Cibola, containing twenty thousand large stone houses, some four storeys in height, adorned with jewels. Like the narratives of the discovery of channels through the northern conti-

ment, which a little later obtained credence amongst geographers, the stories emanating from the fertile imaginations of the Friar Marcos and his contemporaries as to Quivira, Cibola and Totontec were equally fictitious. However, such relations but reflected the glamour and romance which surround the early history of the territories lying to the northwest of Mexico.

Fernando de Alarcon, sailing from the port of Santiago on the 9th of May, 1540, reached the extremity of the Gulf of California in August following. There he discovered a great river which he named Rio de Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia (or River of Our Lady of Safe Conduct), probably the same now called Colorado.

Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese of high reputation as a navigator, sailed from Navidad, a small port in Xalisco, in June, 1542. By the middle of August he had advanced beyond the limits of the supposed discoveries of Ulloa. Ruy Lopez de Villalobos soon followed Cabrillo with another expedition, his objective being India, there to form establishments. Bartolome Ferrollo and Vasquez de Coronado also contributed their part in these early explorations as did Sebastian Vizcaino, a distinguished Spanish officer.

From the time of the death of Vizcaino, which occurred in 1608, until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Spain, although it controlled the sea routes to the northwest, had made no effort to add to her discoveries in that direction. At last, however, Spain was induced to play a more active part in the North Pacific. Before 1778 British sailors had confined their operations to the South Pacific, but the Spaniards had been in constant dread of their appearance in the northern part of that ocean, more particularly because there had recently been a recrudescence of the stories of a navigable communication between the Pacific and the North Atlantic. Then the acquisition of Canada by Great Britain in 1763 rendered the discovery of the Northwest Passage of importance to that power, while Spain had at this time additional reasons for viewing with dissatisfaction any attempts of her rival to advance westward across the continent. Moreover, the Court of Madrid was perturbed by the reported activities of the Russians on the northernmost coasts of the Pacific. The fact that knowledge of the Russian explorations was vague and contradictory in nowise tended to lessen the apprehension of the Spanish cabinet. Russia had not made known the extent of her discoveries in the Northwest, conceiving it more politic to remain silent. Yet

enough had leaked out to make the Spanish Government fear for the safety of its Californian provinces. In this relation it should be borne in mind that the boundaries of the Californias at that time did not coincide with those of the California of today. The Californias of Spain it was claimed extended indefinitely northward, far beyond the point reached by the earliest navigators.

In view of these events and in order to give life to her claim to the sole sovereignty of the American islands and coast washed by the North Pacific, Spain in 1765 adopted a policy of expansion. The viceroy of Mexico, deCroix, and the visitador, Galvez, were instructed to enquire into the condition of that country and to put into effect measures of reforms. It was also intended by the Spanish Government that the vacant coasts and islands to the northward of California should be annexed and occupied.

At this time the sovereigns of France and Spain followed the example of Portugal in Europe and expelled the Jesuits from Mexico and the Peninsula of California. California was immediately proclaimed a province of Mexico and it was duly provided with a governmental establishment under Gaspar de Portala, who set out upon his famous expedition from La Paz to the newly created province in 1769. The missions in Lower California were handed over to the austere Dominicans who in turn were followed by the zealous Franciscan Fathers.

However important and interesting as the relations of Spain in California are to the student of British Columbian history, the newly awakened interest of Spain in the territories of northern latitudes is still more important and still more interesting. Spain had been slow to move, but once having embarked upon a policy of expansion it was not long before that policy bore fruit. As a precursor to the fitting out of exploratory expeditions for the North, a department of the Mexican Government was created about the year 1774, for the special purpose of promoting and fostering the work, under the title of the Marine Department of San Blas, so-called because the port of that name on the Mexican seaboard was selected as the base of operations. At this port arsenals, shipyards and warehouses were erected and thence the ships for the North were despatched.

The first Spanish keel to ply the North Pacific was the little corvette *Santiago*, which sailed from San Blas on the 25th of Jan-

uary, 1774, in command of Don Juan Perez, who was ordered by the Viceroy, to examine the coast as far north as the sixty-fifth degree of latitude. The pilot, or navigating officer, of the *Santiago*, was Estevan Martinez, who afterwards achieved a unique distinction in the service of his country. Perez was accompanied by the Franciscan Fathers, Crespi and Pena, to whom the world is indebted for accounts of the expedition. The two friars embarked at Monterey at the order of their superior, the celebrated Junipero Serra, then the Father Superior of the Franciscan mission at Monterey.

After several abortive efforts, the *Santiago* proceeded on her voyage, slowly making her way northward under heavy weather. Fogs, calms, and head winds delayed the progress of the vessel and it was not until the 18th of July that land was sighted, the distinctive features of which were an insulated cliff or peak, with a flat top, covered with snow. From the observations taken on board, this coast was sighted between latitudes fifty-three and fifty-four degrees, the first land seen by the Spaniards off the northwest coast being the western seaboard of the Queen Charlotte Islands. But no landing was made by the Spaniards. On the following day the coast was seen clearly seven or eight leagues away and an observation was taken by Perez, which marked the latitude, according to his calculations, as fifty-three degrees, fifty-eight minutes, north. In the afternoon the vessel advanced to within three leagues of the coast, but owing to the lateness of the hour it was decided not to land. On the following day, the 20th of July, a canoe approached the vessel and as it drew near the ship the occupants could be distinctly observed. The natives were singing one of their pagan songs and scattering feathers on the water as if to propitiate the strangers, so thought the Spaniards. At first they did not venture to come alongside of the vessel but at sight of handkerchiefs, beads, and biscuits offered by the Spanish sailors, their cupidity overcame their fear and they came close enough to the stern of the ship to take all that was thrown to them, but they would not go on board, although invited to do so. The graceful canoes which the Indians managed with such dexterity were apparently hewn out of a single tree trunk. These natives were of the Haida nation, perhaps the most warlike and advanced of all the tribes inhabiting the coast region. In their large canoes they swept down the coast, ruthlessly putting to death men, women, and children, sparing only those of

whom they wished to make slaves, and to this day their exploits are preserved in the traditions of the weaker tribes they harassed so terribly. In later years they were bold enough to threaten the infant colony and the Hudson's Bay posts at the southern extremity of Vancouver Island.

The insulated cliff first sighted by Perez, he named Santa Margarita, "because it was seen yesterday, which was the day of that glorious saint." So it is recorded by Father Crespi.

Father Pena in his diary says that that name was also bestowed upon a group of three small islands not far from the coast. Some forty or fifty miles north of this point was sighted a promontory covered with trees, which was named Santa Maria Magdalena. Beyond this cape the coast was flanked by high land covered with timber and trending east and west as far as it could be seen. An island near by was christened Santa Cristina and the snow-capped mountains of the interior were called San Cristobel.

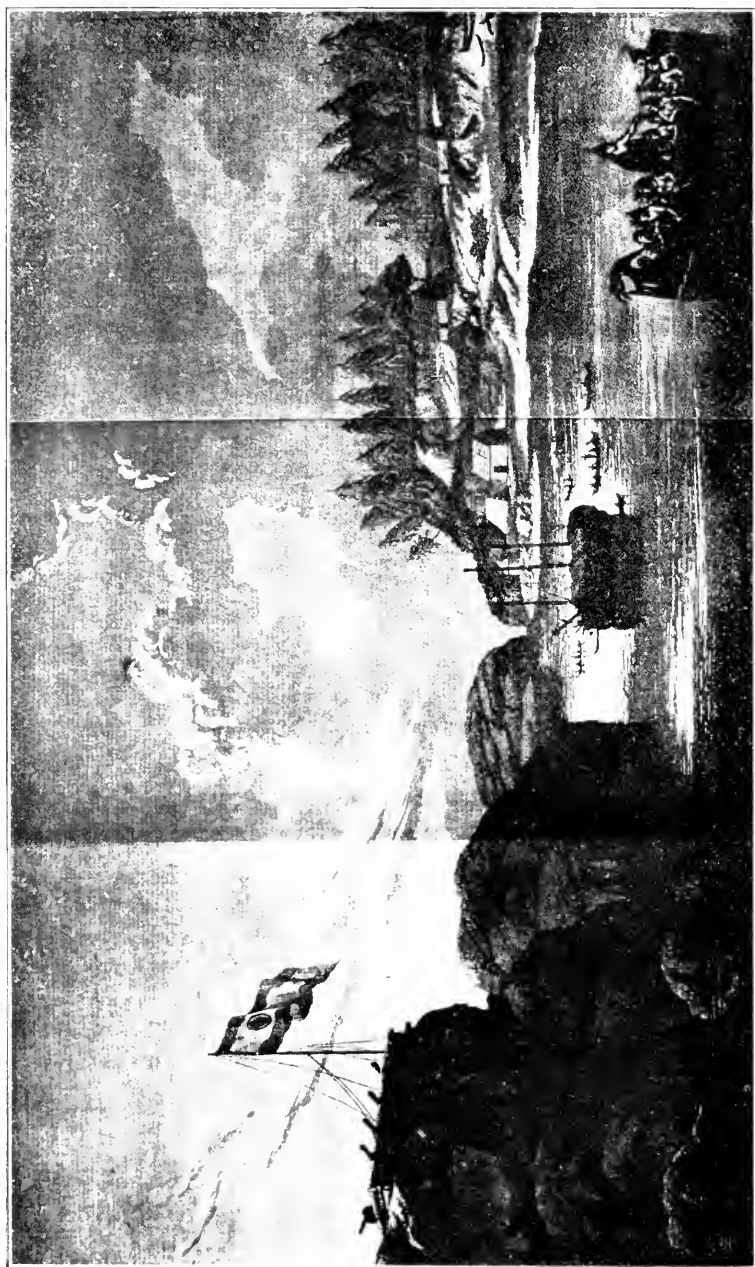
In seeking land in a latitude so far below that mentioned in his instructions, Perez was influenced by the fact that his water barrels needed replenishing. After a counsel of his officers it was decided to land at the first convenient spot, before proceeding to the sixty-fifth parallel, the point set as the northern limit of the voyage. Hence it was that the expedition made land near the fifty-fourth parallel, discovering the Queen Charlotte Islands. Neither Perez nor any of those on board the *Santiago* were aware of the fact that the land seen was not part of the continental shore.

Leaving Cape Santa Margarita, the *Santiago* sailed southward, but the weather was either so boisterous or so foggy that Perez only got occasional glimpses of the coast. Continuing her course, on the evening of Monday, the 18th of August, the *Santiago* sighted land about the forty-ninth parallel, according to an observation taken on board. With a light wind the vessel gradually drew near the strange coast and at 6 o'clock, being about a league from it, she came to anchor in twenty-five fathoms of water. From the deck of the vessel, the heavily wooded land could easily be seen.

It seemed that after nearly three centuries of intermittent effort the Spaniard was at last to set his seal upon the northwest coast, but the same powers and obdurate fate seemed ever to stand between the Spaniard and the attainment of his desire. The morning of Tuesday, the 19th, dawned calm and still, but all other quarters of







VISTA DE LO INTERIOR DE LA CALA DE LOS AMIGOS EN LA ENTRADA DE NUTKA

the compass were hidden by a dense fog which hung over land and water. Then occurred one of those sudden changes in the weather to which all coasts are at times subjected. The storm came up so quickly that there was not even time to hoist the long boat, which had been launched early in the morning, ready for the landing party. The captain immediately ordered the anchor to be weighed and the sails set, but the ship drifted shoreward so swiftly that it was found necessary to cut the cable and with great difficulty she doubled a reef to the southwest which ran far out into the sea. Having weathered the point, the vessel was hove to in order that the long boat might be taken on board. While this was being done, however, a heavy wind struck the boat and it was nearly lost, together with the sailors who were in it. After this fortunate escape sails were again loosed and the course set for the southeast, the wind and sea still increasing in violence. Thus the first Spanish vessel to reach the far Northwest ran from the only anchorage it had been possible to make in the whole course of the expedition.

The landfall of Perez, named by him San Lorenzo, has been the subject of much discussion, but it is not difficult to fix upon the anchorage of the *Santiago*. The American historian, Robert Greenhow is painfully in error when he asserts so positively that the Spanish commander discovered the sound, named a few years later "King George's," or "Nootka" Sound, by James Cook. The fact that the writer had access to Perez and Pena's journal, although apparently not to that of Crespi, which certainly is quite clear upon this point, only makes his blunt assertion more remarkable. Father Crespi, however, mentions San Lorenzo as lying between two points, of which the southeast was called San Estevan, in honour of the navigating officer, and that to the northwest, Santa Clara. If the *Santiago* had anchored in Nootka Sound she would have found a harbour safe in all weathers and there would have been no necessity to cut the cable in order to make an offing, no matter from what direction the wind might blow. There is little doubt then that the open roadstead where the vessel anchored a league from the shore is the bight or bay, of which the southern extremity is marked by the Point Estevan of the admiralty charts of today. Nothing in the journals mentioned can possibly be construed as evidence that Nootka Sound was ever seen, much less entered. It is certain then that Perez did not enter the historic channel named Nootka, by Cook, in spite

of Navarette's statement to the contrary, and Greenhow's even more explicit asseveration. If further evidence upon this point is desired it may be found in Robert Haswell's manuscript journal of the *Columbia-Rediviva* and sloop *Washington*, in which it is set forth that "Nootka Sound was discovered by Captain Cook March the 30, 1778, on his passag to the Northern hemisphere of this Ocean. But from the natives we lern their was a ship anchored at the enterence of the Sound forty months before Captain Cooks arrival. From the description they must have been Spaniards *but the natives say their boats weir not out duering their tarey.*" The italics mark the significant passage.

Making no further effort to explore the northern coast line, Perez turned his vessel southward and sailed for Monterey, reaching that point on Saturday, the 27th of August; and thus ended the first voyage of the Spaniards to the mysterious northern region. Beyond a cursory examination of one or two points and ascertaining the general trend of the coast line, little was accomplished by this expedition. Yet it is important historically from the fact that it marked the first effort of the Spaniards to learn something of a region of which for many years it had been in their power to acquire full knowledge; and although no mention of the Strait of Juan de Fuca is to be found in any of the journals, nor was it reported therein that an opening in the coast corresponding to that of the Greek pilot had been seen, Estevan Martinez at a crucial moment in the Nootka controversy conveniently remembered that he had noticed a large opening near the forty-eighth parallel, a fact which he strangely enough omitted to report at the time.

The voyage of Perez, although abortive, whetted the appetite of the Spaniards for northern exploration. Two expeditions followed in the wake of the *Santiago*, of which a brief account is here given. The Viceroy of Mexico, encouraged by the reports brought by Juan Perez, immediately ordered another expedition to be fitted out. The *Santiago* was again commissioned and placed in command of Naval Lieutenant Don Bruno Heceta, with whom Juan Perez sailed as quartermaster. The *Santiago's* consort was the little schooner *Felicidad*—renamed the *Sonora*—under Lieutenant Juan Francisco de Bodega y Quadra, whose name came to be inseparably associated with the most important incident of early Northwest history. A great deal might be said concerning the character of Bodega

y Quadra, but perhaps his own introduction to the journal of this expedition gives a better idea of the man than anything else that has been written of him. "Immediately," he writes, "on the arrival at the Department of San Blas of the six officers appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy, Friar D. Antonio Maria Bucareli, who were to command the frigate, packet, and schooner, I thought that on account of my seniority some position was due me, and being desirous of seeing myself included in the expedition upon which the frigate and schooner were going, their orders being to advance as far as possible towards the N. Pole from California, and to survey the coast; reflecting likewise that the greater the risk the more it should be sought for when the results tend to the sovereign's service, and that it is a quality of honour to desire to request from His Majesty a post where dangers must be despised for the sole object of seeking the means by which His royal ideas may be maintained or duly carried out; I could not restrain my ardour upon these reflections, and prayed that I might embark as second Captain in the schooner, a vessel in which I at once conjectured that even the lightest undertaking would be noteworthy, both on account of its small size, scanty crew, evident lack of necessities, accumulation of risks, entire want of suitable qualities for such routes and lastly a vessel which only the ardour of a resolute mind would select on such an occasion of risk to life."

The vessels sailed from San Blas on the 16th of March, 1775, and proceeded slowly up the coast, in the teeth of contrary winds. It was the 19th of June before Heceta left Port Trinidad, off the Californian coast. Three weeks later, on July 11th, the Northwest coast was sighted in latitude given as forty-eight degrees and twenty-six minutes, from which point the Spaniards searched southward in vain for the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The Spaniards anchored near Point Grenville, in latitude forty-seven degrees and twenty minutes. Here on that point, on the 14th of July, of the year 1775, so far as it is known, Europeans first set foot on the Northwest Coast. Bruno Heceta, the Padre, Pierre, the surgeon, Davalos, and Cristoval Revilla, the second pilot, landed with a few sailors and, after erecting a cross, with due ceremony took possession of the country in the name of the Sovereign King of Spain.

While the officers of the *Santiago* were thus engaged, the crew of the *Sonora* were in sore straits. A few men in the only boat had been sent ashore in quest of water. Scarcely had they landed,

however, when the Indians to the number of three hundred rushed out of the woods and overwhelmed the small Spanish force. The tragedy was observed from the deck of the *Sonora*, but nothing could be done to aid the landing party, as the schooner could not get within range of the shore. Not a man escaped the murderous savages and Bodega y Quadra found his crew reduced to five men and one boy in health and four sailors too ill to perform their duties. The Indians, after the massacre on the shore, attacked the vessel from their canoes, but were repulsed with the loss of six men. Maurelle, the pilot, relates that there were only three on board able to handle a musket—the captain, his servant, and himself. Fortunately, the *Santiago* then arrived upon the scene of action and rescued her consort from an awkward position. In commemoration of the event the point was called Punta de Martires—Martyrs' Point; and the island a little to the northward, for the same reason therefore, was named Isla de Dolores—Island of Sorrows. The same island twelve years later was called Destruction Island by Captain Berkley of the *Imperial Eagle*, because some of his crew were massacred on the mainland opposite.

After this disaster the question of continuing the voyage was argued in council. Perez, Quadra, and Maurelle were all in favour of sailing northward, but Heceta was anxious to return to Monterey. The voyage was continued, but shortly after the vessels had got under way they were separated by a storm and Heceta seized the opportunity to sail for California, while Quadra nobly persevered in his determination to carry out at all hazards the instructions of the Viceroy to reach the sixty-fifth degree of latitude.

Heceta, after parting company with the *Sonora*, made land on the west coast of Vancouver Island near the fiftieth parallel and thence sailed southward, passing by the roadstead San Lorenzo. On his way southward, in a latitude reckoned as forty-six degrees and seventeen minutes, he noticed an opening in the coast, from which issued a strong current. He thought that he had discovered the mouth of some great river, or perhaps the strait reported to have been found by Juan de Fuca in 1592. In his journal it is recorded that he bestowed upon the bight then discovered the name of Ensenada de Asuncion, and the points north and south of it he called Cape San Roque and Cape Frondoso, respectively. In charts of the locality subsequently published in Mexico the opening is called







Enseñada de Heceta and Rio de San Roque. The journal of the explorer is more or less explicit and his description leaves little room for doubt that he had sighted the mouth of the lordly river called by Jonathan Carver "Oregon," subsequently known to the world as the Columbia, so named by Captain Gray after his vessel, *Columbia-Rediviva*, seventeen years later. Heceta arrived at Monterey on the 30th of August with two-thirds of his men disabled by scurvy.

In the meantime Quadra and Maurelle in their little vessel the *Sonora*—she was but twenty-seven feet in length, manned by a pilot, a boatswain, a mate, ten seamen, a cabin boy and a servant—made a desperate attempt to reach the sixty-fifth parallel, an effort as heroic as it was foolhardy in such an unseaworthy and ill-equipped craft. They sailed northwest without sighting land until the beautiful snow-capped mountain of San Jacinto (St. Hyacinth) appeared above the horizon, and somewhat further on, the ports Remedios and Guadalupe were visited and so named. The San Jacinto of the Spaniard is unquestionably the Mount Edgecomb of Captain Cook, while Port Remedios is not unlikely the Bay of Islands of the English navigator, and Port Guadalupe the Norfolk Sound of today.

While in the neighbourhood of the fiftieth parallel Bodega y Quadra determined to sail for San Blas, comforting himself with the reflection that although he had not succeeded in carrying out his instructions, yet he had reached a latitude beyond that effected by any other navigator.

On the way homeward the Archipelago San Lazarus of that famous romancer, Admiral La Fonte, and the imaginary strait leading therefrom far into the continent, were sought for in vain, but the *Sonora* discovered Bucareli Sound, a name that has remained on the map from that day to this. It is situated on the west side of the largest island of the Prince of Wales Archipelago, so named by Vancouver. Here again the Spaniards landed and took possession of the country with due formality. From Port Bucareli, Quadra sailed southward across Dixon's entrance, to which he gave the name of Entrada de Perez, and sighted Cape Santa Margarita (Cape North). Thence the schooner sailed down the coast and, on the 20th of November, 1775, reached San Blas, after an absence of eight months. The expedition, however, cannot be said to have been entirely successful, although in some respects it was important. Heceta, the commander, certainly did not distinguish himself. Quadra and Mau-

relle, on the other hand, as certainly proved themselves navigators of more than ordinary determination and courage. Though their vessel was miserably equipped and one-half of their crew laid low with that terrible distemper, the scurvy, they made a brave attempt to carry out their instructions. Their achievement indeed was a brilliant example of Spanish seamanship.

The third expedition of this period of renewed activity on the part of the Spaniards left San Blas under the command of Ignacio Arteaga, who sailed in the *Princesa* accompanied by Bodega y Quadra, with the faithful Maurelle as second officer, in the *Favorita*. Arteaga sailed on the 17th of February, 1779, and after a voyage of four months made Port Bucareli, where he remained several weeks surveying the bay, trading with the natives and refitting his vessels. Leaving this harbour, Arteaga and Quadra made the highest point yet reached by the Spaniards, sighting the magnificent mountain of St. Elias, so named by Bering in 1741.

While searching for a passage which might lead into the Arctic Sea they entered a large bay containing many islands, which they called Isla de la Magdalena. Port Santiago was also discovered and named. At this point, as their provisions were failing and the men suffering from the prevailing malady, it was decided to return to Mexico. Accordingly a course was set for the south, and on the 15th of October, the expedition entered the Golden Gate of San Francisco, and on the 21st of November it arrived at San Blas, with little, if anything, to its credit. In short, the voyage was barren of results, yet strange to relate the officers engaged in it were all promoted as if they had rendered excellent service.

So far, the Spanish voyages to the Northwest had done little more than barely discover the coast which is now the Pacific seaboard of Canada. That deeply indented and island-fringed shore was still, even as it has been from time immemorial, a land of mystery, associated in the minds of geographers and navigators with the vaunted exploits of travellers otherwise unknown to fame. Even the romantic literature of that time reflects the curiosity of the age with regard to the strange land which Verendrye had failed to penetrate from the east, even as Bodega y Quadra had failed to explore it from the west. Here Dean Swift placed his fabled land of Brobdingnag, and long before Lemuel Gulliver related the story of his strange adventures, Pantagruel, Rabelais' eccentric hero, had found his way to

California—at least it has been surmised that the French abbé had that country in mind when he recounted Pantagruel's travels. In fact, the world was curiously concerned about it all, the more especially so, perhaps, because the reports of the Spanish explorations that escaped from, or were given to the world by, the secretive Spanish ministry were too vague to do more than give rein to conjecture.

Three hundred years had elapsed since the Spaniard found his way across Mexico to the shores of Balboa's great South Sea, christened "The Pacific" by Magellan, the Portuguese, but in all that time the Northwest coast had not been charted or surveyed. Such was the position of affairs in 1779 when war broke out between Great Britain and Spain, and for the time being the latter country was forced to abandon her enterprise in the North Pacific. When Spain was again prepared to pursue an active policy she found that Captain James Cook, and the fur traders who followed him, had done much to make known the true configuration of the Northwest coast, although the gaps were not closed, or the continental shore line fully examined, until Captain George Vancouver's survey of 1792 to 1794.







## CHAPTER IV

### RUSSIAN EXPLORATIONS

After the voyage of Vizcaino in 1603 no determined effort was made by Spain to chart the northern way. Indeed, in a few years so utterly forgotten were the explorations of the time of Cortes and Mendoza that the Gulf of California was supposed to extend far northward, where it connected again with the ocean. California, in fact, was looked upon not as part of the continent, but as a large island of unknown length and breadth. It is not unlikely that this erroneous idea originated with the Dutch free-booters, who in the beginning of the seventeenth century formed a piratical settlement on the coast of Lower California. They reported, that a vessel had once sailed northward through the Sea of Cortes into the Pacific, thus establishing the fact that California was an island. The story was believed, and Samuel Purchas, in the third volume of "His Pilgrimes," printed a map of North America, representing California as an island, and the Sea of Cortes, the Gulf of California, as a broad channel of enormous length. The views of Purchas were received with favour and generally adopted, and the Spaniards, forgetting the maps then lying in their own archives, apparently shared in the belief, and about the year 1670 the name "California" was on some charts changed to "Las Islas Carolinas," intimating that it was nothing more nor less than a large cluster of islands.

The unsuccessful attempts made in this period by the Spaniards with regard to discovery and development are symbolical of the state of decrepitude into which the one-time mighty Spanish monarchy had fallen. This decadence naturally affected Mexico, even as it did the other colonial possessions of the Empire. Commonplace and pretentious explorers, quixotically styled "admirals," were employed in the maritime service of Spain. Small wonder is it, then, that their accomplishments were insignificant in comparison with the daring

work of such great captains and intrepid explorers as Ulloa, Cabrillo and Vizcaino.

The Reverend Father Venegas avers that one reason why these expeditions to the northward did not succeed was that no care was taken of former reports, surveys, maps or plans. "They were not carefully preserved and made known by print," he observes.

California, thus practically abandoned by the Spanish Government, however, still held the attention of the Jesuits, then powerful and active in both divisions of the western hemisphere. They had established missions on the eastern side of the Gulf of California and throughout the Pacific Provinces of Mexico. Versatile and daring, these men furnished not only missionaries to convert and teach the heathen, but also journalists, cosmographers and historians to nearly all of the Spanish expeditions from earliest times down to the year 1767. For the history of the Jesuits in California one must turn to the "Noticia de la California," by the Jesuit Miguel Venegas, which was published in Madrid in 1757. Of the subsequent history of the Jesuits from 1752 to 1767, when they were expelled from the country, much has been written, but that story is beyond the scope of this work.

While the Jesuits, by their settlements in and explorations of the Peninsula of California, were laying the foundation for further progress towards the Northwest, the Russians from the opposite direction were advancing towards the same region. Indeed, it was Muscovite enterprise that moved the Spanish Government to make a final effort to establish its sovereignty at least as far northward as the fifty-fourth parallel of latitude. In the great work of Arctic exploration which was essentially the occupation of the navigators of the last two centuries, it was first Russia and later England that took the lead. Until comparatively recent times it was to these two nations that the historian and the geographer were principally indebted for a knowledge of Arctic regions. Peter Lauridsen, the biographer of Vitus Bering, remarks that, "The English expeditions were undertaken with better support and under circumstances better designed to attract public attention. They have, moreover, been excellently described and are consequently well known. But in the greatness of the tasks undertaken, in the perseverance of their leaders, in difficulties, dangers and tragic fates, the Russian explorations stand worthily at their side. The geographic positions of the Russians, their dispersion throughout the coldest regions of the earth, their frugal habits, remarkable



power of foresight, and their adventurous spirit, make them especially fitted for Arctic explorations. Hence during the first half of the eighteenth century they accomplished for Asia what the English not until a hundred years later succeeded in doing for the other side of the earth—namely, the charting of the Polar coasts.”

It was the Russians who introduced the system of sledging into the service of Arctic expeditions, and in passing it may be observed that it is only through the systematic development of such means that modern explorers have been able to achieve their most signal triumphs in desolate northern latitudes. The history of Russian exertions in that bleak field is adorned with a series of proud names, but perhaps the greatest of them all is that of Vitus Bering, the Dane. It redounds to the honour of Denmark, as Peter Lauridsen, a member of the Council of the Royal Danish Geographical Society, observes, “that the most brilliant chapter in the history of Russian explorations is due to the initiative and indefatigable energy of Vitus Bering.” In the service of the half-civilized, if not wholly barbaric Peter the Great, he doubled the northeastern peninsula of Asia, and on his return to Russia prepared a plan for explorations which were to reach from the Arctic Sea to Japan.

It was peculiarly fitting that the equipment of Bering's first expedition to the northeast should be one of the last administrative acts of Peter the Great. From his death bed he set in motion forces which in the years that followed were to conquer a new world for human knowledge. It was not until his rugged but mighty spirit was about to depart this world that that work was begun. The death of the great Czar witnessed the birth of a force which was destined to be memorably effective for half a century; and the results then achieved still excite admiration.

It is pertinent to inquire what led Peter to undertake this work. That question is answered by Lauridsen, who avers that he was incited to such a Herculean task “by a desire for booty, by a keen, somewhat barbaric, curiosity, and by a just desire to know the natural boundaries of his dominion. He was no doubt less influenced by the flattery of the French Academy and other institutions than is generally supposed.” Whatever may have been the motives which prompted his activities, his great enterprise certainly brought Russia into the front rank of those nations engaged in geographical exploration. Just before his death he planned no less than three great enter-

prises—the establishment of a mart at the mouth of the River Kur for the Oriental trade, the creation of maritime trade with India, and a scientific expedition to settle once and for all the boundary between Asia and America.

With the first two projects, which, however, did not survive the Czar, this work is not concerned; but Bering tenaciously held to his plan and in the end gave up his life in the accomplishment of his task.

Peter the Great was not a monarch to heed obstacles or to weigh the possibilities of the success of any of his enterprises. His plans, therefore, were always on a grand scale, if the means for carrying them out were often entirely inadequate. His imperious and laconic instructions left no room for doubt as to their intent, nor as to the results of his orders. It is said that on one occasion he addressed his commander-in-chief in Astrakhan, as follows: "When fifteen boats arrive from Kazan, you will sail them to Baku and sack the town." His instructions to his Danish officer were just as terse and characteristic. It seems that they were written in December, 1724, five weeks before his death, and they are substantially as follows: "I.—At Kamchatka or somewhere else, two decked boats ought to be built. II.—With these you are to sail northward along the coast, and as the end of the coast is not known, this land is undoubtedly America. III.—For this reason you are to inquire where the American coast begins and go to some European colony, and when European ships are seen you are to ask what the coast is called, note it down, make a landing, obtain reliable information, and then, after having charted the coast, return." After the navigators of the nations of Western Europe had for two centuries wearied themselves with the search for a northern passage and made strenuous efforts to navigate the Strait of Anian, Russia sought to solve the problem, perhaps in a more practical manner, by first of all looking for the outlet of the strait and starting out on a voyage round the northern part of the Old World. Yet, perhaps some adventurous Russian sailor, unknown and unhonoured, had already solved this problem, because it would seem that the "*Typus Orbis Terrarum*" of Ortelius, printed in 1585, and the even earlier map of Johann Martinez of 1562 or 1565, clearly show the extensive passage long since named in honour of the intrepid explorer, a brief account of whose exploits are now to be related. Or perhaps rumours of the proximity of another continental shore near the northeastern corner of Asia may have drifted across Siberia. From

such a source the early geographers may have obtained an approximately correct idea of the relative positions of the two great continents.

Bering's first expedition was to settle the great question of that age—Were Asia and America connected, or were they separate?—Were there northwest and northeast passages?

If the above mentioned ukase is indicative of anything at all, it would seem to show that the Czar's inquisitive mind was dwelling on the possibility of establishing a line of communication to the Spanish colonies in central America.

A writer of repute has observed that "In the history of discoveries the spirit of human enterprise has sought its way through an incalculable number of mirages. These have aroused the imagination, caused agitations, debates and discussion, but usually have veiled an earlier period's knowledge of the question. There are many re-discovered countries on our globe."

So it may be in this case. The northwestern part of America almost wholly disappeared from the cartography of the seventeenth century. Finally the geographic explorations of the eighteenth century, provoked by political events, a zeal for knowledge and the greed of European nations, led to the settlement of long mooted questions. Russia, towards the end of the seventeenth century, conquered the desolate tracts of Siberia and even penetrated the country of the war-like Chukchees. Deschneff's palisaded fort on the Anadyr River maintained Russian authority in extreme northeast Kamchatka in the early years of the eighteenth century, and thence came to Russia the first vague rumours concerning the Pacific side of the continent of America. It was the genius of the Czar Peter that welded these groping efforts into something like order. Ivan Kosyrefski, the son of a Polish officer in Russian captivity, was ordered to explore the peninsula to its southern extremity, and some of the Kurile Islands. In 1719 he despatched Yevrinoff and Lushin to ascertain whether Asia and America were connected, but secretly he instructed them to search the Kurile Islands instead for precious minerals. These and various other expeditions collected a vast mass of information touching the geography of eastern Asia, the sea of Okhotsk, Kamchatka, and the Kuriles. Shipwrecked Japanese had also given valuable information respecting their country.

The two expeditions of Vitus Bering are possibly unique in the history of far northern explorations. Lauridsen, upon whose book

the following narrative is largely based, says that the real starting point was far beyond the farthest verge of civilization, where as yet only the daring hunter and yassak-collector had preceded him. At that time Kamchatka was as wild and unknown a region as the North and South Poles are today. One hundred and thirty degrees of the earth's most inhospitable tracts—mountains, steppes, impenetrable forests, morasses and fields of trackless snow, lay between St. Petersburg and the Kamchatkan Peninsula, whither Bering was to lead, not a small expedition, such as Sir Alexander Mackenzie led across the American continent, but an enormous provision train which was also burdened with material for ship-building. On that memorable journey, which seems to have almost entirely escaped the notice of succeeding generations, flat-bottomed river boats or scows had to be built by the score, rough roadways constructed through morasses, or cut through forests. Or again it would be necessary to resort to horses, or sledges drawn by dogs. Through the dreary and desolate wastes of the Yakuts and Tunguses lay the course of this wonderful expedition. As a matter of fact, Bering's undertaking loses nothing in comparison with the explorations of Franklin, Mackenzie, Nansen, Peary, Amundsen, Scott, Shackleton, and many others who have traversed the Arctic regions. In some respects perhaps their expeditions, with the lightest of equipments, are not to be compared with Bering's effort.

In February and January, 1725, the expedition left St. Petersburg. The officers were the two Danes, Vitus Bering, Commander-in-Chief, Martin Spangberg, Lieutenant and second in Command, Lieutenant Alexei Chirikoff and Second Lieutenant Peter Chaplin; the cartographers, Lushin and Patiloff, Dr. Niemann and the Reverend Ilarion, and the mates, Richard Engel and George Morison. The sufferings and hardships endured on that hazardous journey were indeed terrific, but finally, on March 11, 1728, Bering reached his destination at the lower Kamchatkan Ostrog (or stockaded post), where he found a church and forty huts scattered along the banks of the river. Here lived a handful of Cossacks who, in that distant and barbarous land maintained the sovereignty of the Czar of all the Russias. The deprivations and isolation of that barren region had had their effect upon the men and they were scarcely more civilized than the natives whom they ruled and knouted.

Here, with no other resources than those he had brought with him or was able to find in the country, Bering built the *Gabriel*, a vessel staunch enough to withstand the buffetings of heavy gales. It is related that the timber for this vessel was hauled to the shipyards by dogs; that the tar was manufactured by the sailors; while the riggings, cable and anchors had been dragged two thousand miles through the Siberian wilderness. As for the sailor's provisions—"Fish oil was his butter and dried fish his beef and pork"; salt he was obliged to get from the sea, and he distilled spirits from sweet straw. With this meagre supply and with his crude vessel Bering started upon a voyage of discovery along an unknown coast and upon an unknown sea. "It is certain," says Dr. Campbell, "that no person better fitted for this undertaking could have been found; no difficulty, no danger, daunted him. With untiring industry and almost incredible patience he overcame those defects which to any one else would have seemed insurmountable."

On July 9, 1728, the *Gabriel* drifted down the river and the 13th of that month the sails were hoisted and the prow of the little vessel pointed towards the north.

Bering's course was generally along the coast and usually within sight of land. He proceeded to a point near  $67^{\circ} 18'$  north latitude, and  $193^{\circ} 7'$  east of Greenwich, thus establishing the fact that the continents of Asia and America were separated by a sea, the limits of which, however, he failed to determine. On account of cloudy weather he did not even catch a glimpse of the American continent. According to Du Halde, "This was Captain Bering's most northerly point. He thought that he had accomplished his task and obeyed orders, especially as he could no longer see the coast extending toward the north in the same way." Fearing that if he should go farther he might not be able to return to Kamchatka before the end of the summer, he determined to return to his base. On the 31st of August, after a severe buffeting by a gale in which the mainsail and foresail were rent and the anchor lost, the intrepid explorer reached the mouth of the Kamchatka on September 22, 1728. From the knowledge he had gained of his own expedition and from that he had gleaned from Deschneff's earlier expedition, and from accounts he had gathered from the natives of the country, Bering was convinced that he had sailed around the northeastern corner of Asia, and that his voyage had demonstrated that the two great continents were not

connected. From St. Petersburg it was announced that "Bering has ascertained that there really does exist a northeast passage and that from the Lena River it is possible, provided one is not prevented by polar ice, to sail to Kamchatka and thence to Japan, China and the East Indies." It may be taken for granted that it was this conviction that led him to undertake his next great enterprise, the navigating and charting of the Northeast Passage from the Obi River to Japan.

It is unfortunate that the explorer was prevented from discovering the adjacent American continent. At the narrowest part of it, Bering's Strait is scarcely forty miles wide, and under favourable climatic conditions it is possible to see simultaneously the coast lines of both continents. Captain James Cook was more fortunate than the great Dane, for as he approached the strait the rays of the sun dispersed the mists and fogs and at one glance both continents were seen, so Lauridsen affirms. With Bering, as his journal explains, during the whole time that he was in the strait the horizon was hidden by dark clouds.

In 1729 Bering once more started out upon a voyage of exploration, and although he actually reached the vicinity of the island upon which later he ended his days, the locality was obscured from his sight by heavy fogs. The remainder of the summer the navigator employed in more accurately charting the peninsula and the northern Kurile Islands. He also explored the channel between them and the new and easier route to Kamchatka. In 1730 Bering returned to Russia.

Now if his work had amounted to no more than his accomplishments of the years 1728 and 1729, Bering would still have been entitled to the just admiration of succeeding generations of navigators. "From the perusal of his ship's journal," says one who could speak with authority, "one becomes convinced that our famous Bering was an extraordinarily able and skilful officer; and if we consider his defective instruments, his great hardships and the obstacles that had to be overcome, his observations and the great accuracy of his journal deserve the highest praise. He was a man who did Russia honour." His knowledge of and extensive travels in northeastern Asia, his scientific qualifications, his ability to make careful and accurate observations, and his acquaintance with the works of earlier and contemporary explorers, put him in a position to form a more correct

idea of that part of the earth than any other living man. No man, however, is a prophet in his own country, and Bering was obliged to submit to the indignity of having his work questioned and even contradicted by the authorities of St. Petersburg. In Ivan Kirilovich Kiriloff, indeed, he found a friend in need, but other members of the Academy of Sciences refused to weigh his evidence, sound as it was.

As important and as memorable as Vitus Bering's first expedition was in the annals of discovery, it was neither so important nor so memorable as that second expedition which resulted in the discovery of the far northwestern region of America, afterward named Alaska. Upon his return to Russia, imbued with a desire to explore further the regions he had recently visited, and to sail the unknown sea to the eastward, he began to make plans for future operations. Two months had barely elapsed after his return before he presented two plans to the Russian Admiralty. In the first he submitted a series of suggestions for the better administration of Eastern Siberia, while in the second he outlined his Great Northern Expedition, perhaps one of the greatest geographical enterprises the world has ever known. This document clearly demonstrates the fact that the plan originated with Bering—a fact which is important because it has since been stated that the idea was not his own. He proposed to explore and chart the western coast of America and to establish commercial relations with that country, and also to visit Japan for the same purpose, as well as to chart by land and sea the Arctic coast of Siberia. It was his object to fill the vacant spaces on his chart of the region between the known west and the known east, since doubts had been thrown upon his first achievement. He knew that proof of the separation of the two continents would be forthcoming if the American coast were charted.

The political situation favoured Bering's plans. Anna Ivanovna, who succeeded Catharine, had ascended the throne in 1730, and at her court foreigners and the reform party of Peter the Great again became influential. The Empress was ambitious and desired to shine in Europe as the ruler of a great empire—"Europe was to be awed by Russian greatness and Russia by European wisdom." Anna deemed that one of the surest ways to attain the desired end was through the equipment of scientific expeditions. She had at her disposal an Academy of Science, a fleet, and the resources of a mighty empire. It was therefore the desire of the Court to make the enter-

prise as large and sensational as possible. Bering's proposals, it is true, served as a basis for the plans of the Empress, but after the lapse of two years these simple proposals, through the intervention of the Senate, the Academy, and the Admiralty, assumed such vast proportions that it may well be conceived that the originator had difficulty in recognizing them. In April, 1732, the Empress charged the Senate to take the necessary steps to ensure the execution of the scheme.

At this time the Senate was presided over by Ivan Kiriloff, who had been one of the most enthusiastic admirers of Peter the Great. He acted with despatch. On May 2nd, the Senate promulgated two ukases, in which were declared the objects of the expedition, and the necessary means to that end indicated. It was at this point in the preparations that the governing bodies burdened the chief of the expedition with tasks very far removed from his original plans. He was directed to not only explore the islands of the North Pacific and to reach the Spanish possessions in America, but to also provide for the development of Siberia. It is peculiar that an explorer charged with a certain and definite mission—that of reaching and charting northwest America—should be directed to supply Okhotsk with inhabitants, to introduce cattle on the Pacific Coast, to found schools and to establish a dock-yard and iron works in that out-of-the-way corner of the world. But even this was only the beginning of a still larger program. In its passage through the Admiralty and the Academy, his commission assumed startling dimensions. The Admiralty on the one hand desired the charting of Asia from Archangel to Japan; while the Academy could not be satisfied with anything less than a scientific exploration of all northern Asia. Thus decree after decree followed in rapid succession. Late in December, 1732, the Senate issued a ukase, the sixteen paragraphs of which outlined more or less minutely the explorations to be undertaken by the expedition.

To sum up—Bering, now a Commodore in the Russian Navy, with Chirikoff as his Lieutenant, was placed in command of a triple expedition, which was to cover northwestern America, Japan and the Arctic regions. Even such an expedition as this, it would appear, exceeded all reasonable demands, and not for several generations later did Cook, La Perouse, and Vancouver succeed in accomplishing what the Russian Senate expected Bering to do in a few short years.



The Admiralty desired accurate charts; and the Academy a scientific exploration of Siberia and Kamchatka. Not only "an account of these regions based on astronomical determinations and geodetic surveys, on minute descriptions and artistically executed landscape pictures, on barometric, thermometric and aerometric observations, as well as investigations in all the branches of natural history," was demanded but also "a detailed preparation of the ethnography, colonization and history of the country together with a multitude of special investigations in widely different directions." The Senate had thrust the whole organization and the conduct of this business upon the shoulders of one man. Bering was made chief of all the enterprises east of the Ural Mountains. He was to furnish ships, provisions and transportation. It is small wonder therefore that an expedition planned upon such loose principles, and to serve such diversified interests resulted in almost complete failure.

Bearing in mind what Siberia was at that time and the stupendous obstacles it offered to the transportation of such an expedition as this, it seems almost ridiculous in these later days to read that the academical branch of the undertaking, in charge of the astronomer La Croyere, the physicist Gmelin (the elder) and the historian Müller, was luxuriously equipped. "Two landscape painters, one surgeon, one interpreter, one instrument maker, five surveyors, six scientific assistants and fourteen bodyguards," made up the retinue of the men of science. The expedition began to move from St. Petersburg in detachments in the early months of 1733. It consisted in all of five hundred and seventy men, in which total, however, the thirty or forty academists and their attendants are not included. More than half of the officers, many of the non-commissioned officers, and all of the physicians were foreigners,—a fact which throws an interesting sidelight on the social condition of the Russia of that period. The Senate, by promise of large increase of salary and of promotion, if the expedition proved successful, sought to inspire the officers with zeal. But the rank and file were to be forced to do their duty "by threat of cruel punishments and a continued stay in Siberia." It has been asserted that Bering's expedition was looked upon in St. Petersburg as a mild sort of banishment.

In time Bering reached the Kamchatkan Peninsula where he founded the seaport of Petropavlovsk at the mouth of Kamchatka River in 1740, seven years after his departure from St. Petersburg.

The two little vessels, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which had been built at Okhotsk, sailed in September, 1740, for Petropavlovsk, where they were frugally outfitted for a summer's cruise. Neither their stores nor rigging were complete or even adequate, but this did not deter the brave Dane from embarking upon his hazardous undertaking. Nor was this all. The incessant toil and heavy hardships, the necessary accompaniment of such a vast enterprise, had already undermined the commander's health. When Bering sailed from Kamchatka he was physically a wreck. The *St. Peter* was commanded by Vitus Bering and the *St. Paul* by Alexei Chirikoff. With Bering sailed the naturalist Georg Wilhelm Steller, whose history of the expedition may be counted among the most interesting of geographic memoirs. The French geographer, Joseph Nicholas Delisle de la Croyere, accompanied Chirikoff.

On the 4th of June, 1741, the vessels started on their memorable voyage, but on the 20th were separated in a storm and fog and after ineffectual attempts on the part of the *St. Peter* to get in touch with the *St. Paul*, the search was abandoned and the *St. Peter* continued the voyage, taking a course between north and east toward the western continent. Bering now and from this time on was confined to his cabin, suffering from incipient scurvy which crushed his powers of resistance. At noon on the 16th day of July, 1741, land was seen to the northward, and on the 20th the *St. Peter* cast anchor off an island, which Bering named St. Elias. The country is described by Steller as being high, rugged and covered with snow, and the coast indented and girt with inhospitable rocks; behind, in splendour, a snow-capped mountain peak towered so far into the clouds that it could be seen at a distance of seventy miles. The mountain thus described may have been the great volcanic cone of St. Elias, some eighteen thousand feet in height. The vessel remained here a few days and then proceeded in a northwesterly direction for the purpose of examining the continental shore and the adjacent islands. Steller, ambitious to give a detailed account of the fauna and flora of the locality, was greatly perturbed by this decision and in his diary gives full vent to his ill-humour. Bering's object was to chart the coast, while Steller wished to pursue his scientific investigations, hence the difference of opinion.

It is not easy to determine exactly the landfall of Bering. The explorer's own journal gives the latitude as 59° 40' and the longi-

tude as  $48^{\circ} 50'$  east of Avatcha, but these calculations contain an error of some eight degrees. Cook himself was uncertain on this point and cautiously writes that Müller's report of the voyage is "so very much abridged, and the chart so extremely inaccurate, that it is hardly possible, either by the one or by the other, or comparing both together, to find out any one place which that navigator either saw or touched at. Were I to form a judgment of Bering's proceedings on this coast, I should suppose, that he fell in with the continent near Mount Fairweather. But I am by no means certain, that the bay to which I have given his name, is the place where he anchored. Nor do I know, that what I called Mount St. Elias, is the same conspicuous mountain to which he gave that name. And as to his Cape St. Elias, I am entirely at a loss to pronounce where it lies." For a full discussion of this point one must turn to Professor Davidson's able monograph entitled "Tracks and Landfalls of Bering and Chirikoff."

For several weeks the *St. Peter* lay off and on the coast, and while in the region of the Kadiak Island, Bering named a high projecting cape St. Hermogenes, in honour of the patron saint of the day on which it was sighted. During the succeeding weeks the *St. Peter* was buffeted by wind and wave on the turbulent waters of the Aleutian Archipelago. On August 30th, the *St. Peter* anchored off the Shumagin group of barren and rocky islands near the coast of Alaska. Bering was so ill that he could not stand, and one-third of the crew was stricken with scurvy. To refresh the sick they were carried ashore, where they lay huddled together, sad and sorrowful. Confusion, uncertainty and despair marked these dark days. The officers quarrelled and bandied hot words, and the unfortunate stay on the Shumagin Islands was marked with death and disaster.

Leaving the Shumagin Islands, the *St. Peter* sailed southward to pick up her course for Kamchatka. At times the officers expressed a wish to return to America, to seek a harbour of refuge for the winter, but Bering would not sanction the project. Finally, on November 4th, land was sighted in the supposed latitude of  $53^{\circ} 30'$ . This brought joy and hope to all on board of the *St. Peter*. It was presumed the vessel was off the coast of Kamchatka, but instead of this, the land in view was but an island off the coast of that peninsula since named the Commander, or Bering Islands.

Certain of the officers resolved to make a landing, greatly against the wishes of their commander. He was helpless, however, as he was practically at death's door with scurvy. The *St. Peter* had miraculously drifted into a safe harbour off Bering Island of the Commander group of islands. On landing, the place was found to be teeming with animal life never before disturbed by predatory human beings. The sea-lion and fur-seal were found in great numbers, while the ponderous sea-cow fed upon the rich algae of the seashore. Steller relates that the animals of the coast were entirely new and strange even to him, and showed no fear whatever. The sea-otters, they first supposed to be bears or gluttons. Arctic foxes flocked about them in such numbers that they could strike down three or four score of them in a couple of hours. The most valuable fur-bearing animals stared at them curiously, and along the coast Steller saw with wonderment "whole herds of sea-cows, grazing on the luxuriant algae of the strand." Not only he had never seen this animal before, but even his Kamchatkan cossack did not know it.

Steller wisely began to make preparations for the winter and in the sand bank near the stream he and such of his companions as could stand the work dug a pit and roofed it over with driftwood and clothing. The frozen bodies of the foxes they had killed were piled against the sides to prevent the arctic wind finding its way through the cracks and crevices. The sick were gradually taken ashore and placed under canvas on the beach. Some died as they were carried on deck, and others in the boats as they were being taken on shore. On every side lay the sick and the dying. "Some complained of cold, others of hunger and thirst, and the majority of them were so afflicted with scurvy that their gums, like a dark brown sponge, grew over and entirely covered their teeth. The dead became the prey of the foxes, of which countless numbers gathered about the encampment ready to devour the dead or attack the dying." So it is pathetically recorded by Steller.

By December the whole crew was lodged in roofed pits. The provisions were divided among the messes, so that every man daily received a pound of flour and some groats until the supply was exhausted. Naturally the chase was depended upon for sustenance almost exclusively. In this way the men succeeded in struggling through the rigorous winter, but in spite of all Steller's precautions, death made sad havoc amongst them. In the council held on board

the *St. Peter* when land was sighted, the spirit of the great but unhappy commander had flared up and for the hour some of his old force and vigour returned to him, but it was only the last effort of a dying man. He had exerted all his remaining powers to prevent the landing from the *St. Peter* and that exertion had knelled his doom.

Before leaving Okhotsk, Bering had contracted a malignant ague which had undermined his constitution and in this last expedition scurvy had claimed him as a victim. He was sixty years old and heavily built. He was worn out with suffering and anxiety; he was broken in health and in spirit; yet he would no doubt have recovered if he had obtained proper nourishment and warmth. In a sand pit on Bering Island there could be no hope for him. Blubber was the only medicine at hand and for this he had an unconquerable loathing. Nor were the frightful sufferings of his men, his disappointment at the fate of the great northern expedition, calculated to relieve his mind or to restore health to his body. From hunger, cold and grief he slowly pined away. An old record has preserved an account of his death. He was, as it were, buried alive. The sand from the sides of the pit where he lay kept continually rolling down over his feet. At first it was removed, but towards the end he asked that it might remain where it had fallen, as it furnished him with a little of the warmth he so sorely needed. Soon half of his body was under the sand, which in life had served him as a coverlet, and in death became his winding sheet. He died on the 8th of December (old style), 1741, two hours before the bleak day dawned. So passed the great Dane and so ended the long drawn-out tragedy of the great northern expedition.

With Bering died that dynamic force which had driven forward persistently and relentlessly two great geographic expeditions. Through long, weary years he struggled in Siberia "to combine and execute plans and purposes, which only under the greatest difficulties could be combined and executed." With an indomitable will and persistent activity he endeavoured to "bridge the chasm between means and measures, between ability to do and will to do—a condition typical of the Russian society at that time." That he surmounted the difficulties presented by a distant and unsympathetic government; the voice of the traducer, a severe climate, ill-chosen associates and an inexperienced force of men, speaks volumes for his pertinacity and courage. From St. Petersburg across

Siberian wastes; from Kamchatka through an unknown sea to the inhospitable coast of Alaska; from Alaska to the mist-enshrouded Commander Islands, where the closing scene of this great tragedy was enacted, which ended, like the tragedies of old, in the death of the hero—surely in that day this was no mean performance, no small accomplishment.

Through stress of weather and fog it will be remembered the *St. Paul*, under command of Alexei Chirikoff, was separated from the *St. Peter*, the two vessels failing again to come together. Chirikoff, with the advice of his officers, having decided to continue the easterly course, found himself on the 26th of June in latitude  $48^{\circ}$  and it chanced that on the 30th day of the same month Bering was only twenty miles south of that position. As early as the 11th of July Chirikoff noticed driftwood, seals and gulls. He was then some two hundred and forty miles from land. Three or four days later in the night he sighted the moderately high land of the west coast of the Archipelago Alexandria, near the latitude  $55^{\circ} 21'$ , and on the following morning the conspicuous promontory afterwards named Cape Addington. Continuing on his way, the navigator observed a group of small, rocky islands on his port bow. This group was named the Hazy Islands by Captain Dixon in 1787. The *St. Paul* ran N. W. W. parallel to the coast under the steep, woody ridge north of the Cape Ommaney of Captain Vancouver, the Cape "Tschjrikoff of La Perouse." On the 17th it was estimated that the vessel was in latitude  $57^{\circ}$  in the region of Sitka Sound, which is a great indentation about one hundred and fifty square miles in this bold coast. In this neighbourhood a terrible disaster befell Chirikoff and his people. On the 17th of July, being in need of fresh water, the explorer despatched a boat manned by ten of his best seamen to the shore. Neither this boat, nor the one sent in search of it, which was the only boat remaining, ever returned or were they heard of again, and in all probability the men in charge of them fell victims to the savages that inhabited the place. Chirikoff was on an unknown and dangerous coast. He had no other boat and his numbers were greatly reduced by this calamity. At this juncture a council of officers decided that further attempts at geographical discovery were impracticable and that therefore the only thing to do was to return to Kamchatka.

There has been no little discussion as to the position of the large bay where the terrible disaster overtook Chirikoff. As a matter of geographic interest it may be stated that the general consensus of geographers and historians who have considered the matter is that the disaster occurred in Sitka Sound. It is well known that the natives of this region were powerful, overbearing and aggressive. At a later period they nearly succeeded in driving the Russians from their lands and they retained their warlike reputation even up to the time of the occupation of the country by the United States. It is therefore likely that they were prompt to resent any imprudence or ill treatment by a body of strangers. Professor George Davidson, whose personal knowledge of that whole coast line was extensive and whose researches add weight to his deductions, points out that there is a bare possibility that the disaster may have occurred in the neighbourhood of latitude  $57^{\circ} 15'$ , where is situated the comparatively small, but open bay named Guadalupe by the Spaniard Heceta, in 1775. But an examination of the explorers who have coasted these shores seems strongly to point to Sitka Sound as the great bay of Chirikoff.

After spending four months in that sea, Chirikoff, who had been a victim of the dreaded scurvy, returned to the harbour of Petropavlovsk. Thus ended the voyage, which was disastrous to the men engaged in it, important as it was geographically. Chirikoff recovered from his illness and searched the neighbouring seas in the hopes of meeting with Bering, but without success.

The operations of the Russians in Kamchatka and the voyages of Bering resulted in the important discovery of the hitherto unknown fur-bearing animal—the sea-otter. It was the costly pelt of this beautiful creature which offered the chief inducements for further expeditions and explorations in the sea which separates northeastern Asia and northwestern America. On the island where Bering died his crew killed many of these animals, the skins of which were later sold to Chinese merchants for large sums of money.

The Russian government, possibly tired of the worry and expense involved in the prosecution of trans-Siberian and American adventures, did not follow up the explorations of Bering, but enterprising individuals were always found to fit out expeditions for the hunting of the sea-otter. In the course of their traffickings they explored the Aleutian Islands, returning with rude sketches and maps. A brief sketch of these expeditions will suffice.

Altasoff and his band of Russians, Tartars and Cossacks arrived at Kamchatka toward the end of the seventeenth century and found the sea-otter, which abounded on the coast up to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the adventurers almost extirpated it in that country. One by one the numerous islands and groups of islands in that quarter of the globe were found by these rude explorers, who braved storm, shipwreck and death in their crazy vessels, the planks of which in many instances were held together only by thongs of rawhide. Thus different groups of the Aleutian chain were discovered before Glottoff, of infamous memory, reached the Kadiak Islands in 1763. In 1764 to 1768 Synd, a lieutenant of the Russian navy, explored Bering Strait. In fact, innumerable traders and adventurers, inflamed with the desire to make fortunes in the fur trade, voyaged into Bering Sea and among the Aleutian Islands, and before 1778, when Captain Cook visited that region, the Russians were firmly established there. The traders, Dr. Dall remarks, were men of no education and were governed only by their base passions and love of gain. Nevertheless their voyages added much to the knowledge of the islands between Kamchatka and America.

During these years many Russian companies or associations were formed in eastern Siberia and their officers and men searched the whole Aleutian chain for the haunts of the sea-otter. At one time there were as many as twenty-five or thirty of these companies engaged in the enterprise, and so devastating were their operations that the number of animals dwindled from tens of thousands to tens of hundreds in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. As the sea-otter became scarcer, the fur traders turned their attention to the great herds of the fur-seal, which had long been noted but not considered of great value commercially. While the pelt of the fur-seal was not nearly so valuable as that of the sea-otter, yet it soon came to be looked upon as an excellent substitute for the latter. In time the traders turned their attention to Bering Sea, and in 1786, after more than eighteen years of unremitting search, the seal rookeries were discovered by a rugged Muscovite ship's mate, Pribyloff by name. He at once took possession of the islands in the name of Russia, and upon them his name was subsequently bestowed. Prior to this, however, in 1781, Gregory Shelikoff and other Siberian merchants who had been engaged in the fur trade returned to Asia and



formed an association, and two years later fitted out three vessels which traversed the Pacific to the Peninsula of Alaska. The following year Shelikoff erected a factory on Kadiak, from which place he despatched expeditions to explore the neighbouring continent and to establish trading posts. In 1790 he organized at Irkutsk the Shelikoff Company, which, through the patronage of Empress Catharine II, secured a partial monopoly of the American fur trade. Alexander Baranoff, of Sitka fame, was placed in the management of the factories at Kadiak and Cook's Inlet. But the operations of independent traders were so disastrous to the Irkutsk Company, which, moreover, had suffered by the death of Shelikoff, that the most powerful of the rivals were persuaded to unite their interests with the older association under the name of the "Shelikoff United Trading Company." Further inroads into the company's field by new competitors induced the company to seek a grant of the fur trade in America and the Aleutian Islands from the Court at St. Petersburg, which was finally granted by the Emperor Paul on June 8, 1799, and under imperial ukase the "Russian-American Company" was organized. This grant gave to the company the control of all the coasts of America on the Pacific north of latitude  $55^{\circ}$ . The ukase created a powerful organization similar in its essential features to that established in North America under the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in India by the East India Company. By its terms the Russian-American Company practically became the agent of the Czar within the region named. The head office of the Company, originally at Irkutsk, was soon transferred to St. Petersburg, where most of the grand ducal families became shareholders in the enterprise, thus insuring a continuance of the favour and aid of the crown. In the territory itself, men and things were under the direction of the autocratic government of Baranoff, who at first resided at Kadiak. Other posts and districts were managed by inferior agents, accountable only to the chief director. As for the regulations, Professor Dall observes that they were just and humane but the enforcement of them was entrusted to men with whom justice and humanity were always subservient to interest and expediency. The morale of the company's servants has been summed up by Krusenstern in the trenchant sentences: "None but vagabonds and adventurers ever entered the company's service as *promishleniks*";—"It was their invariable destiny to pass a life of wretchedness in America"; and "few had the

good fortune ever to touch Russian soil again." In the days, however, when New Archangel, or Sitka, was the seat of government, many men of refinement and intelligence, with a high sense of honour and justice, were stationed in that little bit of old Russia transplanted into the new world.

Shortly after the promulgation of the ukase of 1799, Baranoff established Fort Archangel Gabriel, Sitka Sound, to which place he was accompanied by a large concourse of Aleutians. British and American adventurers, however, had already found their way to the Northwest coast, of which the first reliable information was given to the world by Captain Cook, and the Russians were often obliged to purchase their entire outfits in order to forestall competition. The Thlinkets, a warlike tribe, resented the intrusion of the Russians and fought desperately for their independence. In May, 1802, they attacked Fort Archangel Gabriel and drove out the garrison, killing all the officers and thirty men. In Yakutat Bay the Thlinkets made a determined attack upon the establishment there, but were repulsed; but in the attack upon Urbanoff and his fleet of ninety canoes in Kake Strait, the natives were victorious. In spite of the natives, however, Baranoff laid the foundation of the new fort at Sitka, which he called Fort Archangel Michael, and the settlement about it was christened New Archangel.

In these and the following years various scientific expeditions were fitted out by the Government of Russia, notable among them being the expedition of Krusenstern and Lisianski, who in 1804, 1805 and 1806 examined many of the unknown fiords and islands on the coast. Langsdorff also visited the Aleutian Islands at this time. These explorers were followed by Golofnin in 1807 and again in 1810. Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue visited Bering Strait in 1815. In after years Lutke, Wrangell, Etolin, Lazareff and many explorers of lesser fame charted the coast and islands and plied the northern waters in all directions. They discovered islands, observed volcanoes and described the fauna and flora of the region so thoroughly that long before Alaska was ceded to the United States in 1867, Bering Sea, the wonderful chain of the Aleutian Islands, and the Northwest coast of America, and even the shores of the Arctic regions to the northeast of Bering Strait, were almost as familiar to the Russians as European seas and shores.

It must not be imagined, however, that the activities of the Russians were confined to Alaska. On the contrary it was the ambition of Baranoff, the great governor of the Russian-American Company, to plant the Russian flag not only on the Californian coast but also on the Sandwich Islands. In 1812 the governor was successful in carrying his point with regard to California, and under his protection Kushoff founded a Russian colony on Bodega Bay. This was done with the concurrence of the Spanish Government, although against the wishes of the Franciscan missionaries. The colony was called the Ross Settlement and the men stationed there were chiefly employed in agricultural pursuits and in drying the meat of wild cattle, which ranged in that neighbourhood. The post was finally abandoned in 1841 because the Russian-American Company had entered into an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, under the terms of which the latter were to furnish the Russians annually with large quantities of fresh provisions and other necessaries. In 1839 the British Company agreed to furnish its Russian rival with 560,000 pounds of wheat, 19,920 pounds of flour, 16,160 pounds of peas, 16,160 pounds of barley, 36,880 pounds of bacon, 19,920 pounds of beef and 3,680 pounds of ham at certain fixed prices. All of these were the products of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, which under the administration of the famous Dr. McLaughlin, had become an important agricultural centre, even in those early days.

For a period of sixty-eight years—from 1799 to 1867—the Russian-American Company ruled Alaska, but in summing up the results of its policies and activities little can be said in its favour in the light of the ethics and standards of today, though in some respects the present generation has little right to criticise the earlier generations of the so-called darker ages. Possibly the Russian atrocities in Alaska were no worse than those perpetrated in later years by the Belgians in the Congo or by the Turks in Armenia. An effort was made by Russian missionaries of the Greek church to convert the Aleutians and the warlike Thlinkets and other barbarous tribes, and they succeeded in ameliorating the condition of the natives. They established schools, churches and hospitals and worked faithfully and untiringly for a people whose minds were perhaps not able to grasp the great truths of Christianity. But the primitive inhabitants of Northwest America, ignorant, superstitious and cunning, yet child-

like in many ways, could not survive the contact with that brutal force which the fur wealth of the isolated islands and territories had attracted thither.

In 1866 William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, proposed the purchase of Alaska from the Russians and negotiations with that end in view were opened with St. Petersburg. Professor Dall records, although he cannot vouch for the truth of the story, that these negotiations had their origin in the efforts of a company of United States citizens to purchase Alaska in order to carry on there a trade in fish, fur and timber, and that Seward, who had been asked to assist them, finding Russia willing to sell, secured the territory, not for the private company but for the nation. Be this as it may, on the 30th of March, 1867, the treaty of sale was agreed upon; on May 28th it was ratified by the United States and proclaimed by the President on June 20th. On the 6th of September, 1867, Gen. Jefferson C. Davis, U. S. A., was appointed commander of the military district of Alaska. Russian America was formally surrendered by the Russian colonial authorities to Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau, U. S. A., who had been appointed by the President to receive the territory, on October 18, 1867.

Thus ended the chapter of Russian activities in America. The history of that occupation is too often sordid and depressing, yet, with all its shortcomings and failures, it was in many respects a brilliant and heroic achievement. The outstanding features of the story are the voyages of Bering and Chirikoff; the adventures of the early Russian fur traders; the founding of the Russian-American Company in 1799; the scientific expeditions of Krusenstern and Lisianski, Commodore Billings, Kotzebue and others to northwestern America and Bering Sea; the emperor's ukase of 1821, claiming all territories north of the fifty-first parallel and the discussions which it aroused; the convention of 1824 between the United States and Russia; the convention of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia; the disputes between the Hudson's Bay and Russian-American Companies and their settlement; the operations of the British and French fleets in the north Pacific during the time of the Crimean war; and the cession of the territory to the United States in the year 1867.

However, by far the most important result of that occupation was the bequest of the famous Alaskan boundary dispute to the statesmen of Great Britain and the United States of a later day and gen-

eration. For long years the eastern boundary of the Territory of Alaska was the subject of diplomatic discussion between the two countries—a discussion which was not laid at rest until the Alaska Boundary Tribunal handed down its award in 1903.







MAP OF WESTERN NORTH AMERICA, CIRCA. 1775



## CHAPTER V

### CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

In 1780 all that was known of the northwest coast was contained in the meagre reports of the expeditions of the Spaniards, Perez, Martinez, Heceta, Bodega y Quadra and Maurelle. Gradually, however, the lines of exploration converged towards that untravelled land that had hitherto defied all efforts to fathom its mystery. As a matter of fact the western slope of the North American continent—from the ramparts of the Rocky Mountains, to the islands that guard the continental coastline—was among the last of the American territories to be conquered by the explorer. Here and there a corner of the veil had been lifted by Russian and Spaniard, but it was not dreamed that behind it lay immeasurable potential wealth in vast forests, rolling plateaux, fertile valleys, and unfathomed mines of gold and silver. Glimpses of it had been caught, but as through a glass darkly. And that was all.

Now, a new force was to be directed to the far northwest coast; and novel and discordant elements were to enter into the discussions concerning it. Unknown though it then was, with limits still undefined, the Pacific slope was destined within a few years to come within the purview of European diplomacy, and to be a conspicuous feature in the zone of international politics.

The desire for knowledge of new lands and seas, which had found expression during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the arduous and successful exertions of mariners and travellers, gradually subsided and had lain for a time dormant; but it was revived in Great Britain in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the English navigators of that age emulated the achievements of earlier generations. Of the names associated with this revival of maritime enterprise, that of Captain James Cook stands first and foremost.

Upon the conclusion of his second great Australian expedition, he was entrusted with another mission of equal, if not greater, importance. The Northwest Passage had again become the subject of animated discussion amongst geographers and men of science. It was agreed by the Admiralty that a scientific and exploring expedition, under the auspices of the British Crown, should be despatched to the northwest coast of America for the purpose of establishing the truth or falsity of the accounts regarding the existence of a navigable waterway connecting the two great oceans.

The first British scientific expedition, the aim of which was to discover the western approach of the supposed northern passage between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, was conceived, planned and sent on its way in 1776 by the Earl of Sandwich, then the First Lord of the Admiralty. The operations proposed to be pursued were so new, so extensive and so various that the skill and experience of Captain Cook, who but a short time previous had returned to England from his second voyage of circumnavigating the globe, seemed the one man of all others best fitted to conduct them. In addition to other rewards for his inestimable service to his country, and the world at large, he had been appointed to the command of Greenwich Hospital, there to enjoy the fame he had dearly earned; but he cheerfully relinquished this honourable station at home to engage in the conduct of an expedition that would expose him to the toils and perils of a third circumnavigation by a track hitherto unattempted. Heretofore, in the search for the Northwest Passage, British navigators, with the solitary exception of Sir Francis Drake, had confined their attention to the northeastern shores of the continent, but on this occasion the usual plan was to be reversed. The great task now before Captain Cook was to reach the high northern latitudes between Asia and America, and, instead of making a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. Cook was therefore ordered to proceed into the Pacific ocean, through the chain of islands discovered by him in the southern tropic, and to hold such a course northward to the principal scene of his operations.

The plan of the voyage can best be given from the secret instructions which were issued by the Admiralty: It was directed that he should attempt to find out a northern passage by sea from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean; that he should proceed with two sloops directly,

to the Cape of Good Hope, unless it was found necessary to stop at Madeira, Cape de Verde, or the Canary Islands; then to leave the Cape of Good Hope and proceed southward in search of some islands purported to have been seen by the French about the meridian of Mauritius. In case islands were found, Cook was to examine them thoroughly for a good harbour. It was planned he should stop at Otaheite, or Society Islands, touching at New Zealand on the way. At Otaheite he was to leave Omai, a chief of that island, who had been taken by Cook to England on a former voyage. Cook was strictly enjoined not "to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the Western continent of America, unless driven thither by some unavoidable accident; in which case you are to stay no longer there than shall be absolutely necessary, and to be very careful not to give any umbrage or offense to any of the inhabitants or subjects of His Catholic Majesty. And if, in your farther progress to the Northward, as hereafter directed, you find any subjects of any European Prince or State upon any part of the coast you may think proper to visit, you are not to disturb them, or give them any just cause of offense, but, on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendship."

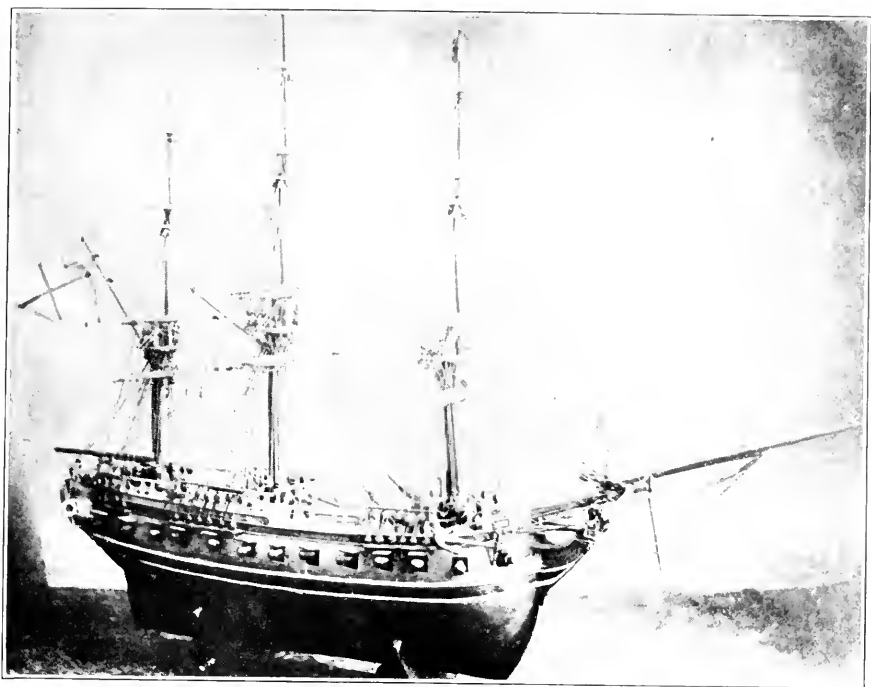
The navigator was further instructed to reach latitude  $65^{\circ}$ , or further, if not obstructed by lands or ice, where he was to search for and explore rivers or inlets that might communicate with Hudson Bay or Baffin Bay. If there should be a certainty or even a probability of a water passage into one or both of these bays, he was to use his utmost endeavours to pass through with one or both of the sloops. In case he was satisfied there were no such passages, Cook was to repair to the port of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamchatka, or any other eligible port, there to pass the winter, and in the spring of the ensuing year to proceed thence northward in the endeavour to find a northeast passage from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic or the North Sea, and having thoroughly explored such passage, make his way back to England.

There is no doubt that the Government of the time earnestly desired the success of the voyage and exhibited its interest therein by amending the Act of Parliament of 1745, which offered a reward of twenty thousand pounds for the discovery of a Northwest Passage. That act had applied only to the ships of private owners, and it was stipulated therein that the reward was to be paid only to such ships as should discover a passage opening into Hudson Bay. A new law

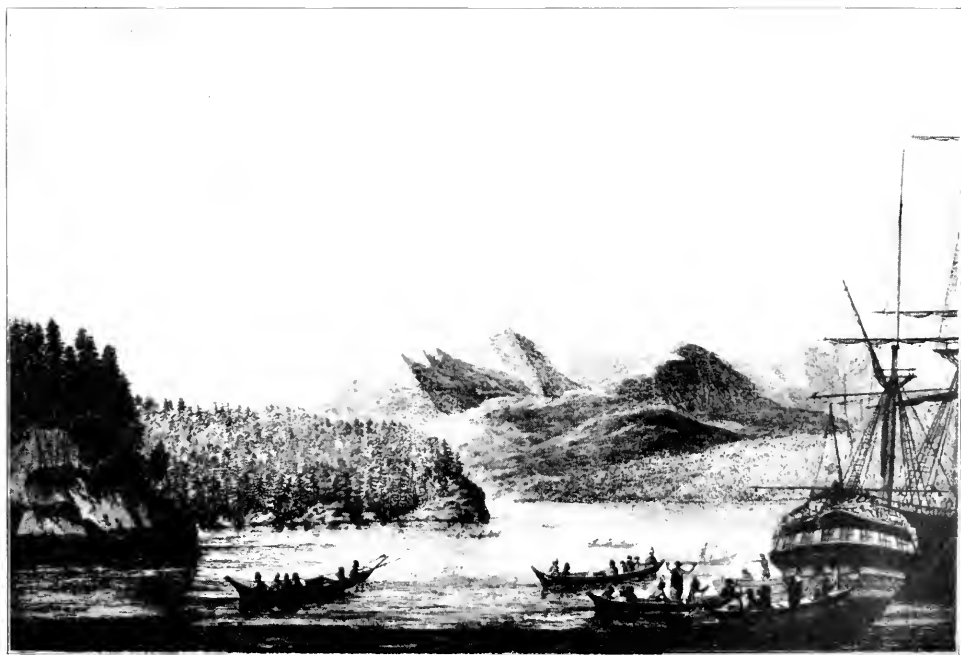
was passed extending the operation of the former act to ships of the Royal Navy, and providing that the passage by sea between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans might be sought for in any direction or paralled above the 52nd degree of north latitude. It was also enacted that any ship approaching within one degree of the North Pole should be entitled to a reward of five thousand pounds. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that Captain Cook's new enterprise was considered of more than ordinary importance.

Cook's own words may be quoted in proof of the interest shown by those high in authority. Under the date of Saturday, 8th of June, 1776, the following entry appears in his journal: "The Earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliser, and others of the Board of Admiralty paid us the last mark of the extraordinary attention they had all along paid to this equipment, by coming on board to see that everything was compleated to their desire and to the satisfaction of all who were to embark in the voyage. They and several other noblemen and gentlemen honoured me with their Company at dinner and were saluted with 17 guns and 3 cheers at their coming on board and also on going ashore."

On the 9th day of February, 1776, H. M. S. *Resolution* was commissioned for the voyage. On the following day Cook went on board, hoisted his pennant and began to enroll his men. At the same time the *Discovery*, a small vessel of three hundred tons, was purchased and placed in command of Captain Clerke, who had been Second Lieutenant of the *Resolution* on Cook's second voyage. Four months were consumed in fitting out the vessels for their long voyage, and it was not until June that they sailed for Plymouth, the *Resolution* anchoring at the Nore to wait for Captain Cook, who was then in London in consultation with the Admiralty. The *Resolution* sailed from the Nore at noon on the 25th of June and three days later dropped anchor in Plymouth Sound, whither the *Discovery* had preceded her. On the 8th of July the secret instructions already mentioned were received and on the 12th at eight in the evening the vessels weighed anchor and stood out of the Sound. Lieutenant James King, F. R. S., accompanied Cook in the *Resolution*, and it was this officer who continued the narrative of the expedition from the time of Cook's death to its conclusion. He also prepared a brief sketch of the famous navigator's life and career and tragic death, which is referred to later on in this chapter.



PHOTOGRAPH OF MODEL OF H. M. S. "RESOLUTION" NOW IN WHITBY MUSEUM



From a Pencil Drawing by John Webber, R. A.

H. M. S. "RESOLUTION," IN NOOTKA SOUND, CAPTAIN JAMES COOK,  
COMMANDER



It is worthy of notice in passing that while the *Resolution* and *Discovery* were off Plymouth the *Diamond*, *Ambuscade* and *Unicorn* of the Royal Navy, with a fleet of transports consisting of sixty-two sail, bound to America with the last division of the Hessian troops and some cavalry, were forced into the Sound by adverse winds. Of this coincidence Cook remarks: "It could not but occur to us as a singular and affecting circumstance that at the very instance of our departure upon a voyage, the object of which was to benefit Europe by making fresh discoveries in North America, there should be the unhappy necessity of employing others of His Majesty's ships and of conveying numerous bodies of land forces to secure the obedience of those of that continent which had been discovered and settled by our country men in the last century."

In spite of the fact that so much time and trouble had been spent in preparing the vessels for sea, it was found that the seams of the *Resolution* had been so badly calked that they opened in the equatorial heat, and quantities of water entered the vessel. In fact, "there was hardly a man that could lie dry in his bed; the officers in the gun room were all driven out of their cabin by the water that came in through the sides." The spare sails were seriously damaged, and some quite ruined before they could be dried. Otherwise the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope was generally without incident. The equator was crossed on September 1st in longitude  $27^{\circ} 38' W.$ , and Cape of Good Hope was sighted October 17th. The anchor was let go in Table Bay the day after. On November 10th the *Discovery* joined the *Resolution* at that port. The principal occupation of the crews at Cape Town consisted of exercising on shore the live cargo carried by the vessels. Two bulls, two heifers, two horses, two mares and two rams, not to mention ewes, goats, rabbits and poultry, were purchased at the Cape, to stock islands where some of them "might prove useful to posterity." It is recorded that when the *Resolution* left Table Bay she resembled Noah's Ark.

On the 30th of November, 1776, the vessels again weighed anchor. After visiting Kerguelen Land, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand and the Friendly or Society Islands, Cook discovered early in the following year a group of large islands which he named the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich, who had displayed so great an interest in the expedition.

In the course of this voyage, Cook acquired a mass of valuable information respecting the extensive archipelagoes of the mid-Pacific Ocean, all of which is duly set down in the official journal of the expedition. It would be interesting, as well as instructive, to spread upon these pages Cook's luminous description of that island world, but the story is scarcely germane to the subject under discussion. It will suffice that the explorer, with the aid of Anderson, the surgeon, and Webber, the artist, vividly portrays the appearance, manners, customs and social institutions of the primitive inhabitants of these islands.

After a monotonous voyage of a little over a month, in the course of which the vessels did not lose sight of each other, the coast of Oregon was sighted at a distance of ten or twelve leagues. Cook had instructed his navigating officer to reach the coast about the 45th parallel and an observation at noon of March 7th (1778) revealed the fact that the ship's position was  $44^{\circ} 33'$  north latitude,  $236^{\circ} 30'$  east longitude. The land appeared to be of a moderate height, diversified with hill and valley and almost everywhere covered with trees, but no distinguishing promontories or capes marked its shores, with the exception of one flat-topped hill, upon which Cook bestowed the name Cape Foulweather. From that point the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* sailed slowly up the coast, the vessels experiencing the unsettled climatic conditions common to that region in that season of the year. In this respect the British expedition was not more fortunate than the Spanish vessels under Perez and Heceta. In the circumstances it was not possible always to sail close to land; nevertheless, the land was rarely out of sight and it was generally seen quite clearly. The coast appeared almost straight, without any opening or inlet. The northern and southern extremes of the land formed distinct points named respectively Cape Perpetua and Cape Gregory, the former being in latitude  $44^{\circ} 6'$  and the latter in  $43^{\circ} 30'$ . It is worth observing, Cook remarks, that almost in this very latitude geographers had placed the Cape supposed to have been discovered or seen by Martin d'Aguilar in January, 1603, and the large opening or strait the discovery of which was also ascribed to that navigator; but careful search in nowise tended to verify the statements ascribed to him.

A severe gale, from the northwest, accompanied by flurries of snow, at this time forced Cook to clear the coast. He was driven



By Capt. J. C. &c

Whereas the Passage from the Sandwich Isles to the Northern <sup>Coast</sup> of America, is of considerable length both in distance & time, and as a part of it must be performed in the very depth of winter, when gales of wind and bad weather <sup>must</sup> be expected ~~which~~ and may possibly occasion a separation which you are to take all imaginable care to prevent. But if notwithstanding all our endeavours to keep company you should be separated from me, you are first to look for me where you last saw me, not seeing me in five days, you are to proceed in ~~direct course~~ <sup>as directed by their Lordships Instructions</sup>, a copy of which you have already received, for the Coast of New Albion, endeavouring to fall in with it in the latitude of  $46^{\circ} 0'$  in which latitude and at a convenient distance from the land, you are to cruise for me ten days, ~~provided that the condition of the weather be such~~. Not seeing me in that time you are to put into the first convenient Port in, or to the Northward of that latitude to recruit your Wood and Water, and to procure refreshments. During your stay in Port, you are <sup>constantly</sup> to keep a good look out for me, therefore it will be necessary for you to make choice of a Port or anchoring place, situated as near to the sea coast as you can, the better to enable you to have a good look out at sea to see me when I appear in the offing. If I do not join you before the 1<sup>st</sup> of next April, you are to put to sea and proceed Northward to the latitude of  $56^{\circ}$  in which latitude and at a convenient distance from the coast, not cruising fifteen ~~days~~ <sup>days</sup> you are to cruise for me till the 1<sup>st</sup> of May; not seeing me in that time you are to proceed Northward and endeavour to find a passage into the Atlantic Ocean through Hudson or Baffers Bays, as directed <sup>above</sup> in the ~~above~~ mentioned Instructions; But if you fail should

AUTOGRAPH LETTER BY CAPTAIN JAMES COOK TO CAPTAIN CLERKE, UPON THE DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, JANUARY, 1778



back upon his course as far southward as the forty-second parallel. Then boisterous weather and calms succeeded each other for several days; so it was not until March 22nd that land was again seen at a distance of nine leagues, in latitude  $47^{\circ} 5'$ . A small round hill to the northward had the appearance of an island and "between this island or rock and the northern extreme of the land there appeared to be a small opening, which flattered us with the hopes of finding an harbour." But these hopes were not realized, for as the vessels drew nearer it appeared that the wished-for opening was closed by low land. "On this account," observes Cook, "I called the point of land to the north of it Cape Flattery," and so one of the landmarks of the northwest coast received its name. From that day to this the name Cape Flattery has appeared on the charts to commemorate the disappointment of the famous circumnavigator. Cook describes the land to the southward as of moderate height, covered with forests, and pleasant and fertile in appearance. According to an observation taken on board the *Resolution*, the Cape lay in latitude  $48^{\circ} 15'$  north. Its true position, however, is latitude  $48^{\circ} 22\frac{1}{2}'$  north and longitude  $124^{\circ} 44'$  west.<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of notice that Cook's observations vary little from those taken with the greatest care in more recent years by officers of the Royal Navy and the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States; on the other hand, the positions assigned to the various capes, bays and inlets of this region by the Spaniards are, as a general rule, far from correct.

While in the neighbourhood Cook searched for the strait said to have been discovered in 1592 by the Greek pilot, Apostolos Valerianos, or Juan de Fuca, but his efforts were no more successful than those of the Spaniards three years before, and for the same reason,—on both occasions the opening was sought between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth parallels, the position given by Michael Lok, Delisle and Buache. It is evident that Cook was not favourably impressed with the narratives of geographers respecting the discovery of the Strait of Anian. More than once he speaks strongly upon the subject. His remarks touching Martin d'Aguiar have been noted. Later he as contemptuously dismissed the relation of De Fonte. Now, in a few terse sentences, he disposed of the oft repeated account of the Greek pilot's voyage: "It is in this very latitude where we now were," Cook writes, "that geographers have placed the pretended

<sup>1</sup> British Columbia Pilot, 3d ed., 1905, p. 24.

strait of Juan de Fuca. But we saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed.”<sup>2</sup> Yet, within a few miles lay the entrance to a strait leading to a labyrinth of sounds, inlets, gulfs and bays, studded with rock-girt, wooded islands of enchanting loveliness,—one of the most beautiful inland seas of the world. It was peculiarly unfortunate that at this time the *Resolution* and *Discovery* were obliged to find an offing in the teeth of a gale that threatened to drive them ashore. Otherwise Cook might have discovered, or rediscovered, the strait found by Captain Barkley of the *Loudoun*, or *Imperial Eagle*, in 1787, and named by him in honour of the mythical hero Juan de Fuca.

But that was not to be. Cook passed the opening at sea in storm and sleet. He did not make another landfall until Sunday, March 29th, when the rugged snow-covered hills of Vancouver Island hove in sight. The valleys and the coast were covered with tall straight trees “that formed a beautiful prospect, as of one vast forest.” In the southeast the land formed a low point, off which a line of foam marked the position of sunken rocks and on that account it was named Point Breakers. Observations determined that Point Breakers was in latitude  $49^{\circ}15'$  and Woody Point in latitude  $50^{\circ}$ . Woody Point is now known as Cape Cook and Breakers Point as Point Estevan. The extensive bight between these points was called Hope Bay because it was hoped that in it a good harbour would be found, nor in this was the explorer disappointed. In the evening the *Resolution* entered an arm of the sea and anchored, so close to shore that it could be reached with a hawser. The wind failed the *Discovery* however, and she lay for the night off the entrance to the inlet. Thus, on March 29, 1778, the storm-beaten vessels found a safe haven, where it was hoped “all their wants would be plentifully supplied.”

On the following morning a search was made for a safe anchorage which was soon found. Not far from where the ships lay Cook discovered “a convenient, snug cove well suited to our purpose.” Lieutenant King, who had been despatched with three armed boats early in the morning to reconnoitre the inlet, returned at mid-day with the report that he had found an excellent harbour lying on the north-west side of the land. But to save time, it was decided to make the headquarters of the expedition in the small bay discovered by the commander. On Tuesday the thirty-first the ships were hauled into

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<sup>2</sup> Cook, *Voyages*, p. 263.

A General Map  
of the *DISCOVERIES* of  
Admiral DE FONTE,  
and other Navigators,  
Spanish, English, and Russian,  
in quest of a Passage to the  
*SOUTH SEA*,  
By M. De l'Isle Sep. 1752.





Resolution Cove, where they were moored, head and stern, the hawsers being fastened to the trees on shore.

No sooner had the ships anchored in Hope Bay than it was discovered that the land was inhabited. Three canoes approached and one of the natives made a long harangue, in the course of which he cast white feathers upon the water, while some of his companions threw handfuls of red dust or powder. The orator was clad in fur and held in each hand a rattle which he used vigorously. After repeated exhortations, of which not a word was understood, the natives lay at a little distance from the ship and conversed with each other without exhibiting the least surprise. Now and again the harangue would be repeated, but what pleased the strangers more than this guttural oratory was an air sung "with a degree of softness and melody which we could not have expected; the word 'haela' being oft repeated as the burden of the song." Many canoes soon gathered about the ships. At one time no less than thirty-two were observed, each carrying from three to eight persons, men and women. One of the little vessels attracted particular attention on account of its emblazonment of a bird's eye and bill of an enormous size. In it sat a chief of some consequence, who was no less remarkable than his little vessel. His head-dress was of feathers and he was painted in an extraordinary manner: "He held in his hand a carved bird of wood, as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled as the person first mentioned had done; and was no less vociferous with his harangue, which was attended with some expressive gestures."

The natives behaved very peaceably and gave no sign of hostility, but they could by no means be induced to go on board. Apart from this evidence of timidity, however, they gave no sign of fear and traded with great readiness, taking whatever was offered in exchange for their belongings. They were more anxious for iron than for any other commodity, appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal.

With reference to Cook's discovery of Nootka Sound it may be worth while to recall that the legendary lore of the Indians of that place is not silent upon the point. There is today a tradition among the Nootkan Indians which runs somewhat as follows: One day two chiefs, Tsaxawasip (one of Chief Maquinna's names) and Nanaimis of the Muchalats, saw in the offing the tops of three sticks rising up, which bye and bye grew bigger and rose out of the water.

At first they thought it must be an island appearing, but as the object grew larger they saw that it was some kind of water craft. The ship was going quickly and making great waves. Then it was thought that it must be the work of Haietlik, or the lightning-snake, making it move so quickly, and that the snake was working under water; but others thought it must be the work of Quaots (the supreme deity of the Nootkans) and therefore a supernatural manifestation. As the vessel came nearer all the men and women grew very much afraid. Some of them thought that it was magic, and some thought that it was a salmon that had been changed by magic. But the two chiefs of the Muchalats thought that it must be the work of Quaots. A courageous man named Towik, a warrior who had killed at least ten men, said that it would be well to conceal all the people and to segregate the women for at least ten months. He also recommended that all their property should at once be put out of sight. A woman doctor named Hahatsaik, who had power over all kinds of salmon, appeared with a whalebone rattle in each hand; she put on her red cedar bark cap and apron and sang, saying that it must be a salmon turned into a boat. The natives now launched a canoe with three strong young men as a crew and the woman magician, Hahatsaik, sat in the middle. This canoe went out to see the ship, which was sailing straight for the harbour on Bligh Island, and then followed behind. Hahatsaik hailed the ship and called out "Hello you, you spring salmon, hello you dog salmon, hello coho salmon."

Then another canoe came with another doctor, named Wiwai, who hailed Captain Cook in the same manner. Wiwai then went back to the village, and Nanaimis, taking two fine beaver skins out of his storage chest, put off to the ship in his canoe with ten strong men. Captain Cook hailed the canoe and asked the name of the chief, who replied, "My name is Nanaimis; what is your name?" Captain Cook then went into his cabin and came out with blankets under his arm and asked Nanaimis to come into his ship. But Nanaimis declined, saying—"No, I would rather stay in my canoe." Whereupon Cook asked him to shake hands and offered him two black blankets as a free gift. Then Nanaimis saw that Cook was not an enchanted salmon, but only a man. The chief opened a box on which he was sitting and took out the two beaver skins and presented them to Captain Cook, who accepted them with pleasure.



Tsaxawasip, or Maquinna, also put off to the ship. "I am Maquinna," said the chief to Captain Cook. "My village is a little way off there, near the entrance to the inlet. It is a safe and fine harbour. I want you to come and stay with me next year. You will be well treated." He then presented a fine sea-otter skin to Captain Cook, who had by that time put on a fine gold-braided hat which he offered to Maquinna in return for his gift. Then the natives gave a wolf dance on the beach for the entertainment of the strangers."

Such is the tradition of the Nootkan people. It is not an easy matter to decide as to how much of the story may be worthy of credence; but it is at least likely that so important an event as the sudden appearance of two large vessels off Nootka would find a place in the annals of the native tribes of that locality.

Captain Cook's description of the natives, their character and habits, is minute and interesting. Long as it is, that description deserves a place in a narrative dealing with the earliest beginnings of the history of the Northwest Coast, and it will therefore be quoted in full. It follows:

"The persons of the natives are, in general, under the common stature; but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full or plump, though not muscular. Neither doth the soft fleshiness seem ever to swell into corpulence; and many of the older people are rather spare, or lean. The visage of most of them is round and full; and sometimes, also, broad, with high prominent cheeks; and, above these, the face is frequently much depressed, or seems fallen in quite across between the temples; the nose also flattening at its base, with pretty wide nostrils, and a rounded point. The forehead rather low; the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling; the mouth round, with large round thickish lips; the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin; which does not arise from any natural defect of hair on that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers, or mustachios; both on the upper lip and running from thence toward the lower jaw obliquely downward. Their eye-brows are also scanty and always

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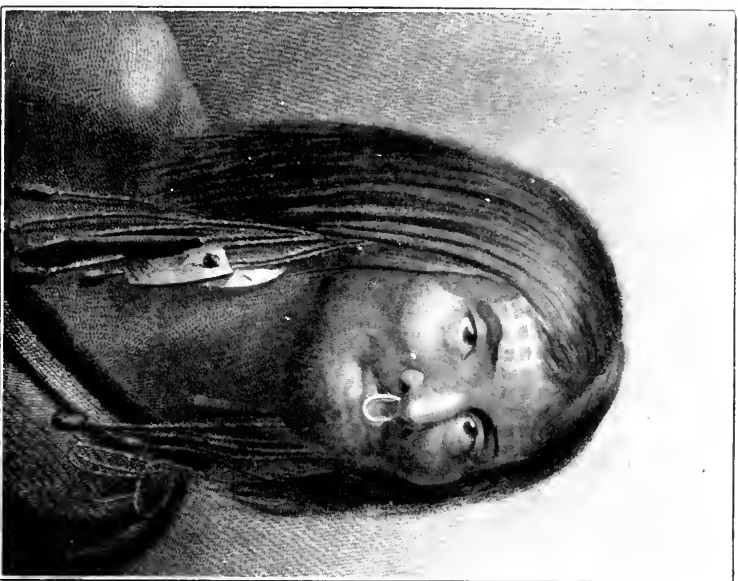
<sup>3</sup> Chief George of Nootka Sound is the authority for this legend.

narrow; but the hair of the head is in great abundance, very coarse and strong; and, without a single exception, black, straight, and lank, or hanging down over the shoulders. The neck is short; the arms and body have no particular mark of beauty or elegance in their formation, but are rather clumsy; and the limbs, in all, are very small in proportion to the other parts, and crooked, or ill made, with large feet badly shaped, and projecting ankles. This last defect seems, in a great measure, to arise from their sitting too much on their hams or knees, both in their canoes and houses.

"Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were incrustated with paint and dirt; though, in particular cases, when these were well rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our Southern nations. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness. During their youth, some of them have no disagreeable look, if compared to the generality of the people; but this seems to be entirely owing to the particular animation attending that period of life; for, after attaining a certain age, there is hardly any distinction. Upon the whole, a very remarkable sameness seems to characterize the countenances of the whole nation; a dull phlegmatic want of expression, with very little variation, being strongly marked in all of them.

"The women are nearly of the same size, colour, and form, with the men, from whom it is not easy to distinguish them, as they possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable; and hardly any one was seen, even amongst those who were in the prime of life, who had the least pretensions to be called handsome.

"Their common dress is a flaxen garment, or mantle, ornamented on the upper edge by a narrow strip of fur, and, at the lower edge, by fringes or tassels. It passes under the left arm and is tied over the right shoulder by a string before, and one behind, near its middle; by which means both arms are left free; and it hangs evenly, covering the left side, but leaving the right open, except from the loose part of the edges falling upon it, unless when the mantle is fastened by a girdle (of coarse matting or woollen) round the waist, which is often done. Over this, which reaches below the knees, is worn a small cloak of the same substance, likewise fringed at the lower part. In shape this resembles a round dish cover, being quite close, except in the middle, where there is a hole just large enough to admit the



A MAN OF NOOTKA SOUND



A WOMAN OF NOOTKA SOUND



head; and then, resting upon the shoulders, it covers the arms to the elbows, and the body as far as the waist. Their head is covered with a cap, of the figure of a truncated cone, or like a flower-pot, made of fine matting, having the top frequently ornamented with a round or pointed knob, or bunch of leathern tassels; and there is a string that passes under the chin, to prevent its blowing off.

"Besides the above dress, which is common to both sexes, the men frequently throw over their other garments the skin of a bear, wolf, or sea-otter, with the hair outward, and tie it, as a cloak, near the upper part, wearing it sometimes before, and sometimes behind. In rainy weather, they throw a coarse mat about their shoulders. They have also woolen garments, which, however, are little in use. The hair is commonly worn hanging down loose; but some, when they have no cap, tie it in a bunch on the crown of the head.

"Their dress, upon the whole, is convenient, and would by no means be inelegant were it kept clean. But as they rub their bodies constantly over with a red paint, of a clayey or coarse ochry substance, mixed with oil, their garments, by this means, contract a rancid offensive smell and a greasy nastiness. So that they make a very wretched, dirty appearance; and, what is still worse, their heads and their garments swarm with vermin, which, so depraved is their taste for cleanliness, we used to see them pick off, with great composure, and eat.

"Though their bodies are always covered with red paint, their faces are often stained with a black, a brighter red, or a white colour, by way of ornament. The last of these gives them a ghastly, disgusting aspect. They also strew the brown martial mica upon the paint, which makes it glitter. The ears of many of them are perforated in the lobe, where they make a pretty large hole; and two others higher up on the outer edge. In these holes they hang bits of bone; quills fixed upon a leathern thong; small shells; bunches of woolen tassels, or pieces of thin copper, which our beads could never supplant. The septum of the nose, in many, is also perforated, through which they draw a piece of soft cord; and others wear, at the same place, small thin pieces of iron, brass, or copper, shaped almost like a horseshoe, the narrow opening of which receives the septum, so as that the two points may gently pinch it; and the ornament thus hangs over the upper lip. The rings of our brass buttons, which they eagerly purchased, were appropriated to this use. About their wrists they wear bracelets or bunches of white bugle beads,

made of a conic shelly substance; bunches of thongs, with tassels; or a broad black shining horny substance, of one piece. And about their ankles they also frequently wear many folds of leathern thongs, or the sinews of animals twisted to a considerable thickness.

"Thus far of their ordinary dress and ornaments; but they have some that seem to be used only on extraordinary occasions; either when they exhibit themselves as strangers, in visits of ceremony, or when they go to war. Amongst the first may be considered the skins of animals, such as wolves or bears, tied on in the usual manner, but ornamented at the edges with broad borders of fur, or of the woollen stuff manufactured by them, ingeniously wrought with various figures. These are worn either separately, or over their other common garments. On such occasions, the most common head-dress is a quantity of withe, or half-beaten bark, wrapped about the head; which, at the same time, has various large feathers, particularly those of eagles, stuck in it, or is entirely covered, or, we may say, powdered with small white feathers. The face, at the same time, is variously painted, having its upper and lower parts of different colours, the strokes appearing like fresh gashes; or it is besmeared with a kind of tallow, mixed with paint, which is afterward formed into a great variety of regular figures, and appears like carved work. Sometimes again, the hair is separated into small parcels, which are tied at intervals of about two inches, to the end, with thread; and others tie it together, behind, after our manner, and stick branches of the *cupressus thyoides* in it. Thus dressed, they have a truly savage and incongruous appearance; but this is much heightened when they assume what may be called, their monstrous decorations. These consist of an endless variety of carved wooden masks or vizors, applied on the face or to the upper part of the head or forehead. Some of these resemble human faces, furnished with hair, beards, and eye-brows; others, the heads of birds, particularly of eagles and quebrantahuesos; and many, the heads of land and sea-animals, such as wolves, deer, porpoises, and others. But, in general, these representations much exceed the natural size; and they are painted and often strewed with pieces of foliaceous *mica*, which makes them glitter, and serve to augment their enormous deformity. They even exceed this sometimes, and fix on the same part of the head large pieces of carved work, resembling the prow of a canoe, painted in the same manner and projecting to a considerable distance. So fond are they of these

disguises, that I have seen one of them put his head into a tin kettle he had got from us, for want of another sort of mask. Whether they use these extravagant masquerade ornaments on any particular religious occasion or diversion; or whether they be put on to intimidate their enemies when they go to battle, by their monstrous appearance; or as decoys when they go to hunt animals, is uncertain. But it may be concluded, that, if travellers or voyagers, in an ignorant and credulous age, when many unnatural or marvellous things were supposed to exist, had seen a number of people decorated in this manner, without being able to approach so near as to be undeceived, they would readily have believed, and, in their relations, would have attempted to make others believe, that there existed a race of beings partaking of the nature of man and beast; more especially, when, besides the heads of animals on the human shoulders, they might have seen the whole bodies of their men-monsters covered with quadrupeds' skins."

Captain Cook continues:

"The only dress amongst the people of Nootka, observed by us, that seems peculiarly adapted to war, is a thick leathern mantle doubled, which, from its size, appears to be the skin of an elk, or buffalo tanned. This they fasten on, in the common manner; and it is so contrived, that it may reach up, and cover the breast quite to the throat, falling, at the same time, almost to the heels. It is, sometimes, ingeniously painted in different compartments; and it is not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows; but, as they informed us by signs, even spears cannot pierce it; so that it may be considered as their coat of mail, or most complete defensive armour. Upon the same occasion, they sometimes wear a kind of leathern cloak, covered with rows of dried hoofs of deer, disposed horizontally, appended by leathern thongs, covered with quills; which, when they move, make a loud rattling noise, almost equal to that of many small bells. It seems doubtful, however, whether this part of their garb be intended to strike terror in war, or only is to be considered as belonging to their eccentric ornaments on ceremonious occasions. For we saw one of their musical entertainments, conducted by a man dressed in this sort of cloak, with his mask on, and shaking his rattle.

"Though these people cannot be viewed without a kind of horror, when equipped in such extravagant dresses, yet, when divested of them, and beheld in their common habit and actions, they have not

the least appearance of ferocity in their countenances; and seem, on the contrary, as observed already, to be of a quiet, phlegmatic, and inactive disposition; destitute, in some measure, of that degree of animation and vivacity that would render them agreeable as social beings. If they are not reserved, they are far from being loquacious; but their gravity is, perhaps, rather a consequence of the disposition just mentioned, than of any conviction of its propriety, or the effect of any particular mode of education. For, even in the greatest paroxysms of their rage, they seem unable to express it sufficiently, either with warmth of language or significance of gestures."

In speaking of the powers of oratory, Cook observes:

"Their orations, which are made either when engaged in any altercation or dispute, or to explain their sentiments publicly on other occasions, seem little more than short sentences, or rather single words, forcibly repeated and constantly in one tone and degree of strength, accompanied only with a single gesture, which they use at every sentence, jerking their whole body a little forward, by bending the knees, their arms hanging down by their sides at the same time."

Captain Cook's account of the manners and customs of the Nootkans is important ethnologically, and so interesting historically, that, in spite of the length of the foregoing excerpt, it may well be concluded in the navigator's own words:

"Though there be but too much reason, from their bringing to sale human skulls and bones, to infer that they treat their enemies with a degree of brutal cruelty, this circumstance rather marks a general agreement of character with that of almost every tribe of uncivilized man, in every age, and in every part of the globe, than that they are to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity. We had no reason to judge unfavourably of their disposition in this respect. They seem to be a docile, courteous, good-natured people; but notwithstanding the predominant phlegm, of their tempers, quick in resenting what they look upon as an injury; and, like most other passionate people, as soon forgetting it. I never found that these fits of passion went farther than the parties immediately concerned; the spectators not troubling themselves about the quarrel, whether it was with any of us, or amongst their own body; and preserving as much indifference as if they had not known anything about it. I have often seen one of them rave and scold, without



any of his countrymen paying the least attention to his agitation; and when none of us could trace the cause, or the object of his displeasure. In such cases they never discover the least symptom of timidity, but seem determined, at all events, to punish the insult. For, even with respect to us, they never appeared to be under the least apprehension of our superiority; but when any difference happened, were just as ready to avenge the wrong as amongst themselves.

"Their other passions, especially their curiosity, appear in some measure to lie dormant. For few expressed any desire to see or examine things wholly unknown to them; and which, to those truly possessed of that passion, would have appeared astonishing. They were always contented to procure the articles they knew they wanted, regarding everything else with great indifference; nor did our persons, apparel, and manners, so different from their own, or even the extraordinary size and construction of our ships, seem to excite admiration, or even engage attention.

"One cause of this may be their indolence, which seems considerable. But, on the other hand, they are certainly not wholly unsusceptible of the tender passions; if we may judge from their being so fond of music, which is mostly of the grave or serious, but truly pathetic sort. They keep the exactest concert in their songs, which are often sung by great numbers together, as those already mentioned, with which they used to entertain us in their canoes. These are generally slow and solemn; but the music is not of that confined sort found amongst many rude nations; for the variations are very numerous and expressive, and the cadence or melody powerfully soothing. Besides their full concerts, sonnets of the same grave cast were frequently sung by single performers, who keep time by striking the hand against the thigh. However, the music was sometimes varied, from its predominant solemnity of air; and there were instances of stanzas being sung in a more gay and lively strain, and even with a degree of humour.

"The only instruments of music (if such they may be called) which I saw amongst them, were a rattle; and a small whistle, about an inch long, incapable of any variation, from having but one hole. They use the rattle when they sing; but upon what occasions they use the whistle I know not, unless it be when they dress themselves like particular animals, and endeavour to imitate their howl or cry. I once saw one of them dressed in a wolf's skin, with the head over

his own, and imitating that animal by making a squeaking noise with one of these whistles, which he had in his mouth. The rattles are, for the most part, made in the shape of a bird, with a few pebbles in the belly, and the tail is the handle. They have others, however, that bear rather more resemblance to a child's rattle.

"In trafficking with us, some of them would betray a knavish disposition, and carry off our goods without making any return. But, in general, it was otherwise; and we had abundant reason to commend the fairness of their conduct. However, their eagerness to possess iron and brass, and, indeed, any kind of metal, was so great that few of them could resist the temptation to steal it, whenever an opportunity offered. The inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, as appears from a variety of instances in the course of this voyage, rather than be idle, would steal anything that they could lay their hands upon, without ever considering, whether it could be of use to them or no. The novelty of the object, with them, was a sufficient motive for their endeavouring, by any indirect means, to get possession of it; which marked that, in such cases, they were rather actuated by a childish curiosity than by a dishonest disposition, regardless of the modes of supplying real wants. The inhabitants of Nootka, who invaded our property, cannot have such apology made for them. They were thieves in the strictest sense of the word; for they pilfered nothing from us, but what they knew could be converted to the purposes of private utility, and had a real value according to their estimation of things. And it was lucky for us that nothing was thought valuable by them, but the single articles of our metals. Linen, and such like things, were perfectly secure from their depredations; and we could safely leave them hanging out ashore all night, without watching. The same principle which prompted our Nootka friends to pilfer from us, it was natural to suppose, would produce a similar conduct in their intercourse with each other. And, accordingly, we had abundant reason to believe, that stealing is much practiced amongst them; and that it chiefly gives rise to their quarrels; of which we saw more than one instance."

The vessels were no sooner snugly moored in Resolution Cove than the place assumed an air of unwonted activity. No time was lost in making the necessary repairs to the ships, which were the immediate object of the visit.

An observatory was erected upon an elevated rock on one side of the cove, close to the *Resolution*; an officer and a party of men were sent to cut wood and to clear a place on the beach to facilitate watering; others were employed in brewing spruce beer and in setting up a blacksmith forge.

The news of the arrival of strangers soon spread abroad and brought a great concourse of curious natives from all parts of the Sound. At times more than a hundred canoes clustered about the ships. To introduce themselves, as it were, or to announce their arrival, the crews would dexterously propel their canoes three times round the ships, while a chief, or person of consequence, stood up and spoke in a loud voice. The Indians brought with them furs and various implements of native manufacture—cloth of bark, or woolen stuff, bags filled with red ochre, beads and even ornaments of brass and iron. But the most extraordinary of all the articles that they exhibited were “human skulls and hands not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made our people plainly understand they had eaten; and indeed some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire.” From the display of these grim relics Cook had reason to suspect that the natives were addicted to cannibalism, although no instance of that horrid practice was observed while the vessels were anchored in the Sound. It is now known that the cannibalism of the West Coast tribes was purely ceremonial. The practice was not general as in the South Sea Islands. The natives were anxious to trade and readily accepted in exchange for their various articles looking-glasses, buttons, gewgaws and trinkets, knives, chisels, iron, tin, and nails, or metal of any kind. Glass beads and linen neither excited their cupidity nor their vanity. Both were rejected. These Indians were trained thieves and dexterously removed brass buttons from coats, brass fittings and even nails from woodwork, in fact, every particle of metal that they could lay their hands on.

Cook stayed in Nootka Sound for four weeks. Nearly all of the time was spent in preparing new masts and spars to take the place of the ones which had rotted on the long voyage from England—the first recorded instance of the use of the timber of Vancouver Island by Europeans. The officers, therefore, had little time to explore the fiords and arms of the inlet. Cook, however, examined the west side of the Sound, and visited a deserted village, hard by a grove of

immense pine trees, where he observed large fishing weirs composed of wicker work. Crossing over to the east side he ascertained, as he had already surmised, that the land off which his ships lay was a small island.

While the ship's company were engaged in their several occupations, Webber, the artist, employed his time in drawing the scenery and savages of this new and strange country. The anthropologist and the historian owe him a debt of gratitude for his faithful sketches of implements, ceremonial trappings, and other objects in common use among the natives. Many of Webber's sketches are to be found in the large folio of views which accompanies the official edition of Cook's Third Voyage. In the meantime, Anderson, the young surgeon of the expedition, was not idle. He prepared an extended account of the manners and customs of the aborigines. Anderson's notes will always be of interest to the anthropologist and the historian, if for no other reason than that they contain the first scientific observations upon a primitive social organization and a rude culture which had existed here from time immemorial. The pagan tribes of Nootka occupy a place in the history of British Columbia analogous to that of Caesar's Britons in the annals of England.

On his arrival in the inlet, Captain Cook had named it "King George's Sound," but later he changed the name to "Nootka," because he considered that to be the title by which the place was known to the natives. It was evidently bestowed under a misapprehension because there is nothing to show that the natives ever called the place by that name. Two or three theories have been advanced to account for Cook's mistake, but perhaps the most reasonable explanation is that of the Reverend A. J. Brabant, for many years a resident of Hesquiat. "The word 'Nootka,' " he says, "is the frequentation of 'nootk-sitl,' to go around; make a circuit. 'Nootka-a' would be a form of the imperative (accent on the last 'a' being slight), go around. 'Nootka-minish' we have been around. 'Nootka-aktl-nish' we are about to go around. Some form of the word 'nootka' may be applied to the making of a circuit of the globe, or of an island small or large, &c., only the affix varies according to time, person or place."<sup>4</sup> It has been conjectured that Cook, after his reconnaissance of the Sound may have asked an Indian what the place was called in the native tongue. The Indian probably misunderstood him, but re-

<sup>4</sup> Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, p. 359; See also Swan, *Haidah Indians*, pp. 13-14.

membering that the white men had sailed round the small island, may possibly have used in reply some form of the derivative "nootk," thus leaving the impression in Cook's mind that such was the native name of the place.<sup>5</sup> The explanation is not altogether satisfactory, but be that as it may, from that day to this the inlet has been known as Nootka Sound.

Cook, of course, was not aware of the insular character of the Nootkan region. He took it for granted that he was on the continental coast of North America. As a matter of fact Vancouver Island did not assume its true shape on the map until later than 1792, in which year Captain Vancouver sailed through the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Gulf of Georgia and Johnston's Straits into Queen Charlotte Sound, thus establishing the fact that the whole of this region is detached from the mainland.

In spite of the fact that the natives possessed, comparatively speaking, a large amount of iron, which they had no means of procuring for themselves, the explorer concluded, after careful observation that the Sound had never been visited before. It was evident that iron was too common, and the use of it too well known, for the natives to have received their first knowledge of it in the last few years. It was supposed therefore that the metal things had passed from tribe to tribe from Hudson's Bay to the shores of the Pacific; or that they had originally started upon their long journey in Mexico and reached their destination after passing through the hands of successive native traders. However, it is just as likely, if not more probable, that the metal had been obtained in the first place from Russian traders, who had long ago established posts on the Kamchatkan Peninsula. It is not a far cry from Nootka Sound to the Aleutian Islands.

In the light of Father Crespi's Journal, Cook's claim to priority of discovery would seem to be irrefutable. In after years, much was made of the fact that the two silver spoons stolen from Juan Perez's vessel, the *Santiago*, were purchased from the Indians by one of Cook's officers. This, it was asserted by the Spaniards, and later by American writers, proved conclusively that Perez had visited the place in 1774. But Cook expressly relates that the spoons were obtained, not from inhabitants of the Sound, but from natives

<sup>5</sup> Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, p. 360.

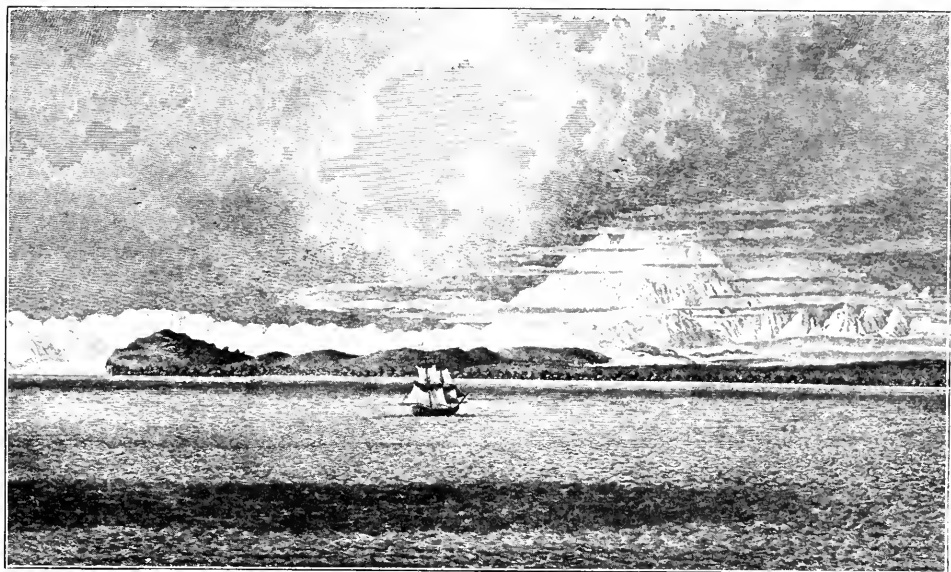
who had journeyed some distance to visit the ships. In 1789, Estevan José Martinez himself, in accordance with his instructions, used Cook's chart apparently because the map of Perez failed to show Nootka Sound. Of course, this fact can scarcely be adduced as evidence, because a navigator would naturally avail himself of the experience of other explorers.

Everything at last being in readiness, on the morning of Sunday, the 26th of April, 1778, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* sailed from Nootka Sound and proceeded on their voyage, passing the locality "where geographers have placed the pretended Strait of Admiral de Fonte." Advancing to the north, Cook found the coast from Cape Edgecumbe trending north and northeasterly for six or seven leagues, and there forming a large bay, in the entrance of which were some islands, for which reason he named it the Bay of Islands. In this bay the Spaniards in 1775 evidently found their port, which they called De los Remedios, in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 20'$ . Continuing on this course, a very high-peaked mountain was discovered, which was named Mount Fair Weather.

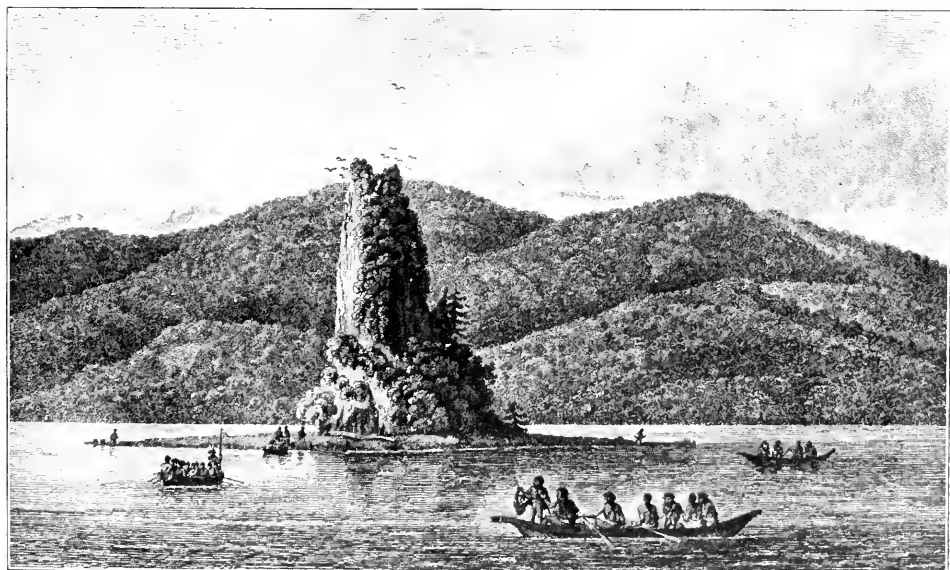
By May 5th, Cook had reached the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 53'$ , where the summit of an elevated mountain appeared above the horizon, of which Cook says, "We supposed it to be Bering's Mount St. Elias, and it stands by that name in our chart." By the 10th of that month, he passed a point of land which he named Cape Suckling, on the north side of which is a bay that appeared to be of some extent. Several small islands were discovered in the bay, one of which was named Kaye's Island as a mark of esteem for the Rev. Dr. Kaye, chaplain to His Majesty, George III. Comptroller's Bay was sighted on May 11th and on the 12th a point of land, which Cook named Cape Hinchinbroke. Hauling close under the latter, the vessels anchored before a small cove a little within the cape and about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

From the above mentioned point Cook sent out expeditionary parties in small boats to examine arms of the sea, but he soon discovered that the time was wasted in searching for a passage in a quarter that promised so little success. The expedition was now about five hundred and twenty leagues to the westward of any part of Baffin's and Hudson's Bays, and the explorer concluded that if there were any passage, it should be to the north of latitude  $72^{\circ}$ .

Cook left Point Hinchinbroke early in the morning of Monday, May 18th, on a northern course, discovering and naming islands on



ICY BAY AND MOUNT ST. ELIAS



THE NEW EDDYSTONE, IN BHEM'S CANAL





the way; he finally anchored at 8 o'clock in the evening of the 19th in the channel between Montagu and Green Islands, about two miles from the latter. The inlet which he had left on the 19th was named Prince William Sound, and Cook considered it remarkable concerning the inhabitants thereof, that having articles in their possession, presumably supplied them by Europeans, "they should, in return, never have given to the more inland Indians any of their sea-otter skins; which would certainly have been seen, sometime or other, about Hudson's Bay. But, as far as I know that is not the case; and the only method of accounting for this, must be by taking in consideration the very great distance, which, though it might not prevent European goods coming so far, as being so uncommon, might prevent the skins, which are a common article, from passing through more than two or three different tribes, who might use them for their own clothing; and send others, which they esteemed less valuable, as being of their own animals, Eastward, till they reach the traders from Europe."

From Prince William Sound, Cook steered to the southwest, and in latitude  $59^{\circ} 10'$  he discovered a lofty promontory, which he named Cape Elizabeth, and Cape Douglas was found in latitude  $58^{\circ} 56'$ . But the capes, bays, and islands discovered and named by Cook are too numerous to have a place in a work of this scope. It is sufficient to know that he continued his voyage southward until he reached and anchored his vessels in Karakakooa Bay, Sandwich Islands, in January, 1779, where, in untoward and sad circumstances, the great navigator lost his life. The details of this fatality are given at length by Lieutenant James King, who at the same time pays a high tribute to the character and services of Captain Cook, whose loss was universally deplored. After giving an account of the preparations made for the repairing of the *Resolution's* foremast, the heel of which was found "exceedingly rotten," Lieutenant King continues:

"As these repairs were likely to take up several days, Mr. Bayly and myself, got the astronomical apparatus on shore and pitched our tents on the *Morai*; having with us a guard of a corporal and six marines. We renewed our friendly correspondence with the priests, who, for the greater security of the workmen and their tools, *tabooed* the place where the mast lay, sticking their wands round it as before. The sailmakers were also sent on shore to repair the damages which

had taken place in their department during the late gales. They were lodged in a house adjoining the *Morai*, that was lent us by the priests. Such were our arrangements on shore. I shall now proceed to the account of those other transactions with the natives, which led, by degrees, to the fatal catastrophe of the 14th.

"Upon coming to anchor, we were surprized to find our reception very different from what it had been on our first arrival; no shouts, no bustle, no confusion; but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along shore. The impulse of curiosity, which had before operated to so great a degree, might now indeed be supposed to have ceased; but the hospitable treatment we had invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us some reason to expect, that they would again have flocked about us with great joy, on our return.

"We were forming various conjectures upon the occasion of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat, which had been sent on shore, and brought us word that Terreeoboo was absent, and had left the bay under the *taboo*. Though this account appeared very satisfactory to most of us; yet others were of the opinion, or rather, perhaps, have been led, by subsequent events, to imagine, that there was something, at this time, very suspicious in the behaviour of the natives; and that the interdiction of all intercourse with us, on pretence of the King's absence, was only to give him time to consult with his Chiefs, in what manner it might be proper to treat us. Whether these suspicions were well founded, or the account given by the natives was the truth, we were never able to ascertain. For though it is not improbable, that our sudden return, for which they could see no apparent cause, and the necessity of which we afterward found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occasion some alarm; yet the unsuspecting conduct of Terreeoboo, who, on his supposed arrival, the next morning, came immediately to visit Captain Cook, and the consequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourse with us, are strong proofs that they neither meant, nor apprehended, any change of conduct.

"In support of this opinion, I may add the account of another accident, precisely of the same kind, which happened to us on our first visit, the day before the arrival of the King. A native had sold a hog on board the *Resolution*, and taken the price agreed on,

when Pareea, passing by, advised the man not to part with the hog, without an advanced price. For this, he was sharply spoken to, and pushed away; and the *taboo* being soon after laid on the bay, we had at first no doubt but that it was in consequence of the offence given to the Chief. Both these accidents serve to show, how very difficult it is to draw any certain conclusion from the actions of people, with whose customs, as well as language, we are so imperfectly acquainted; at the same time, some idea may be formed from them of the difficulties, at the first view, perhaps, not very apparent, which those have to encounter who, in all their transactions with these strangers, have to steer their course amidst so much uncertainty, where a trifling error may be attended with even the most fatal consequences. However true or false our conjectures may be, things went on in their usual quiet course till the afternoon of the 13th.

"Toward evening of that day, the officer who commanded the watering-party of the *Discovery*, came to inform me that several Chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives, whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling down the casks to the shore. He told me, at the same time, that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to give him some farther disturbance. At his request, therefore, I sent a marine along with him, but suffered him to take only his side arms. In a short time the officer returned, and on his acquainting me that the islanders had armed themselves with stones, and were grown very tumultuous, I went myself to the spot, attended by a marine, with his musket. Seeing us approach, they threw away their stones, and, on my speaking to some of the Chiefs, the mob were driven away, and those who chose it, were suffered to assist in filling the casks. Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Captain Cook, whom I saw coming on shore, in the pinnace. I related to him what had just passed; and he ordered me, in case of their beginning to throw stones, or behave insolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal to have the pieces of the sentinels loaded with ball, instead of small shot.

"Soon after our return to the tents, we were alarmed by a continued fire of muskets from the *Discovery*, which we observed to be directed at a canoe that we saw paddling toward the shore, in great haste, pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Captain Cook

ordered me to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to seize the people, as they came on shore. Accordingly, we ran toward the place where we supposed the canoe would land, but were too late; the people having quitted it, and made their escape into the country before our arrival.

"We were at this time ignorant, that the goods had been already restored; and as we thought it probable, from the circumstances we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives, which way the people had fled, we followed them, till it was near dark, when judging ourselves to be about three miles from the tents, and suspecting, that the natives, who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit, were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and returned to the beach.

"During our absence, a difference, of a more serious and unpleasant nature had happened. The officer, who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board, with the goods which had been restored, observing Captain Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe, which was left drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately, this canoe belonged to Pareea, who arriving at the same moment, from on board the *Discovery*, claimed his property, with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Captain Cook, a scuffle ensued, in which Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an oar. The natives, who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones, as forced them to retreat, with great precipitation, and swim off to a rock, at some distance from the shore. The pinnace was immediately ransacked by the islanders; and, but for the timely interposition of Pareea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow, and forgot it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished. Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people that they might come and take possession of the pinnace, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe, with a midshipman's cap, and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and, with much ap-

parent concern at what had happened, asked if the *Orono* would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day? On being assured that he should be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers, in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

"When Captain Cook was informed of what had passed, he expressed much uneasiness at it, and as we were returning on board, 'I am afraid,' said he, 'that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for,' he added, 'they must not be left to imagine, that they have gained an advantage over us.' However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening he contented himself with giving orders, that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was executed, I returned on shore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the events of the day, I posted a double guard on the *Morai*, with orders to call me, if they saw any men lurking about the beach. At about 11 o'clock, five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the *Morai*; they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and, at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight, one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him; on which the man fled, and we passed the remainder of the night without farther disturbance.

"Next morning, at daylight, I went on board the *Resolution* for the time-keeper, and, in my way, was hailed by the *Discovery*, and informed, that their cutter had been stolen, during the night, from the buoy where it was moored.

"When I arrived on board I found the marines arming and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me, with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever anything of consequence was lost, at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the King, or some of the principal *Erees*, on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion; and, at the same time, had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them, if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable

means. Accordingly, the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay; and, before I left the ship, some great guns had been fired at two large canoes, that were attempting to make their escape.

"It was between 7 and 8 o'clock when we quitted the ship together; Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips, and nine marines with him; and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were, to quiet the minds of the natives, on our side of the bay, by assuring them, they would not be hurt; to keep my people together, and to be on my guard. We then parted; the Captain went toward Kowrowa, where the King resided; and I proceeded to the beach. My first care, on going ashore, was to give strict orders to the marines to remain within the tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo, and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the object of the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found, that they had already heard of the cutter's being stolen, and I assured them, that though Captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo asked me, with great earnestness, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt? I assured him he was not; and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

"In the meantime, Captain Cook, having called off the launch, which was stationed at the north point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the Lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect; the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was to inquire for Terreeoboo, and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the *Resolution*. In a short time, the boys returned along with the natives, who had been sent in search of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the house where the King had slept. They found the old man just awoke from sleep; and, after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter,

from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and spend the day on board the *Resolution*. To this proposal the King readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

"Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman, called Kanee-kabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the King's favourite wives, came after him, and with many tears, and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him, and insisting that he should go no farther, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns, and the appearances of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their King. In this situation, the Lieutenant of marines, observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the Captain, to draw them up along the rocks, close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the King was sitting.

"All this time, the old King remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continuing to urge him, in the most pressing manner, to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the King appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who stood round him, interposed, at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterward, having recourse to force and violence, insisted on his staying where he was. Captain Cook therefore finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off, without bloodshed, at last gave up the point; observing to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

"Though the enterprise, which had carried Captain Cook on shore had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger, till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats, which had been

stationed across the bay, having fired at some canoes, that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a Chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, just as he had left the King, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it occasioned was very conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent off; and the men put on their war-mats and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives, having in his hands a stone, and a long iron spike (which they call a *pabooa*) came up to the Captain, flourishing his weapon, by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The Captain desired him to desist; but the man, persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines; and one of the *Erees* attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his *pabooa*; but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt end of his musket. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness; and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

"Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded; and the Lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a *pabooa*, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate Commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing, and to pull in. If it be true, as some of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boat-men had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable that his humanity, on this occasion, proved fatal to him. For it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about to give his orders to the boats, he was



stabbed in the back and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore and surrounded by the enemy, who, snatching the dagger out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

"Thus fell our great and excellent Commander! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature; since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed; and was rather removed from the enjoyment than cut off from the acquisition, of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented, by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation, under their hardships, in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay, which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity."

Lieutenant King concludes his eulogy with a brief summary of Captain Cook's achievements in the cause of science, observing:

"Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labours of a single man, than geography has done from those of Captain Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas, he discovered the Society Islands; determined the insularity of New Zealand; discovered the straits which separate the two islands, and are called after his name; and made a complete survey of both. He afterward explored the Eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown; an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upward of two thousand miles.

"In his second expedition, he resolved the great problem of a Southern continent; having traversed that hemisphere between the latitudes of  $40^{\circ}$  and  $70^{\circ}$ , in such a manner, as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage, he discovered New Caledonia, the largest island in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand; the island of Georgia; and an unknown coast, which he named Sandwich Land, the *thule* of the Southern hemisphere; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old, and made several new discoveries.

"But the voyage we are now relating, is distinguished, above all the rest, by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he discovered, to the North of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands; which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence, in the system of European navigation, than any other discovery in the South Sea. He afterward explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the western coast of America, from the latitude of  $43^{\circ}$  to  $70^{\circ}$  North, containing an extent of three thousand, five hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast, on each side, to such a height of Northern latitude as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage, in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an eastern or a western course. In short, if we except the sea of Amur, and the Japanese Archipelago, which still remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe."

The lamentable death of Captain Cook has been described by Lieutenant King. In his narrative of the expedition after that calamity, King goes on to state that after much parleying and difficulty with the natives, some of the bones of his commander were recovered, wrapped up in a cloth. Other parts were brought to the *Resolution*, done up in a quantity of fine white cloth, covered with white feathers. The body had been dismembered by the natives, and the flesh from each part cut off and burned. As trophies of their barbarous act, the principal chiefs each had received one of the bones, and to recover them, Captain Clerke was compelled to make a display of force. In fact, several of the natives were killed and many of their houses burned to the ground before he gained his end. All that remained of Cook, the intrepid and famous navigator, was placed in a casket and committed to the deep, with military honours.

On the evening of February 22, 1779, the expedition, under command of Captain Clerke, left the harbour of "Kowrowa," where Cook was killed, and after having reached the latitude of  $69^{\circ} 34'$  north, where solid fields of ice were encountered, Clerke "took a last farewell of a northeast passage to Old England." Then the expedition was headed south, and finally, on the 4th day of October, 1780, the ships arrived at the Nore after an absence from England of four years, two





BIRTHPLACE OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK  
Marton, near Middlesborough, Yorkshire, England



THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK  
From an engraving in the Royal United Service Museum

months and twenty days. The main object, it is scarcely necessary to relate, had not been accomplished; but the heroic navigators and explorers took every advantage of their opportunities, and, through their invaluable services, added greatly to the renown, prestige and possessions of Great Britain. The commanders of the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, however, never returned. The life of Cook was suddenly cut short at the Sandwich Islands, and that of his successor, Captain Clerke, who had commanded the *Discovery*, was ended by that dread disease, consumption, on the 22d of August, 1779, while in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 7'$  north.

The great navigator was of humble origin. He was born at Marton in the North Riding of York, the 27th of October, 1728. At the age of eighteen he joined the merchant service, but later entered the Royal Navy as a volunteer in the capacity of an able seaman. His diligence, sobriety and strict attention to his duties soon brought him to the notice of his commanding officers, and by degrees he was promoted through different ranks until 1757 he secured a master's warrant. While in the line-of-battle H. M. S. *Pembroke* on the North American station, he carefully surveyed the St. Lawrence before the famous battle of the Plains of Abraham. Later he surveyed parts of the coasts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to the satisfaction of his Captain and the Governor of that Colony, both of whom conceived a high opinion of his abilities. A year or two later, in 1768, Cook was given command of the expedition to the Pacific to observe the transit of Venus. At the same time he received his Lieutenant's commission. The voyage was successful, and upon his return to England in 1771 he was gazetted a commander. In the following year he sailed from England in the *Resolution*, accompanied by the *Adventure*, upon his great Australasian enterprise. This voyage attracted such favourable attention that he was promoted to post captain, the King himself placing the commission in the explorer's hands. Then followed the voyage, of which a brief description has been given. Perhaps not the least of the benefits he conferred upon humanity was his discovery of a method to preserve health at sea. Before his voyages, that terrible bane of seamen, the scurvy, demanded its toll of lives from each vessel that embarked upon a protracted voyage. Cook, by the exercise of a humane foresight, robbed the disease of its terrors.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Dictionary of Natural Biography; Walbran, British Columbia Coast Names.

Of the men who sailed with Cook upon his second and third voyages, several afterwards became more or less closely identified with the affairs of the northwest coast. Vancouver, Roberts, Colnett and Hergest, were midshipmen; Portlock a master's mate, and Dixon an armorer. John Ledyard, of whom more later, also sailed with Cook.

Perhaps it may not be out of place to insert at the end of this chapter the last letter written by Captain Cook to the Admiralty. The letter bears the inscription: "*Resolution* at the Island of Unalashka on the Coast of America in the Latitude of  $53^{\circ} 55'$  North, Longitude  $192^{\circ} 30'$  East from Greenwich, the 20th of October 1778."

It reads:

"Sir, Having accidentally met with some Russians who have promised to put this in a way of being sent to Petersburg, and I neither have nor intent to visit Kamtschatka as yet, I take this opportunity to give their Lordships a short account of my proceedings from leaving the Cape of Good Hope to this time.

"After leaving the Cape, I, pursuant to their Lordships Instructions, visited the Islands lately seen by the French, situated between the Latitude of  $48^{\circ} 41'$  and  $50^{\circ}$  South and in the Longitude of  $69\frac{1}{2}$  Et. These Islands abound with good Harbours and fresh water, but produceth neither Tree nor Shrub and but very little of any other kind of vegetation. After spending five days on the Coast thereof, I quitted it on the 30th of December, just touched at Van Diemen's Land, arrived at Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand the 13th February 1777. Left it again on the 25th and pushed for Otaheite, but as we had not been long at sea before we met with an Easterly wind which continued so long that the season was too far spent to proceed to the North that year, and at length the want of water and food for the Cattle I had on board obliged me to bear away for the Friendly Islands, so that it was August before I arrived at Otaheite. I found that the Spaniards from Callao had been twice at this Island from the time of my leaving it in 1774. The first time they came they left behind them designedly, four Spaniards who remained upon the Island about two months, but were all gone some time before my arrival. They had also brought to and left on the Island, Goats, Hogs, and Dogs, one Bull, and a Ram, but never a female of either of these species, so that those I carried and put on shore there were highly acceptable. They consisted of a Bull

and three Cows, a Ram and five ewes, besides Poultry of four sorts, and a Horse and a Mare with Omai's. At the Friendly Isles I left a Bull and a Cow, a Horse and Mare, and some sheep. In which I flatter myself that the laudable intentions of the King and their Lordships have been answered.

"I left Omai at Huaheine, quitted the Society Isles the 9th of December, proceeded to the North and in the Latitude of  $22^{\circ}$  N., Longitude 200 East, fell in with a Groupe of Islands inhabited by the same Nation as Otaheite and abounding with Hogs and Roots. After a short stay at these Islands, continued our Route for the Coast of America, which we made on the 7th of last March, and on the 29th, after enduring several storms, got into a Port in the Latitude of  $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  North. At this place, besides taking in Wood and Water, the *Resolution* was supplied with a new Mizen-Mast, Fore-Topmast, and her Fore-Mast got out and repaired.

"I put to Sea again the 26th April, and was no sooner out of Port, than we were attacked by a violent Storm which was the occasion of so much of the Coast being passed unseen. In this Gale the *Resolution* sprang a Leak which obliged me to put into a Port in the Latitude of  $61^{\circ}$ , Longitude  $213^{\circ}$  East. In a few days I was again at Sea, and soon found we were on a Coast where every step was to be considered, where no information could be had from Maps either Modern or Ancient; confiding too much in the former we were frequently misled to our no small hindrance.

"On an extensive Coast altogether unknown, it may be thought needless to say that we met with many obstructions before we got through the Narrow Strait that divides Asia from America, where the Coast of the latter takes a N. E. direction. I followed it flattered with the hopes of having at last overcome all difficulties, when on the 17th of August in the Latitude  $70^{\circ} 45'$ , Longitude  $198^{\circ}$  East, we were stopped by an impenetrable body of Ice and had so far advanced between it and the land before we discovered it that little was wanting to force us on shore.

"Finding I could no longer proceed along the Coast I tried what could be done further out, but the same obstacle everywhere presented itself, quite over to the Coast of Asia which we made on the 29th of the same month in the Latitude of  $68^{\circ} 55'$ , Longitude  $180\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  East. As frost and snow, the forerunners of Winter began

to set in, it was thought too late in the Season to make a further Attempt for a Passage this Year in any direction, I therefore steered to the S. E. along the Coast of Asia, passed the Strait above mentioned and then stood over for the American Coast to clear up some doubts and to search, but in vain, for a Harbour to compleat our wood and water. Wood is a very scarce article in all these Northern parts; except in one place there is none upon the Sea Coast but what is thrown ashore by the Sea, some of which we got on board and then proceeded to this place where we had been before to take in Water. From here I intend to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, that is those discovered in  $22^{\circ}$  North Latitude, after refreshing there, return to the North by the way of Kamtschatka, and the ensuing summer make another and final attempt to find a Northern Passage, but I must confess I have little hopes of succeeding; Ice, though an obstacle not easily surmounted is perhaps not the only one in the way. The Coasts of the two Continents is flat for some distance off and even in the middle between the two the depth of Water is inconsiderable; this, and some other circumstances all tending to prove that there is more land in the Frozen Sea than as yet we know of, where the Ice has its source and that the polar part is far from being an open Sea.

"There is another discouraging circumstance attending the Navigating these Northern parts, and that is the want of Harbours where a ship can occasionally retire to secure herself from the Ice or repair any damage she may have sustained. For a more particular description of the American Coast, I beg leave to refer to the enclosed Chart which is hastily copied from an original of the same scale.

"The reason of my not going to the Harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtschatka to spend the winter is the great dislike I have to lay inactive for six or eight months while so large a part of the Southern Pacific Ocean remains unexplored and the State and Condition of the Ships will allow me to be moving. Sickness has been little felt in the ships and Scurvy not at all. I have however had the misfortune to lose Mr. Anderson, my Surgeon, who died of a lingering consumption two months ago, and one man some time before of the Dropsy, and Captain Clerke had one drowned by accident, which are all we have lost since we left the Cape of Good Hope.



"Stores and Provisions we have enough for twelve months, and longer, without a supply of both it will hardly be possible for us to remain in these Seas, but whatever time we do remain shall be spent in the improvement of Geography and Navigation by .

"Sir, your most obedient  
and most humble Servant  
"James Cook."

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## CHAPTER VI

### THE MARITIME FURTRADERS

The latter half of the eighteenth century, like that of the sixteenth, exhibited great enterprise in the discovery of new lands, and commercial activity in the extension of trade to the distant and then little known parts of the world. But unlike the earlier period, when the eyes of the great merchant adventurers of England were turned almost entirely to the eastern shores of North America, and the discovery of a passage by the North West through the Frozen Sea to the supposed Eldorado of the great Southern Ocean, attention had become centred upon the more recently discovered islands of the South Pacific and the valuable fur trade carried on between China and the storm and mist bound coasts of North West America. The merchants of almost every important seaport in the kingdom, in friendly rivalry to the numerous government expeditions, vied with each other in fitting out ships under the command of skilled seamen, of whom there was no lack. Trade was the primary object, of course, but all or nearly all of these private expeditions were fortified with instructions that no opportunity was to be lost of making fresh discoveries of new islands or continents, which might bring honour and wealth to themselves and add lustre to the vast and rapidly extending Empire.

It must not be thought, however, that British merchants were the only ones to seek honour and fortune in the new field. On the contrary, from the very beginning they met with vigorous competition from the adventurers of other nations, the enterprising traders of the United States of America, who carried the flag of their nation into all seas, being notably active in their opposition. It is just such commercial and exploring expeditions as these that are now to come under review. They accomplished a great deal, and added not a little to the complicated international disputes of a later day respect-

ing the territorial jurisdictions of the several countries concerned in the division of North West America.

The student of history will be familiar with the manner in which one era is succeeded by another. A movement, fraught with far-reaching consequences, and bringing in its train a whole assortment of political and economic changes, may at first attract but little attention. Then by degrees it grows and gathers momentum until a new power is born that with irresistible force sweeps aside old ideas and pre-conceived notions. Again a sudden acquisition of knowledge from one source or another may cause a revolutionary change of attitude towards a theory or a country. Even so it was with the vast and hitherto unknown region of North West America. Captain Cook had set out to solve the great geographical problem of the age, but, strange to say, it was not so much his contribution to the solution of that problem as his discovery of a country rich in fur that invited public attention to his third and last voyage. It is an ironical comment upon the ambition of man that it often happens that chance discoveries—the by-product of scientific investigation—exercise a more potent influence in the affairs of the world than the results of years of laborious research.

In the course of their protracted visit to Nootka Sound and Alaska, the officers and men of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* frequently bartered with the natives for the furs in which these coasts then abounded, giving in exchange therefor pieces of metal and trinkets of small value. The men had no idea at all of the worth of the skins and used them as bed clothes, or for other odd purposes. Sometimes they even patched their jackets and breeches or kilts with the costly fur of the sea-otter. Naturally enough, after such hard usage, many of the skins were in poor condition when the ships reached Macao on their homeward voyage. Nevertheless, the Chinese merchants of that port, to the great astonishment of the sailors, eagerly bargained for the remnants. One of the seamen sold his stock for no less than eight hundred dollars (Chinese); and a few prime skins which had been carefully preserved were sold for one hundred and twenty dollars apiece. "The whole amount of the value," says Lieutenant King, "in *specie* and goods, that was got for the furs, in both ships, I am confident, did not fall far short of two thousand pounds sterling; and it was generally supposed, that at least two-thirds of the quantity we have originally got from the

Americans, were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, and otherwise disposed of, in Kamtschatka." Lieutenant King concludes his remarks with the significant observation that "the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the Public."

In spite of their long and arduous voyage, the crews of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* wished to return at once to Cook's Inlet to purchase more skins. In fact Lieutenant King goes so far as to say that "The rage with which our seamen were possessed to return to Cook's River . . . was not far short of mutiny." The commander himself was scarcely less excited than his men over the discovery of the high esteem in which the beautiful fur of the sea-otter was held by the wealthy merchants of Canton. He devotes two or three pages of his journal to a plan for establishing a fur-trade in the North Pacific, between the American coast and China, by means of the East-India Company, which still enjoyed its monopoly.

Before Captain Cook's expedition returned to England war had been declared between Great Britain and France and Spain. It was not considered, therefore, an opportune time for the publication of the results of the voyage. In 1783, however, the war was brought to an end by the treaty of Versailles and the monumental work on the great circumnavigator's scientific investigations appeared in the following year. It is not too much to say, perhaps, that with the appearance of these quarto volumes and their accompanying folio of charts and sketches, a new era dawned for the territories bordering on the North Pacific. It is true that an account of the voyage by the assistant surgeon, W. Ellis, had been printed in England in 1782, and a shorter one by John Ledyard in the United States in 1783, but neither of these books can be compared to the official edition, which is one of the great classics of the literature of British seamanship. The work was translated into many languages and reprinted in all of the leading countries of Europe.

Although the officers and men of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* were, by order of the Admiralty, enjoined to secrecy with regard to their discoveries on the Northwest Coast, and their diaries were taken from them as a further precaution in that direction, yet it seems that they did not keep the news to themselves. It would be too much to expect, perhaps, that the men should refrain from recounting their

adventures, in which the eagerness of the Chinese merchants to purchase the fur of the sea-otter played so important a part. They would have been more than human, if not even a whisper had escaped them upon such a fascinating subject. At any rate it is likely that before the famous volumes entitled "Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, undertaken by command of His Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere," were given to the world, the exploitation of the northwest coast had already become a topic of discussion amongst adventurers. It was not, however, until the official account of Cook's third and last voyage appeared in 1784 that the new field for commercial enterprise attracted world-wide attention. Then private enterprise conceived and carried into effect the commercial voyages which in the course of a few years gave a new direction to the affairs of the North Pacific. The operations of the furtraders not only added largely to the world's store of geographical knowledge by bringing an unknown region into prominence, but they also gave bone and sinew to the various contentions of Great Britain, Russia, Spain and the United States in the boundary disputes of a later period.

It may be as well at this point to define the region in which the furtraders carried on their operations and levied their tribute. The field extended from the coast of California in the south to the Alaskan posts of the Russians in the north, along a continuous coast line two thousand miles or more in length, of which the historian of British Columbia is more particularly concerned with that part which stretches from the mouth of the Columbia River to the Portland Canal. The southern part of this particular section of the seaboard is singularly devoid of headlands, harbours, and inlets, while the northern part of it is marked with peculiar and distinctive geographical features. From the mouth of the Columbia River to the entrance to the Straits of Juan de Fuca the coast extends in an almost unbroken line; but from that point to Cross Strait in Alaska the coast is deeply indented by a continuous succession of spacious inlets communicating with narrow fiords which run far into the continent.

There is another remarkable feature of the coast between the forty-eighth and fifty-ninth parallels of north latitude. The continental shore is effectually masked by groups of large and small islands which are threaded by a network of intricate channels and passages. These innumerable islands and inlets became the favourite

hunting ground of the furtrader, who poked the prow of his little vessel into every bay and harbour in his search for Indian villages from which might be obtained the furs he so greatly coveted. Thus the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Barkley Sound, Clayoquot Sound, Nootka Sound, Kyuquot Sound, Quatsino Sound, Queen Charlotte's Sound, Fitzhugh Sound, Millbank Sound, Chatham Sound, and Dixon Entrance soon became well-known. The long fiords and intricate channels to which the larger passages gave access, were also explored to some extent.

In fine, the Northwest Coast suddenly became the scene of a keen commercial rivalry, in the course of which the competitors suffered many hardships and braved many dangers, all for the sake of the rich fur of the sea-otter, so highly prized by the mandarins of China. Adventurers of many nations foregathered here to pit their wits against the native Indian and against each other. Nor was the trade conducted without loss of life and property. It is true that the natives were generally more or less amenable, nevertheless, many tragic incidents occurred before the sea-otter was extirpated in that quarter. The natives seized several vessels and in the literature of the Coast one may read the gruesome details of these incidents. The piratical attempts of the Indians, which it must be confessed were in some instances provoked by the callous behaviour of the fur-traders themselves, were followed by reprisals in which many natives were killed.

As the adventurer sailed up and down the coast he found harbours and anchorages, of which he drew rough charts for his own guidance, or for the information of his employers. His sketches, however, were not always calculated to throw light on the situation, for if the truth were told, the rival traders generally desired to keep to themselves the exact position of villages noted for their yield of skins. In the keen competition of those exciting days, the furtrader even went out of his way to mislead his competitors, a fact which is noted in John Meares' Voyage. Yet in spite of the petty rivalries of individuals and the haphazard method of procedure, the furtrading period was productive of a large assortment of local charts, which are interesting today because they reveal the movements of the merchant adventurers and their intimate knowledge of certain parts of the coast. The careful survey of Captain Vancouver, however, soon superseded the sporadic efforts of the individual and the maps of the

furtrader have long since been forgotten. But the charts gathered together and published from time to time by Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer to the Admiralty, prove conclusively that the trader bore his part in the work of exploration. Captain Vancouver himself on more than one occasion acknowledged his indebtedness to the early adventurers.

While treating of the scene of the furtraders' feuds and activities, it should be mentioned that of the large islands which form so conspicuous a feature of the Northwest Coast, with the exception of Vancouver Island, none attracted so much attention as the Queen Charlotte Islands, so named at this time. The peculiarly prominent position of that important group naturally led to its early discovery and the immediate exploitation of its fur resources. Moresby, Graham, and Kunghit Islands proved a fruitful source of wealth, as is attested by the log of more than one vessel. The capes, bays, and inlets of the Queen Charlotte Islands bear mute testimony to the work of the furtrader, for many of them were named by him or in his honour. Likewise, the nomenclature of the continental coast and its fringe of islands recalls the stirring events of those early days. Indeed, the names bestowed by the furtrader upon the headlands, bays, and islands of the Northwest Coast serve to commemorate an extraordinarily active and intensely interesting era in the annals of that region. As a matter of fact, some scattered names, a few pamphlets and charts, and a smaller number of bulky volumes of exploration, are the only monuments to the prowess of the adventurer. Unregarded and forgotten as it now is, that prowess is memorable because it illustrates the indomitable spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, and because it shows in a peculiarly instructive manner what the British Empire owes to private enterprise.

Owing to the great distance between European ports and the Northwest Coast, the earliest expedition started from China, and it is a fact of some interest that that country was brought into touch with North America by means of the furtrade. China afforded the most lucrative market for the furs obtained on the American coast and Chinese sailors and artisans were employed on some of the vessels. Several expeditions sailed from Canton and Macao. Before long, however, the shipping houses of the leading British ports, notably London and Bristol, and some of the merchants of the Atlantic seaports of the United States, particularly those of the Port of Boston,





*Dakruple*

Engraved by Ridley, from an original drawing by John Brown.

[illegible]

determined to exploit the new field. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century many ships sailed from Great Britain and from the New England States for the North Pacific.

The first expedition to the region under discussion sailed from China under Captain James Hanna, who commanded a small brig of sixty tons, carrying a crew of thirty men. The brig left the Typa in April, 1785, and reached Nootka in August of the same year. Captain George Dixon is the authority for the statement that soon after the arrival of the brig at Nootka the natives attempted to board her in open day. In the fray that followed many of the natives were killed. Apparently this lesson was not lost upon the Nootkans, for they afterwards traded quietly and peaceably. It is said that Captain Hanna procured a valuable cargo of furs, though his profits are not known. He left Nootka towards the end of September and reached Macao in December. The furs were sold at Canton in March, 1786, for a little more than \$20,000. So it may be reckoned that the first trading voyage was successful. The accounts of the venture are so meagre that it is difficult to say exactly what places were visited by Captain Hanna. Apparently he did most of his trading at or in the vicinity of Nootka.

While Captain Hanna's voyage of 1785 is the first of which there is any authentic record, it was not the first to be proposed. Captain Dixon of the *Queen Charlotte* relates that as early as the year 1781—Cook's expedition returned in 1780—one William Bolts fitted out the *Cobenzell*, an armed ship of seven hundred tons, for the Northwest Coast of America. According to the arrangements made, she was to have sailed from Trieste, accompanied by a tender of forty-five tons. The vessel was fitted out for both trade and discovery. Men of high scientific attainments were engaged for the expedition and the courts of Europe were approached with a view of securing a safe pass-port for these vessels and a good reception at foreign ports. Unfortunately, the venture was "overturned by a set of interested men, then in power at Vienna." Portlock and Dixon's veiled allusions to this expedition contain all the published information on the subject.

In May, 1786, Captain Hanna again sailed from Macao, this time in the *Sea Otter*, of one hundred and twenty tons. He reached Nootka Sound in August, only to find that he had been preceded by Captain Lowrie and Captain Guise, in command of the *Captain Cook* of three hundred tons and the snow *Experiment* of one hundred tons, fitted

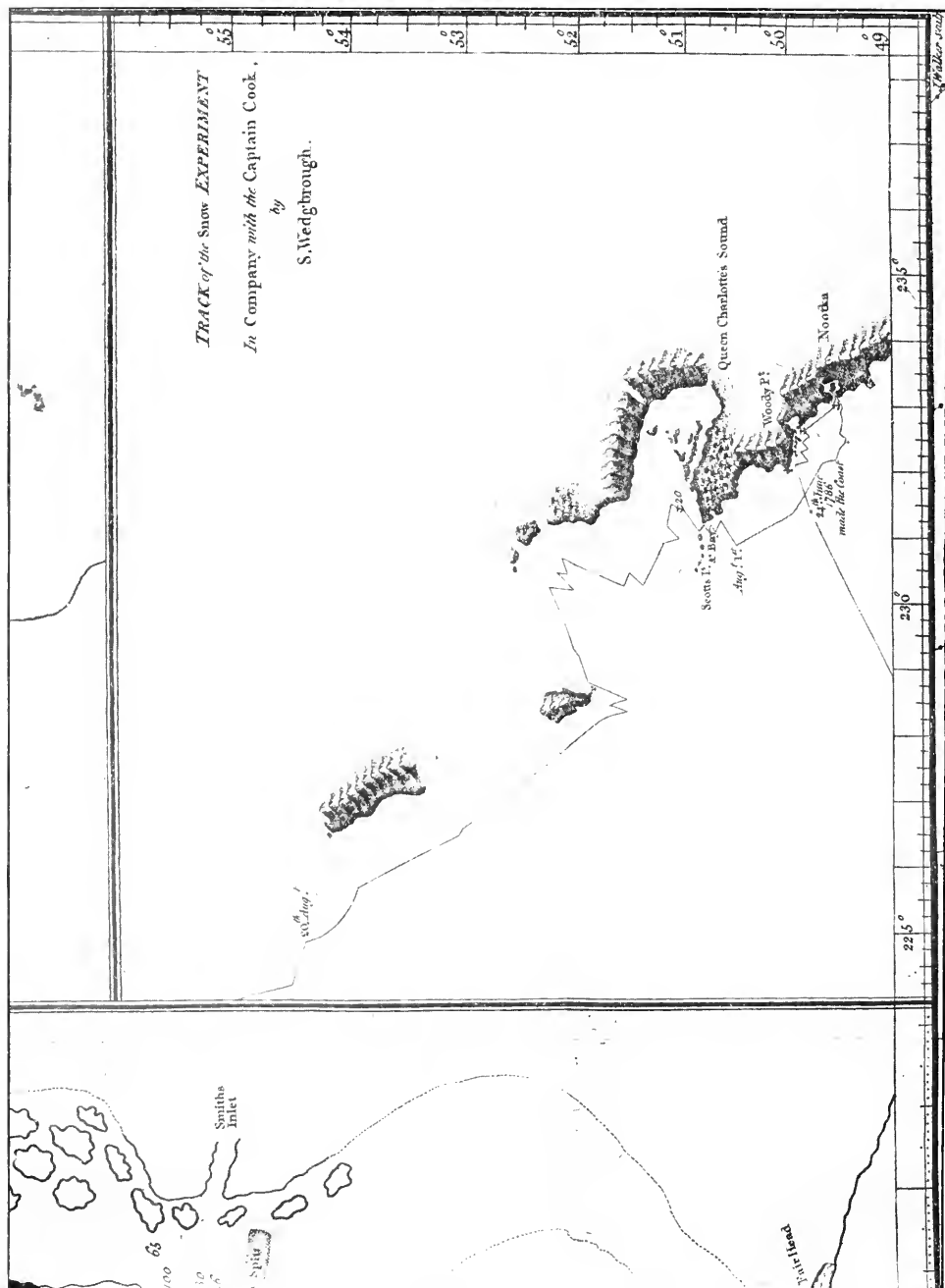
out in Bombay. These vessels reached Nootka towards the end of June, 1786, proceeding thence to Prince William Sound. After a short stay there Lowrie and Guise sailed for Macao. Hanna's second venture was not by any means so profitable as his first, for upon this occasion he procured but one hundred whole sea-otter skins and three hundred odd pieces. The furs were sold at Macao on the 8th of February, 1787, for eight thousand dollars, a poor return upon the time and money invested in the enterprise.

Lowrie and Guise were more successful, obtaining six hundred and four skins and odd pieces of fur, which fetched \$24,000 in China, or an average of forty dollars each. Apparently nearly all of the skins were obtained at Nootka. John M'Key, the surgeon of the expedition, was left at that port for the purpose of recruiting his health and "to learn the language and to ingratiate himself with the natives so that if any other vessels should touch there he might prevent them from purchasing any furs." M'Key, as far as is known, was the first European to live among the Indians of the Northwest Coast for any length of time. Hanna found him here and offered him a passage in the *Sea Otter*, which he refused, on the score that he had begun to relish dried fish and whale oil, and was so satisfied with the life that he was perfectly contented to stay until the following year. M'Key soon had cause to regret his decision, however, for no sooner had Captain Hanna left the Sound than the natives stripped him of his clothes and forced him to adopt "their mode of dress and filthiness of manners." From the accounts of the episode which have survived, it appears that he was an apt pupil. Mr. Etches, of whom more will be heard presently, told Captain Dixon that M'Key "was equally slovenly and dirty with the filthiest of them all." In the course of his sojourn at Nootka this eccentric man is said to have mastered the native language and gained an intimate knowledge of the temper and disposition of the natives, which presently served him in good stead. It is worth remembering that M'Key penetrated the country behind Nootka Sound, and that from the reports of the natives and the knowledge he had gathered on his several excursions he came to the conclusion that no part of the Nootka Sound country "was the continent of America, but a chain of detached islands." Apparently, the Indians were aware of the insular character of their country, a fact which was not established by Europeans until the year 1792, when Captain Vancouver circumnavigated the large island











which he named Quadra and Vancouver to commemorate his conference with Senor Bodega y Quadra at Nootka Sound. It is only fair to add that it is recorded in Dixon's voyage that Etches averred that no great dependence could be placed on M'Key's story, as he was "a very ignorant young fellow," but in the light of later events there seems no reason to distrust M'Key on this point. At any rate, his story is interesting, because no doubt it helped to inspire John Meares' "butter pat map," the history of which will be recorded presently.

Another expedition of this early period was that of Captain Peters in the *Lark*, a snow of two hundred and twenty tons and a crew of forty men. The expedition sailed from Macao in July, 1786, with orders to make the Northwest Coast by way of Kamchatka. Captain Peters' voyage ended disastrously, for the vessel was lost on Copper Island, only two of the crew being saved.

Of the earliest expeditions, that commanded by Captain Barkley of the British trading ship *Imperial Eagle* is deserving of more than passing notice. Captain Walbran, in his valuable work "British Columbia Coast Names," gives a brief but interesting account of this expedition. The *Imperial Eagle*, formerly the East India-man *Loudoun*, a fine vessel of four hundred tons, ship-rigged and mounting twenty guns, sailed under Austrian colours to obviate the necessity of procuring a license from the East India Company, which, under the provisions of its charter that corporation had the right to demand from British merchants. Captain Barkley, who was only twenty-five years of age, had invested three thousand pounds in the venture. The ship sailed from the Thames in August, 1786, for Ostend, where she hoisted the Austrian colours. Here Captain Barkley met and married Miss Frances Hornby Trevor, then seventeen years of age. Mrs. Barkley, who accompanied her husband, was the first white woman to visit the Northwest Coast. Her lively and entertaining diary, which has been preserved to this day, is an important source of historical information. Captain Barkley arrived at Nootka Sound in June, 1787, where a large number of sea-otter skins were soon obtained, largely through the aforesaid M'Key's assistance.

On leaving Nootka Captain Barkley entered and named Barkley Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Frances and Hornby Peaks were so called after his wife, Cape Beale after the purser of the *Imperial Eagle*, and the young commander also named

many other places in this great inlet. Of these names, "Cape Beale" and "Barkley Sound" are the only ones to be found on modern maps.

Continuing his voyage in a southeasterly direction Captain Barkley made an important discovery, aptly described by Mrs. Barkley as "A large opening extending to the eastward, the entrance of which appeared to be about four leagues wide and remained about that width as far as the eye could see, with a clear easterly horizon, which my husband immediately recognized as the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and to which we gave the name of the original discoverer, my husband placing it on his chart."

Shortly after the discovery of the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca a tragic accident befell a boat's crew of the *Imperial Eagle*, all of whom were killed by the natives near the spot named Martyr's Point by the Spaniards to commemorate a similar occurrence of an earlier day. The island near by was named Destruction Island—the Isla de Dolores of Bodega y Quadra. Thence the *Imperial Eagle* proceeded to China, where her cargo of eight hundred furs was sold for thirty thousand dollars.

In 1792 Captain Barkley, again accompanied by his wife, returned to the coast in the Brig *Halcyon*. But this time he did not proceed farther south than Norfolk Sound, now called Sitka. Captain Walbran records, upon the authority of Mrs. Barkley's journal, that subsequently the *Halcyon* was stolen by a man in whose charge she had been placed; but, strange to say, Captain Barkley found and recovered his vessel in Boston several years later.

It was at this time that the notorious John Meares made his first appearance on the coast. He had been in the Royal Navy, attaining the rank of lieutenant in 1778. Upon the conclusion in 1783 of the war between Great Britain and Spain and France, he retired from the service to take command of a merchant ship on a voyage to India. While at Calcutta Meares conceived the project of forming a company to engage in the furtrade on the American coast. In common with many adventurers of that age, he was spurred to activity by the glittering prophesies, concerning the future of this commerce, which obtained currency immediately after the publication of Cook's Voyage. Having purchased the *Nootka* of two hundred tons and the *Sea Otter* of one hundred tons, preparations were forthwith made to carry the design into execution. Meares himself took command of the *Nootka*, and William Tipping, who had also been a lieutenant





From an old engraving

MEARES' LONG BOAT ENTERING THE STRAIT OF JUAN DE FUCA

in the Royal Navy, commanded the *Sea Otter*. The *Nootka* sailed on the second of March, and after an unusually tedious voyage arrived at a Russian settlement in Unalaska, of which an interesting description is given in Meares' journal. Sailing thence on the 20th of August, the *Nootka* anchored in Captain Cook's Snug Corner Cove in Prince William Sound, where the *Sea Otter* was to meet her consort. Tipping had made this inlet earlier in the season, and he left the port before Meares' arrival. The *Sea Otter* was never heard of again, and it is all too evident that she was lost at sea with all hands. As the winter had already set in and it being considered inadvisable to run for the Sandwich Islands, Meares determined to spend "an inhospitable winter" in Prince William Sound. Accordingly the *Nootka* was moved to a good harbour some fifteen miles distant from Snug Corner Cove, where every preparation was made for the winter. In the meantime the natives made their appearance, but they had few skins, so after all nothing was gained by wintering in the North.

Meares gives a vivid description of the situation of the vessels at this time. "While" he says, "we were thus locked in, as it were, from the chearful light of day, and the vivifying warmth of solar rays,—no other comforts presented themselves to compensate in any degree, for the scene of desolation which encircled us.—While the tremendous mountains forbade almost a sight of the sky, and cast their nocturnal shadows over us in the midst of day, the land was impenetrable from the depth of snow, so that we were excluded from all hopes of any recreation, support or comfort, during the winter, but what could be found in the ship and ourselves." But this was only the beginning of the troubles of the unfortunate men cooped up in the *Nootka*.

The vessel was no longer capable of resisting the intense cold, and frost stood an inch thick below the deck. Then, as if this were not enough, an acute form of scurvy attacked the crew, and before long no less than twenty-three men, including the surgeon, were confined to their beds. The disorder became so virulent that before the weather changed there was scarcely a healthy man on board. Then the surgeon died and the survivors were deprived of medical aid. Meares gives a pathetic account of the expedition at this time. "Every advantage," he writes in his journal, "the sick could receive from the most tender and vigilant attention, they received from myself, the first officer and a seaman, who were yet in a state to do them that service. But still we continued to see and lament a gradual

diminution of our crew from this terrible disorder. Too often did I find myself called to assist in performing the dreadful office of dragging the dead bodies across the ice, to a shallow sepulcher which our own hands had hewn out for them on the shore. The sledge on which we fetched the wood was their hearse and the chasms in the ice their grave."

So the winter wore away to the accompaniment of death and disaster. At last spring returned and with it came relief in the *Queen Charlotte* from London, under the command of Captain George Dixon, who had been informed of Meares' predicament by the natives. Meares says that Captain Dixon was welcomed "as a guardian angel, with tears of joy." The *Queen Charlotte* was joined presently by her consort the *King George*, under Captain Portlock.

Captain Portlock and Captain Dixon did all that they could to assist the unfortunate crew of the *Nootka*, the former allowing two of his men to ship on board the *Nootka* to help her emaciated crew in navigating the vessel.

Strange as it may seem, this meeting, fortunate as it was for the *Nootka*, gave rise to a heated controversy between Meares and Dixon, which found expression in a series of pamphlets and letters which were later published in England. Among other things, Dixon said that the scurvy had been aggravated by drunkenness, an assertion which Meares contradicted with some heat. Mutual recriminations followed thick and fast, in the course of which Dixon compared Meares' map of the coast to "an old wife's butter pat." It appears that in return for the assistance rendered him, Meares was expected to return at once to China, leaving the coast to Portlock and Dixon. But Meares carried on a profitable trade on his voyage southward.

The *Nootka* set sail from the Sound on the 21st of June to the "infinite joy of her crew," of whom no less than twenty-three had died from exposure and scurvy in the course of the winter. After spending a month in the Sandwich Islands, Meares sailed for China, arriving at Macao on the 20th of October, 1787.

The enterprise was disastrous in many respects, but the failure did not dampen Meares' ardour, for in the following year he organized another expedition, having *Nootka* for its objective point.

Meares' first voyage, with all its hardships and privations, is typical of the furtrading expeditions, although few of them were so unfortunate as that which sailed in the *Nootka*.







The next voyage to deserve attention is that of Captains Portlock and Dixon in the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte*, the same vessels that found Meares in such a perilous situation in Prince William Sound. That expedition was among the first to sail from England for the new field, all of the ships previously mentioned, with the exception of the *Imperial Eagle*, having sailed from China or India. The enterprise was conceived in a broad and liberal spirit, for monetary profit was not the sole aim of the promoters, who hoped to add to the world's store of scientific knowledge, both in discovery and the gathering of information respecting the fauna and flora of the Northwest Coast of North America.

The novelty of the enterprise attracted the attention of Sir Joseph Banks, Lord Mulgrave and other prominent men. The Secretary of the Treasury named the larger vessel, a ship of three hundred and twenty tons, the *King George*, and the smaller one, a snow of two hundred tons, the *Queen Charlotte*. Richard Cadman Etches seems to have been the moving spirit in the enterprise. He and other traders entered into a partnership, under the title of the King George's Sound Company, the object of which was to promote trade in fur between the west coast of America and China. A license was obtained from the South Sea Company, which corporation still levied tribute upon British merchants under the provisions of its monopolistic charter. A similar license was also procured from the East India Company. It will be recalled that George Dixon had sailed with Captain Cook as armourer of the *Discovery*, while Portlock had also served under that famous officer as master's mate.

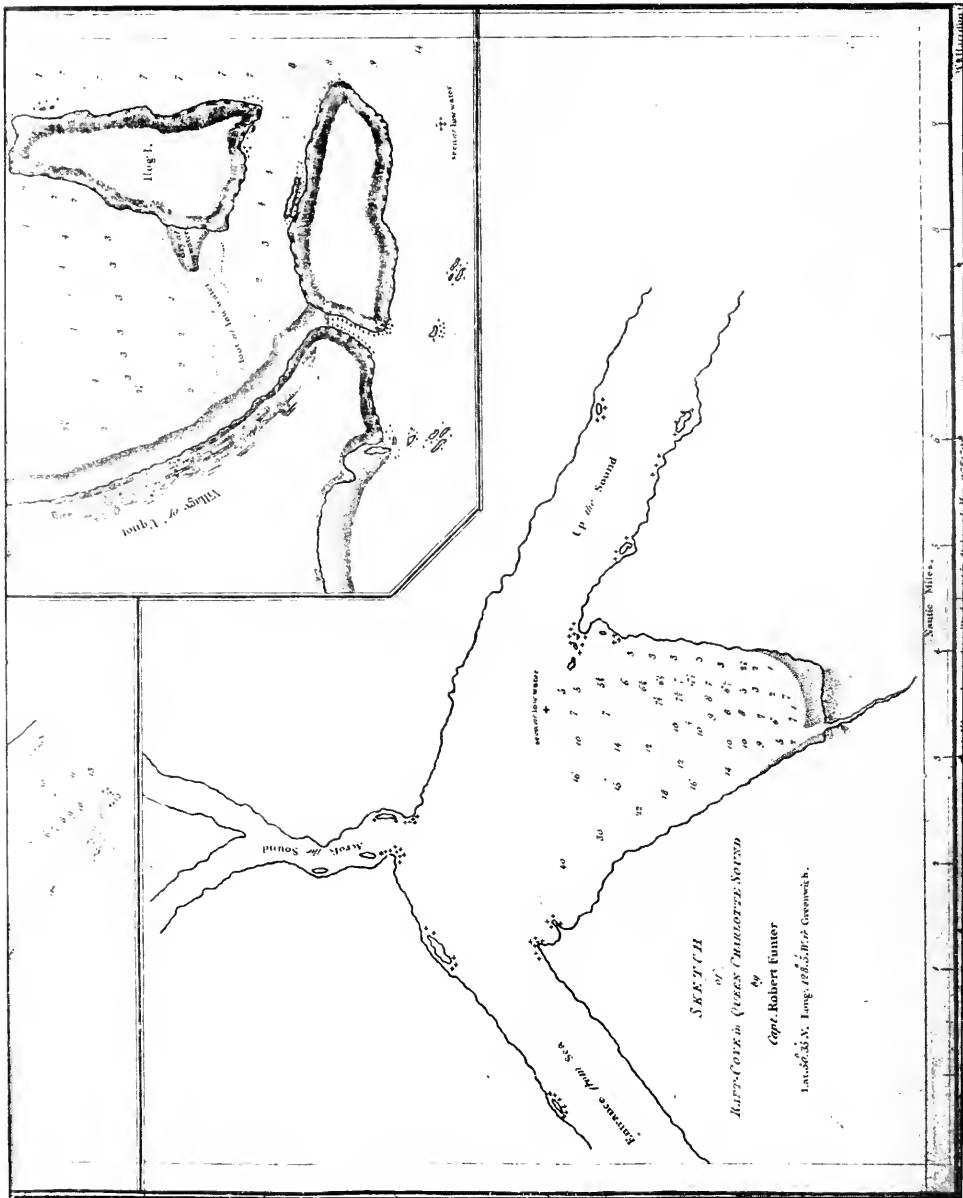
The vessels sailed from London on the 29th of August and from the Downs on the 2d of September, 1785. They doubled the Cape of Good Hope and arrived at Cook's River in July of the following year. After wintering at the Sandwich Islands in accordance with the general practice of the early traders, Portlock and Dixon again sailed for the Northwest Coast, where they found the *Nootka*, as related. After trading in the vicinity of Prince William Sound, the vessels separated in order to cover as much territory as possible. Dixon left the Hazy Islands towards the end of June and two or three days later crossed the entrance to the large opening afterwards named in his honour by Sir Joseph Banks. Leaving North Island, the *Queen Charlotte* hugged the west coast of the Queen Charlotte group. Of the names which appear on Dixon's maps, North Island,

Cloak Bay, Hippa Island, and Cape St. James still survive. Rounding the southern extremity of the group on the 25th day of July, 1787, Dixon continued his voyage northward along the eastern shore, until he sighted the high mountains which had been seen when crossing the Sound that separates the Queen Charlotte Islands from the Prince of Wales archipelago. "This circumstance," writes the author of Dixon's voyage, "clearly proved, the land we had been coasting along for near a month, to be a group of islands," which were accordingly named The Queen Charlotte's Isles after Dixon's ship the *Queen Charlotte*.

From the pages of Dixon's journal, published in the form of a series of letters, one may gather an idea of the manner in which the furtrade was conducted. Thus it is recorded in the journal, under the date of July 2, 1787, while the *Queen Charlotte* was off Cloak Bay, that:

"A scene now commenced, which absolutely beggars all description, and with which we were so overjoyed, that we could scarcely believe the evidence of our senses. There were ten canoes about the ship, which contained as nearly as I could estimate, 120 people; many of them brought most beautiful beaver cloaks; others excellent skins, and, in short, none came empty handed, and the rapidity with which they fold them was a circumstance additionally pleasing; they fairly quarelled with each other about which should sell his cloak first, and some actually threw their furs on board, if nobody was at hand to receive them; but we took particular care to let none go from the vessel unpaid. Toes were almost the only article we bartered with on this occasion and indeed they were taken so very eagerly, that there was not the least occasion to offer anything else. In less than half an hour we purchased near 300 sea otter skins, of an excellent quality; a circumstance which greatly raised our spirits, and the more, as both the number of fine furs, and the avidity of the natives in parting with them were convincing proofs, that no traffic whatever had recently been carried on near this place, and consequently we might expect a continuation of this plentiful commerce. That you may form some idea of the cloaks we purchased here, I shall just observe that they generally contain three good sea otter skins, one of which is cut in two pieces, afterwards they are neatly sewed together, so as to form a square and are loosely tied about the shoulders with small leather strings fastened on each side."





Continuing the voyage Dixon noticed and named Hippha Island, off which he shortened sail in order to allow the natives to come up with the vessel. Hippha Island is described as having "a very singular appearance, and on examining it nearer, we plainly perceived that they (the natives) lived on a small island and well fortified after the manner of a hippah, on which account we distinguished this place by the name of Hippah Island." The fortification was evidently well placed, for, says the journal, the access to it from the beach is steep and difficult of access, while the other sides were barricaded with pines, brushwood and fences of rails and boards, which rendered the stronghold almost impregnable.

The journal devotes many pages to a description of the manners and customs of the Indians met with in this quarter, but these observations are of more interest to the ethnologist than to the historian. It may be said in passing, however, that of the peculiar customs of these people none excited as much curiosity as the labrette, or lip ornament, of the women of the Queen Charlotte Islands, which is frequently mentioned in the journals of the traders. Captain Dixon was anxious to purchase one of these extraordinary ornaments, but the old woman to whom it belonged refused to part with it. Article after article was offered, only to be rejected. At last however, one of the sailors happened to show "the old lady," a few bright buttons, which caught her fancy, and in the end, she willingly parted with her cherished possession, which measured three and seven-eighths inches long by two and five-eighths inches. It was inlaid with a small pearly shell and decorated with a rim of copper.

In conversation with an old chief, the author of the journal gathered that the natives were addicted to cannibalism, though he is careful to add that he did not understand the chief clearly enough to assert "*positively*" that the warriors slain in battle were eaten by the victors—"yet there is every reason to fear that this horrid custom is practiced on this part of the coast." As a matter of fact it is highly unlikely that cannibalism was practiced by any of the natives of the Northwest Coast. It is true that it is asserted in more than one diary that the custom prevailed, but the idea seems to have arisen from a wrong conception of certain ceremonial rites.

Each tribe of the Queen Charlotte Islands was governed by its respective chief, but the family occupied an important place in the social organization of these primitive peoples. Here as elsewhere

on the coast the chief usually traded for the whole tribe, but it does not appear that he had the right to dispose of articles without the consent of the owners. Sometimes the women did the bargaining. The journal concludes an interesting account of the natives with the following passage:

"In addition to what I have occasionally said, respecting the savage temper and brutal disposition of the people of these Islands, I cannot help remarking, that there is a kind of ferocity even in their manner of singing. It must be allowed, that their songs, are performed with regularity, and in good time, but they are entirely destitute of that pleasing modulation and harmony of cadence, which we had invariably been accustomed to hear in the songs at other parts of the coast."

The voyage was commercially successful, no less than one thousand, eight hundred and twenty-one sea-otter skins being obtained at the Queen Charlotte Islands. It was not always an easy matter to please the natives, because, "so great a number of traders required a variety of trade, and we were frequently obliged to produce every article before we could please our numerous friends." That the traders were more than pleased with the result of their operations in this particular quarter is proved by an entry in the journal which runs: "Thus in one fortunate month has our success been much greater than that probably of both vessels during the rest of the voyage—So uncertain is the fur trade on this inhospitable coast."

Leaving the Queen Charlotte Islands, the *Queen Charlotte* sailed for Nootka Sound, and on August 8th she spoke the *Prince of Wales*, Captain Colnett, and the *Princess Royal*, Captain Duncan, these vessels having sailed from England in September, 1786. Mr. John Etches (brother of Richard Cadman Etches), who was on board the *Prince of Wales*, informed Dixon that they had spent a month in Nootka but had done very little business, as Captain Barkley in the *Imperial Eagle* had arrived there before them. This intelligence caused Dixon to change his plans and he accordingly sailed for China by way of the Sandwich Islands. Dixon arrived in England in September, 1788, and in the following year published the account of his voyage written by his supercargo, William Beresford.

Meanwhile Captain Portlock having cruised along the Northwest Coast, sailed for China. Portlock and Dixon were very successful, having been fortunate enough to acquire between them no

less than two thousand, five hundred and fifty-two skins, which realised \$54,857 in China.

The published accounts of this expedition give much valuable information respecting the furtrade as it was conducted in the early days, and the charts of the commanders contributed not a little to geographical knowledge. Portlock also published a narrative which was dedicated to King George III. Of the two works, Captain Dixon's is the more valuable, chiefly because of its interesting description of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

It would be impossible to give an extended account of all the voyages to the Northwest Coast which by this time had become a favourite haunt of many adventurers, but no history of the furtrading era could be complete did it not contain some reference to the second voyage of John Meares, who achieved a unique distinction in the annals of Northwestern America. Undaunted by his first experience, this worthy had no sooner returned to China than he set about the organization of that expedition which was destined to alter not only the whole trend of political events at that period but also the future of international politics. In January, 1788, Meares purchased and fitted out two vessels, named respectively, the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia*, the former of two hundred and thirty tons, the latter of two hundred tons burden. Meares commanded the *Felice*, while the command of the *Iphigenia* was given to Captain Douglas, who had already visited the coast of America. The crews consisted of Europeans and Chinese, the latter being shipped as an experiment. Meares' remarks upon the characteristics of the Chinese, although written so long ago, are not without practical interest even in their latter day application. "They have," he says, "been generally esteemed an hardy and industrious, as well as an ingenious race of people; they live on fish and rice, and, requiring but low wages, it is a matter also of economical consideration to employ them; and during the whole of the voyage there was every reason to be satisfied with their services. If hereafter trading posts should be established on the American coast a colony of this kind would be a very important acquisition." Meares continues: "A much greater number of Chinese solicited to enter this service than could be received; and so far did the spirit of enterprise influence them, that those they were under the necessity of refusing gave the most unequivocal marks of mortification and disappointment. From the many who offered

themselves, fifty were selected as fully sufficient for the purposes of the voyage; they were, as has been already observed, chiefly handicraftmen of various kinds, with a small proportion of sailors who had been used to the junks which navigated every part of the Chinese Seas."

The object of the expedition was to establish a factory or base at Nootka Sound, where a small vessel was to be built for the coasting trade.

On the evening of January 22d, 1788, the *Felice* sailed from the Typa. After visiting the Sandwich Islands a course was laid for the Northwest Coast of America and on the 13th day of May after a stormy voyage, the *Felice* "happily anchored in Friendly Cove, in King George's Sound, abreast of the village of Nootka, in four fathoms of water, and within a hundred yards of the shore; after a passage of three months and twenty-three days from China." A large concourse of natives welcomed the vessels and in a short time the ship was surrounded with a great number of canoes, filled with men, women, and children. Comekcla, a native of Nootka, who had been carried to China by an earlier expedition, was restored to his friends, "dressed in a scarlet regimental coat decorated with brass buttons, and with a hat set off with a flaunting cocade, decent linens and other appendages of European dress, which was far more than sufficient to excite the extreme admiration of his countrymen." The occasion was celebrated with a magnificent feast of whale blubber and oil, and the evening was passed in great rejoicing. A day or two later Maquilla and Callicum, two of the noted chiefs of the Sound, visited Meares. They were accompanied by a fleet of war canoes which moved in procession round the ship, while the crews sang "a pleasing though sonorous melody." It will be recalled that the natives of this place accorded a similar welcome to Captain Cook in the year 1778. Each canoe contained eighteen men clad in robes of the most beautiful skins of the sea-otter, which covered them from their necks to their ankles, a sight which must have further excited the cupidity and warmed the hearts of the furtraders.

Without loss of time Meares proceeded to establish a base for his future trading operations. A present of copper, iron and other articles secured the good-will of Maquilla, who, "most readily consented to grant us a spot of ground in his territory, whereon a house might be built for the accommodation of the people we intended to leave





CALLICUM AND MAQUILLA  
Chiefs of Nootka Sound

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there." Maquilla also promised to protect the men who were to remain at Nootka. In return for his assistance and protection, Maquilla was given a pair of pistols and Callicum was also rewarded with suitable presents. This was the genesis of the famous Nootka affair of the following year.

On the ground granted by Maquilla, a house was built, which is thus described by Meares: "On the ground-floor there was ample room for the coopers, sail-makers, and other artisans to work in bad weather; a large room was also set apart for the stores and provisions and the armourer's shop was attached to one end of the building and communicated with it. The upper story was divided into an eating room and chambers for the party. On the whole, our house, though it was not built to satisfy a lover of architectural beauty, was admirably well calculated for the purpose for which it was destined, and appeared to be a structure of uncommon magnificence to the natives of King George's Sound."

Meares adds: "A strong breastwork was thrown up round the house, enclosing a considerable area of ground, which, with a cannon placed so as to command the Cove and the village of Nootka, formed a secure fortification. Within a short distance of the breastwork was laid the keel of a vessel of Forty or fifty tons. In short every preparation was made for an extended occupation of the place."

The men were all now busily engaged in building the house and the vessel, and in trading with the natives; but this is not the place for a full and particular account of Meares' enterprise at Nootka. Reference should be made however, to the fact, that before proceeding on his voyage Maquilla was again requested to protect the shore party in the absence of the ship. "As a bribe to secure his attachment," says Meares, "he was promised, that when we finally left the coast he should enter into full possession of the house and all the goods and chattels thereunto belonging." It will be remembered that this statement was used later by the Americans in the Oregon Boundary dispute, to prove that Meares' occupation of Nootka Sound was nothing more than a temporary expedient. It appears nevertheless that that officer fully intended to establish a post there, as will be shown later.

The *Felice* then sailed for Clayoquot, where two weeks were spent in trading with the Indians. She then passed down the coast to the Strait of Juan de Fuca which Meares named without reference to the journals and chart of Captain Barkley, thus implying that the dis-

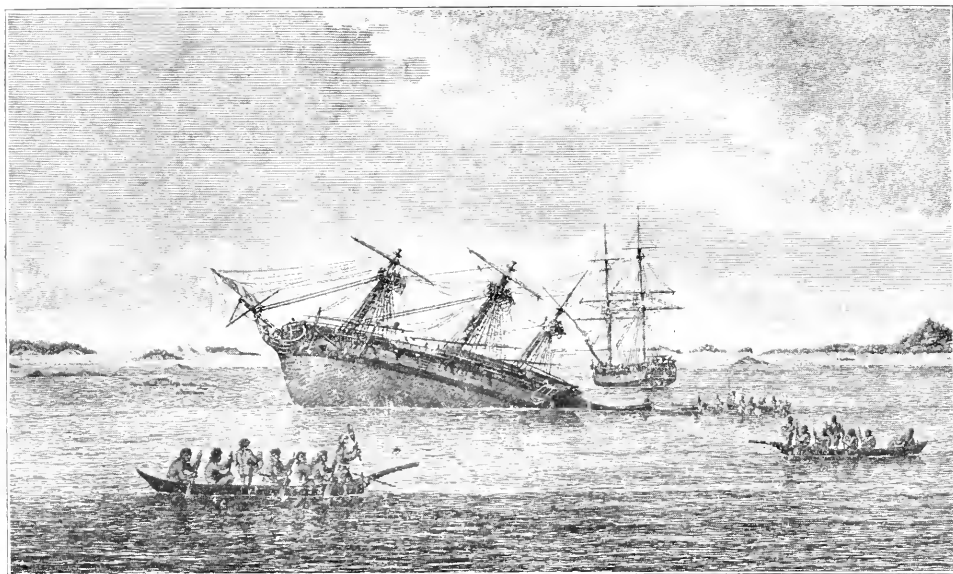
covery was his own. In view of the fact that Meares had obtained from John Henry Cox, of Canton, Barkley's chart of the coast as well as information from Hanna, Lowrie, and Guise, his conduct on this occasion is at least open to question.

Dr. C. F. Newcombe, in his monograph entitled "The first circum-navigation of Vancouver Island," gives Mrs. Barkley's explanation as to how it was that her husband's papers came into the possession of Meares. It is as follows: "Captain Meares got possession of my journal and plans from the persons in China to whom he was bound under a penalty of £5,000 to give them up for a certain time, for, as these persons stated, mercantile objects, they not wishing the knowledge of the coast to be published. Captain Meares, however, published and claimed the merit of my husband's discoveries therein contained."

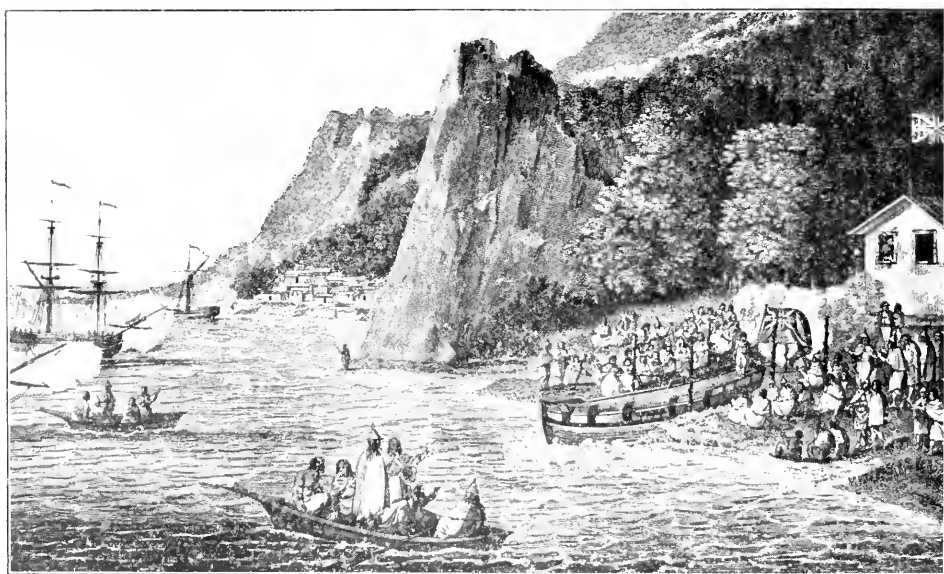
Continuing the voyage the *Felice* sailed down the coast in search of the large river said to have been discovered by the Spaniards under the forty-sixth parallel. Meares found the bay into which the Columbia river debouches, but in attempting to make a landing shallow water and the breakers on the bar forced him to relinquish the attempt. His cursory examination of this bay led Meares to remark: "We can now with safety assert, that there is no such River as that of Saint Roc as laid down in the charts." To commemorate his failure to discover the Great River of the West, the explorer named the bay Deception Bay and the promontory to the northward thereof, Cape Disappointment.

Upon returning northward, the *Felice* anchored in Barkley Sound on July 11th (1788), Meares having determined to explore the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The mate, Duffin, was accordingly despatched in the longboat, with instructions to explore the strait discovered by Barkley in the previous year. According to Meares, Duffin sailed nearly thirty leagues up the strait, which at that distance from the sea was, he alleges, about fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon to the east for fifteen leagues more. "Such an extraordinary circumstance," Meares goes on to say, "filled us with strange conjectures as to the extremity of this strait, which we concluded, at all events, could not be at any great distance from Hudson's Bay." In this statement Meares' fertile imagination found full play, for from Duffin's own journal it is sufficiently evident that he did not reach a point more than ten or twelve leagues from Tatoosh Island.





THE DISCOVERY ON THE ROCKS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND



THE LAUNCH OF THE NORTH WEST AMERICA AT NOOTKA SOUND

or Neah Bay. There is little doubt that Meares did not scruple to grossly exaggerate the importance of this discovery in order to make good his claim against the Spaniards for the seizure of his vessels in 1789, under arguments which appear in a later chapter. It should be borne in mind that he did not publish his work on the North West Coast of America until 1790, a year or more after the seizure of the ships by the Spanish officer, Estevan Martinez.

Making Nootka on July 26th, Meares found that good progress had been made in the construction of the vessel and in a few weeks every preparation was completed for launching the first ship ever built by Europeans on the Northwest Coast. It should be mentioned that Captain Douglas in the *Iphigenia* reached the Sound towards the end of August, and with the arrival of this reinforcement the different operations were pursued with redoubled vigour. Another arrival, not so welcome perhaps, was that of Captain Gray in the American sloop *Washington*, which dropped anchor in Friendly Cove on the 17th of September. The *Washington*, with her consort, the *Columbia*, had sailed from Boston in 1787 to engage in the fur-trade on the Northwest Coast. "The master of the *Washington*," Meares relates, "was very much surprised at seeing a vessel on the stocks, as well as on finding any one here before him; for they had little or no notion of any commercial expeditions whatever to this part of America. He appeared, however, to be very sanguine in the superior advantages which his countrymen from New England might reap from this track of trade; and was big with many mighty projects in which we understood he was protected by the American Congress. With these circumstances, however, as we had no immediate concern, we did not even intrude an opinion, but treated Mr. Gray and his ship's company with politeness and attention." Three days later, on the 20th of September, the *North West America* was launched. This event is so picturesque an incident in the annals of the coast that it may well be described in Meares' own words: "On the 20th, at noon, an event, to which we had so long looked with anxious expectation, and had been the fruit of so much care and labour, was ripe for accomplishment. The vessel was then waiting to quit the stocks; and to give all due honour to such an important scene, we adopted, as far as was in our power, the ceremony of other dock-yards. As soon as the tide was at its proper height the English ensign was displayed on shore at the house, and on board the new

vessel, which, at the proper moment, was named the *North West America*, as being the first bottom ever built and launched in this part of the globe.

"It was a moment of much expectation. The circumstances of our situation made us look to it with more than common hope. Maquilla, Callicum, and a large body of their people, who had received information of the launch, were come to behold it. The Chinese carpenters did not very well conceive the last operation of a business in which they themselves had been so much and so materially concerned. Nor shall we forget to mention the chief of the Sandwich Islands, whose every power was absorbed in the business that approached, and who had determined to be on board the vessel when she glided into the water. The presence of the Americans ought also to be considered, when we are describing the attendant ceremonies of this important crisis; which, from the labour that produced it,—the scene that followed it,—the spectators that beheld it, and the commercial advantages, as well as civilizing ideas, connected with it, will attach some little consequence to its proceeding, in the mind of the philosopher, as well as in the view of the politician.

"But our suspense was not of long duration;—on the firing of a gun the vessel started from the ways like a shot.—Indeed she went off with so much velocity, that she had nearly made her way out of the harbour; for the fact was, that not being very much accustomed to this business, we had forgotten to place an anchor and cable on board, to bring her up, which is the usual practice on these occasions; the boats, however, soon towed her to her intended station, and in a short time the *North West America* was anchored close to the *Iphigenia* and the *Felice*."

On the 24th September, 1788, Meares sailed for China leaving Captain Douglas in charge of the establishment at Nootka. Soon after the departure of the *Felice*, Douglas, in the *Iphigenia*, accompanied by the *North West America* sailed for the Sandwich Islands to speed the winter. The *Washington*, under Gray, remained at Nootka, where she was presently joined by Captain Kendrick in the *Columbia*.

And, so the eventful year 1788 drew to a close. All was peace and tranquillity, but it was the calm before the storm. Little did the chief actors in those strange scenes imagine that their operations were





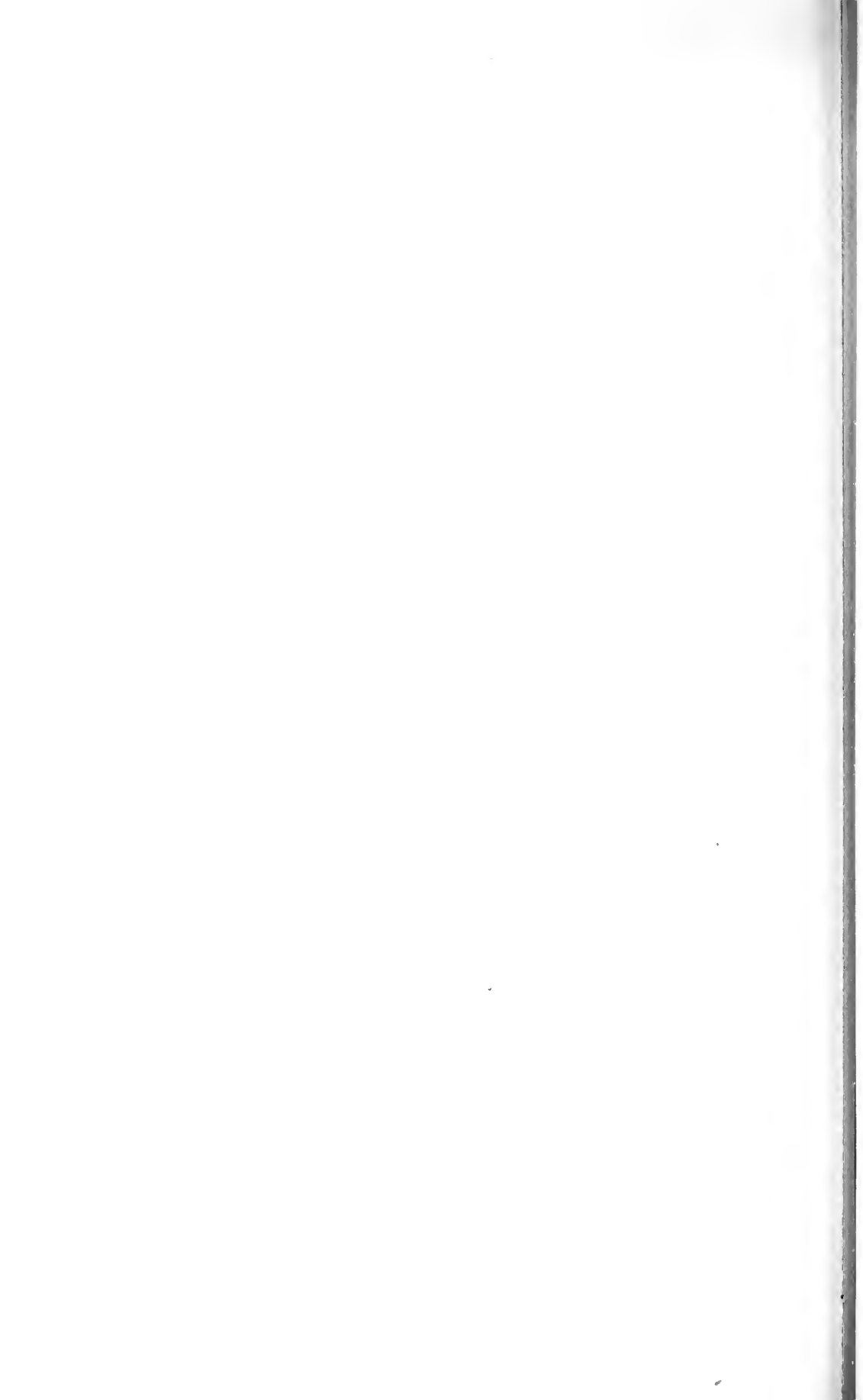
Robert Gray

Crowell Hatch

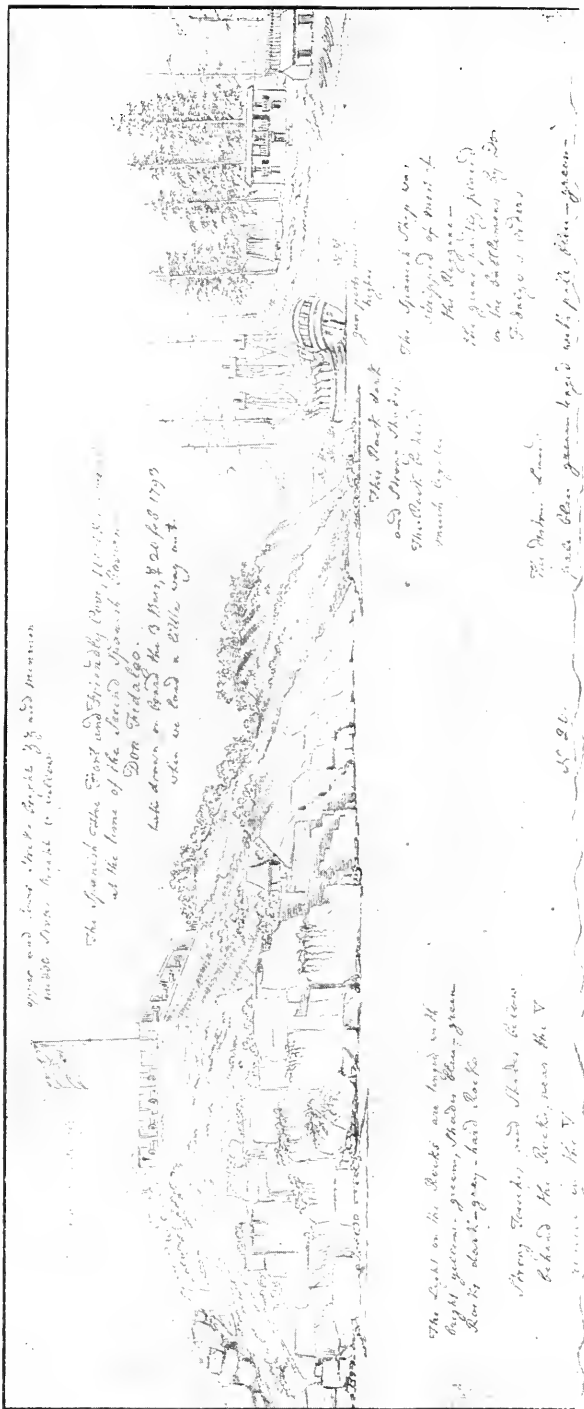
Joseph Ingraham

John Kendrick  
J. Hoskins

destined to change the complexion of subsequent events, to divert the course of history into another and more wholesome channel in the interests of the race and to be productive of a civilization then undreamed of.







VIEW OF SPANISH FORT, NOOTKA SOUND, FROM CONTEMPORARY DRAWING DATED 1793

Original in provincial archives

## CHAPTER VII

### THE NOOTKA SOUND CONTROVERSY

In 1789 it was thought that Russian, Spanish, and British subjects intended to occupy Nootka Sound and erect trading posts there. Of these intentions, that which had the least substance in it, if indeed it had any at all,—the Russian—was the prime cause of the trouble which arose at Nootka in that year. Martinez and Haro, after their investigation of the Russian settlement in Alaska in 1788, had reported to the Viceroy of Mexico that Cusmich had informed them that he only awaited the arrival of four frigates from Siberia to form an establishment at Nootka. From the exaggerated statements made by this person on other matters, as, for instance, the number of existing Russian settlements and their inhabitants, and from the absence of any independent or corroborative evidence, it is, perhaps, justifiable to conclude that this was mere fiction. Much excited about this threatened trespass upon alleged Spanish territory, Martinez urged upon Florez, the Viceroy, the desirability, nay the necessity of immediately forestalling this move by planting a Spanish settlement at that place.<sup>1</sup> Though forbidden to incur such expense without special royal order, the urgency of the occasion forced action upon Florez, who immediately gave the necessary instructions.

On February 17, 1789, Martinez, in command of the *Princesa* and the *San Carlos*, with Haro as second in authority, sailed from San Blas. He carried minute detailed orders to govern his conduct in the event of his meeting British, Russian, or American vessels. If the former, Martinez was to treat them kindly and endeavour to convince them of Spain's prior right of occupancy, referring them particularly to Captain Cook's instructions not to touch at any port in the Spanish dominions on the west coast of America unless forced by unavoidable accident and, in that case, not to remain longer than

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<sup>1</sup> Martinez to Florez, December 5, 1788; MSS. Arch. Gen. de Indias Seville, 90-3-18.

absolutely necessary, and reminding them that according to his own statement Captain Cook had purchased two silver spoons from the Indians at Nootka, which, being of Spanish workmanship, demonstrated the priority of Spanish discovery.<sup>2</sup> If Russian vessels were encountered, the intimate friendship then existing between Spain and Russia was to be put forward, the necessity of Spanish ports on the Mediterranean to the latter nation, then engaged in war with Turkey and Sweden was to be dwelt upon, and finally it was to be intimated that in any difficulty Spain would have the powerful support of her French ally. If American vessels appeared at Nootka they were to be given to understand that Spain was extending her settlements along the coast to Prince Williams Sound. And to all of them Martinez was instructed to point out the active steps now being taken by sending land expeditions of troops, colonists, and missionaries. If, in the face of these special and general arguments, an attempt to form a settlement was persisted in, he was to repel force by force.

Besides the regular crews these vessels carried a notary, Canizares, two chaplains, Don José Lopez de Nava and Don José Maria Diaz, and four Franciscan friars, Severo Patero, Lorenzo Lacies, José Espi, and Francisco Sanchez. A packet boat, the *Aranzazu*, would follow in March with supplies and reinforcements. Later it was intended to send out a land expedition including troops, colonists, and live stock.<sup>3</sup>

Reaching Nootka on May 5th, Martinez found there the *Iphigenia* under Captain Douglas and the American ship, *Columbia*, in command of Captain Kendrick. The *North West America* and the *Washington* were both absent on cruises in northern waters. Indeed, as the latter vessel was leaving the sound she fell in with the *Princessa*. Haswell reports the interview as follows: "He was no sooner informed who we were than he said if there was anything in his ship we stood in need of he would supply us. He informed the officers that went on board that his ship was fitted out in company with two others from Cadiz to make discoveries on this coast. That he had put in on the coast of New Spain and lost most of his European seamen. The deficiency he was obliged to supply with the naturalized natives of California. That he had been in the northward and we noticed he had a northern skin canoe lashed on his quarter. He

<sup>2</sup> Cook's Voyage, ed. 1785, Introduction, p. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Florez to Valdez, December 23, 1788; MSS. Arch. Gen. de Indies, 90-3-18.



said he had been in Bering's Straits, that he had found much snow, that he had parted with his consort a few days ago in a gale of wind, and he expected them to join him at Nootka Sound. He was very inquisitive what ships were lying in the sound. When he was informed Captain Douglas lay there he said it would make him a good prize. The ship's name is the *Princessa*, belonging to His Most Catholic Majesty, commanded by Don Stephen Joseph Martinez. This gentleman endeavored to do everything to serve us. He made Captain Gray presents of brandy, wine, hams, sugar, and, in short, everything he thought would be acceptable. When we parted from him we saluted him with seven guns and the compliment was returned."<sup>4</sup>

This quotation serves also to show that duplicity on this western coast was not confined to Meares. We are unaware of the motives which induced Martinez to make such statements as are set out above, nor does Haswell in any place throw light upon this strange story.

A great deal of discussion has arisen upon the question whether when Martinez arrived the house which Meares had built in the preceding summer was still in existence. Meares' memorial seems to imply that it was, though there is no positive statement to that effect. The American captains, Gray and Ingraham, in their letter written three years later, and with unmistakable Spanish bias, say that no sign or vestige of it then existed, and that Captain Douglas, before proceeding to the Sandwich Islands in the fall of 1788, had pulled it down, taking the boards on board of the *Iphigenia* and giving the roof to Captain Kendrick.<sup>5</sup> However the house was disposed of, it may be accepted as a fact that in May, 1789, it had ceased to exist, and that there was therefore upon the ground no evidence of any intention on Meares' part to effect a permanent settlement.

Though unquestionably British in reality, Captain Douglas saw fit to make the *Iphigenia* appear to the Spaniards as a Portuguese bottom. This was in accordance with Meares' own conduct: while the illustrations in Meares' *Voyage* flaunt the British flag, the evidence is that in his operations on this coast he endeavoured to make his vessels appear Portuguese.<sup>6</sup> Thus Duncan, who met the *Felice* in

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<sup>4</sup> Haswell's Log, May, 1789.

<sup>5</sup> Letter, August 3, 1792, in Greenhow, App. C.

<sup>6</sup> Dixon's Further Remarks on Meares. Letter from Duncan therein.

August, 1788, off Nootka, states that she was under Portuguese colours, and claimed to have come from Lisbon, and Haswell also says that when the *Washington* arrived in September, 1788, both the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia* were flying the Portuguese flag.<sup>7</sup>

Martinez enquired why the *Iphigenia* was in the sound, and Douglas claimed that he had put in in distress and was expecting supplies to arrive in a vessel from China. For a few days all went well, but in inspecting the Portuguese instructions, Martinez took exception to a clause whereby the captain of the *Iphigenia* was instructed, if interfered with by English, Russian, or Spanish vessels to defend the ship and if superior to the attacking vessel to bring her to Macao as a pirate. The misunderstanding, which probably arose from an error in interpretation, led to the seizure of the *Iphigenia*, the hauling down of the Portuguese flag and the raising of the Spanish. Part of the officers and crew were imprisoned on the *Princessa* and the remainder on the *San Carlos*, which had arrived in the meantime.<sup>8</sup> After an interval of twelve days the *Iphigenia* was restored to Captain Douglas, but under circumstances the truth of which it seems impossible to ascertain, as the accounts given by Douglas and Meares on the one hand and by Martinez and the American captains on the other are so divergent as to be impossible of reconciliation. It is clear, however, that the *Iphigenia* was supplied with stores, the quantity and quality of which are subjects of dispute. For these Douglas gave (willingly or by force) bills upon Cavalho, the pretended Portuguese owner. Martinez, who made almost every day a statement of the occurrences before the notary Canizares, gives therein as his reason for releasing the vessel that he had not sufficient men available to sail her to San Blas, hence he concluded to release her upon receiving a bond binding the owner to pay the fair value of ship and cargo if the Viceroy should declare her lawful prize.

On May 31st, after a farewell dinner on the *Princessa*, at which all the officers in the sound were present, the *Iphigenia*, with a parting salute from the Spaniards, sailed ostensibly for Macao, but at midnight changed her course to the northward, Douglas having, as he says, "no idea of running for Macao with only between sixty and seventy sea-otter skins which I had on board."<sup>9</sup> On this cruise he

<sup>7</sup> Haswell's Log, September 16, 1788.

<sup>8</sup> Manning's Nootka Sound, pp. 320, 321.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix No. 12 to Meares' Memorial.

obtained about seven hundred sea-otter skins. It would thus appear that the vessel was not such a wreck as Douglas and Meares represent, nor had she been looted to the extent stated by Meares in his memorial; she must also have had provisions and trading goods to a far greater quantity than Meares states, else such a trip had been in vain. Meares' almost proverbial mendacity no doubt accounts for these inconsistencies. His interest when his memorial was prepared was to stir with indignation the popular mind ever prone to hatred of the Spaniards and to represent their conduct as not only unwarranted but as grossly inhuman.

The *North West America* returned on June 8th, ignorant of the events which had transpired during her six weeks' absence. Martinez at once seized her on learning that she was owned by Cavalho. Being a smaller vessel and requiring only a small crew, he hoisted the Spanish flag upon her, re-named her the *Gertrudis*, after his wife, put aboard her a Spanish crew under David Coolidge of the *Washington*, and sent her southward on a trading voyage, using, Meares claims, with some likelihood of truth, her supplies for that purpose. But this statement cannot be accepted at its face value, as the vessel had returned in order to obtain a supply of trading goods from the vessels which were daily expected, but had not yet arrived, from China.

During this time the foundation of a settlement was being laid. A fort mounting ten guns was built on Hog Island and occupied by a garrison. A workshop, a bakery, and a sort of barracks or lodging house were erected. On June 24th formal possession was taken of the port of Nootka with all the pomp and ceremony the Spaniard loves so well. The formal document is a very high-sounding instrument, of which the following is a translation:<sup>10</sup>

In the Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, One True God in three Distinct Persons, who is the creative principle and creator of all things, without whom nothing good can be instituted, achieved, or preserved—and Whereas the principle of everything good must be in God—and therefore it behooves us to begin it in God—for the glory and honour of his most holy name.

Therefore know all men to whom these presents and the present Chart of Possession shall come that: Today being Wednesday, the

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<sup>10</sup> MSS. Arch. Gen. de Indies Seville, 90-3-18.

24th day of June, 1789, on the arrival of the frigate named *Nuestra Senora del Rosario* (alias *La Princessa*) together with the packet-boat, *San Carlos el Filipino*, both belonging to His Most Mighty, Illustrious, and Catholic Majesty Carlos the Third, King of Castille, of Leon, of Aragon, of all the Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarra, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Sevilla, of Sardinia, of Corsica, of Cordova, of Murcia Jaen, of the Algarves, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the Eastern Indies and Western Islands, and of the first land (foreshore?) in the Oceanic Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Bologna, of Brabant and Milan, Count of Aspurg, Flanders, Tyrol, and Barcelona, Lord of Biscay and Nolina, the said frigate and packet-boat by command of His Excellency Don Manuel Antonio Florez Maldonado Martinez de Angul y Bodguin, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, Commander of Nolino and Laguna Rota, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armada, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain, President of the Royal Audiencia, and Sub-Delegate General of Corres in the said Kingdom, having sailed from the Port of San Blas on the Southern Sea, in the Government of the Viceroy aforesaid, on the 17th day of February in the same year, for the purpose of discovery along the coast from Monterrey northwards, this expedition being under the command-in-chief of Don Estevan José Martinez, Ensign of Marine, in the Royal Armada; and said expedition being anchored in the port of Santa Cruz, one of the numerous harbours contained in the Bay of San Lorenzo de Nuca, with the aforesaid frigate of his command, and the said packet-boat of his following; said commander-in-chief having disembarked with the officers of both ships, with the troops, and a number of the sailors, together with the Father Chaplains Don José Lopez de Nava and Don José Maria Diaz and the four Missionaries of the Order of San Francis of the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mexico, Brother Severo Patero (President), Brother Lorenzo Lacies, Brother José Espi, and Brother Francisco Sanchez—the said commander drew out a cross, which he worshipped devoutly on his knees, together with all those who accompanied him: Then the chaplains and friars sang “Te Deum Laudamus”—and the canticle having been concluded, the commander said in a loud voice: “In the name of His Majesty the King Don Carlos the III, Our Sovereign whom may God keep many years, with an increase of our Dominions and Kingdoms, for the service of God, and for the good

and prosperity of his vassals, and for the interests of the mighty lords the Kings, his heirs and successors, in the future, as his commander of these ships, and by virtue of the orders and instructions which were given to me in his Royal Name, by the aforesaid His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain, I take, and I have taken, I seize, and I have seized, possession of this soil, where I have at present disembarked which had been formerly discovered by us, in the year 1774—and once more, on the present day—for all time to come, in the said Royal Name, and in the name of the Royal Crown of Castille and Leon, as aforesaid—as if it was my own thing, which it is, and shall be and which really belongs to the King aforesaid, by reason of the donation and the bull 'Expedio Notu Proprio' of our Most Holy Father Alexander VI, Pontiff of Rome, by which he donated to the Most High and Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand V and Isabel his spouse, Kings of Castille and Leon, of illustrious memory, and to their successors and heirs—one-half the world—by deed made at Rome on the 4th of May in the year 1493—by virtue of which these present lands belong to the said Royal Crown of Castille and Leon, and as such I take, and I have taken, possession of these lands aforesaid, and the adjoining districts, seas, rivers, ports, bays, gulfs, archipelagoes, and this Port of Santa Cruz, in the island named by Martinez—among the many which are enclosed in the Bay of San Lorenzo de Nuca—which bay is situated in latitude north  $49^{\circ} 33'$  and longitude  $20^{\circ} 18'$ —west of the meridian of San Blas where I am at present anchored with the said frigate and packet-boat of my command, and I place them, and they shall be placed under the dominion and power of the said Royal Crown of Castille and Leon, as aforesaid, and as if it was my own property, which it is." And as a sign of such possession he drew his sword which had hung by his side, and with it he counted the trees, the branches, and the lands; he disturbed the stones on the beach and in the fields without encountering any opposition, asking those present to be witnesses of these facts, and to me, Rafael de Canizares, who am the Notary appointed to this expedition by the Commander-in-Chief, he ordered me to relate the facts in due form, as a public testimony thereof. Then taking a large cross on his shoulders, and the crews of both ships having been formed in marching column, armed with guns and other weapons, the procession marched out, the chaplains and friars chanting the Litany of "Rogation"—the whole troop responding—and the procession having halted, the commander

planted the cross in the ground, and made a heap of stones at the foot thereof—as a sign and in memory of the taking of possession in the name of His Majesty Carlos III King of all Spain (whom God keep)—of all these lands and neighbouring districts discovered, continuous, and contiguous—and gave the name of Santa Cruz to this port, as has been said. And when the cross was planted, they worshipped it once more, and all prayed, asking in supplication from our Lord Jesus Christ, that He should accept their offering, because everything had been done for the glory and honour of His Holy Name, and in order to exalt and enrich our holy catholic faith—and to introduce the word of the Holy Gospel among these savage nations, which until the present time had been kept in ignorance of the true knowledge and doctrine—which will guard them and deliver them from the snares and perils of the Demon, and from the blindness in which they have lived—for the salvation of their souls—after which the chaplains and friars began chanting the hymn, “Vexilla Regis.” Following this a solemn high mass was celebrated on an altar which the commander had caused to be erected, by the Rev. Chaplain of our frigate, Don José Lopez de Nava, assisted by the chaplain of the packet-boat, Don José Maria Diaz, and the four friars aforesaid—this being the first mass which was said in this land, in honour of our Lord God Almighty—and for the extirpation of the Devil and of all idolatry. The sermon was given by the Very Rev. Father President Severo Paterno, Apostolic Missionary of the order of San Francis and of the Royal College of San Ferdinand of Propaganda of the Faith of the City of Mexico. This function being concluded the aforesaid commander, as a further sign and testimony of the taking of possession, caused a tree to be cut, which he had made into a cross, into which he engraved the Holy Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, with four capital letters I. N. R. I.—and wrote at the foot of the cross: Carolus tertius, Rex Hispaniorum.

In witness whereof these presents were signed by the commander and witnessed by the captain of the packet-boat *San Carlos*, Don Gonzales Lopez de Haro; the first pilot of the Armada, Don José Tovar, the chaplains aforesaid, Don José Lopez de Nava, Don José Maria Diaz, and the four friars of the College of San Ferdinand. And I, the notary appointed by the said commander, authenticate these presents as a true testimony of what took place—as it has been related herewith.

Signed: Estevan José Martinez; Gonzales Lopez de Haro; José Tovar y Tamariz; Br. José Alexandro Lopez de Nava; Fray Lorenzo Lacies; Fray José Espi; Fray Francisco Miguel Sanchez.

Before me,

RAFAEL CANIZARES.

This is a copy:

Mexico, August 27, 1789.

ANTONIO BOUILLAZ.

The *Princess Royal*, which, as already shown, had passed into the control of Meares and his associates, reached Nootka on June 15th in command of Captain Hudson. Before entering the port, two launches, in which were Martinez, Kendrick, and Funter of the *North West America*, approached the vessel. Hudson enquired if they were armed. The reply was reassuring; they were, but only with a bottle of brandy. The visitors remained aboard all night and the next morning the *Princess Royal* was towed into harbour. A few days later Martinez sent an official note to enquire the reason of her being there, in what he was pleased to call a recognized Spanish port. Hudson replied that he wished to refit after his long voyage from Macao and that as soon as he had obtained wood and water he trusted to be permitted to depart in peace. Martinez not only did so, but granted him a circular letter to all Spanish vessels to allow him to pass on his way unmolested.<sup>11</sup>

Just as the *Princess Royal* passed out and sailed away on July 2nd, the fourth vessel, the *Argonaut*, arrived. Martinez, learning that a vessel was in the offing, and thinking the anxiously expected *Aranzazu* had at last appeared, went with the American officers to meet her in two launches. On going on board he presented a letter from Hudson which put Captain Colnett at his ease, and the Spanish launches towed the *Argonaut* into harbour. Captain Funter, who formed one of the party, informed Colnett of the occurrences and advised him to remain outside, but relying on the Spaniard's honor he allowed his vessel to be taken in and anchored between the Spanish ships.<sup>12</sup> The *Argonaut* had on board the material for a sloop, the necessities for building and equipping a trading post and some twenty-nine Chinese artisans as the nucleus of a future colony which was

<sup>11</sup> Manning's Nootka Sound, pp. 328, 329.

<sup>12</sup> Colnett's Voyage, pp. 96-99; Gray and Ingraham Letter, in Greenhow, App. C.; Arch. Gen. de Indies Seville, 90-3-18.

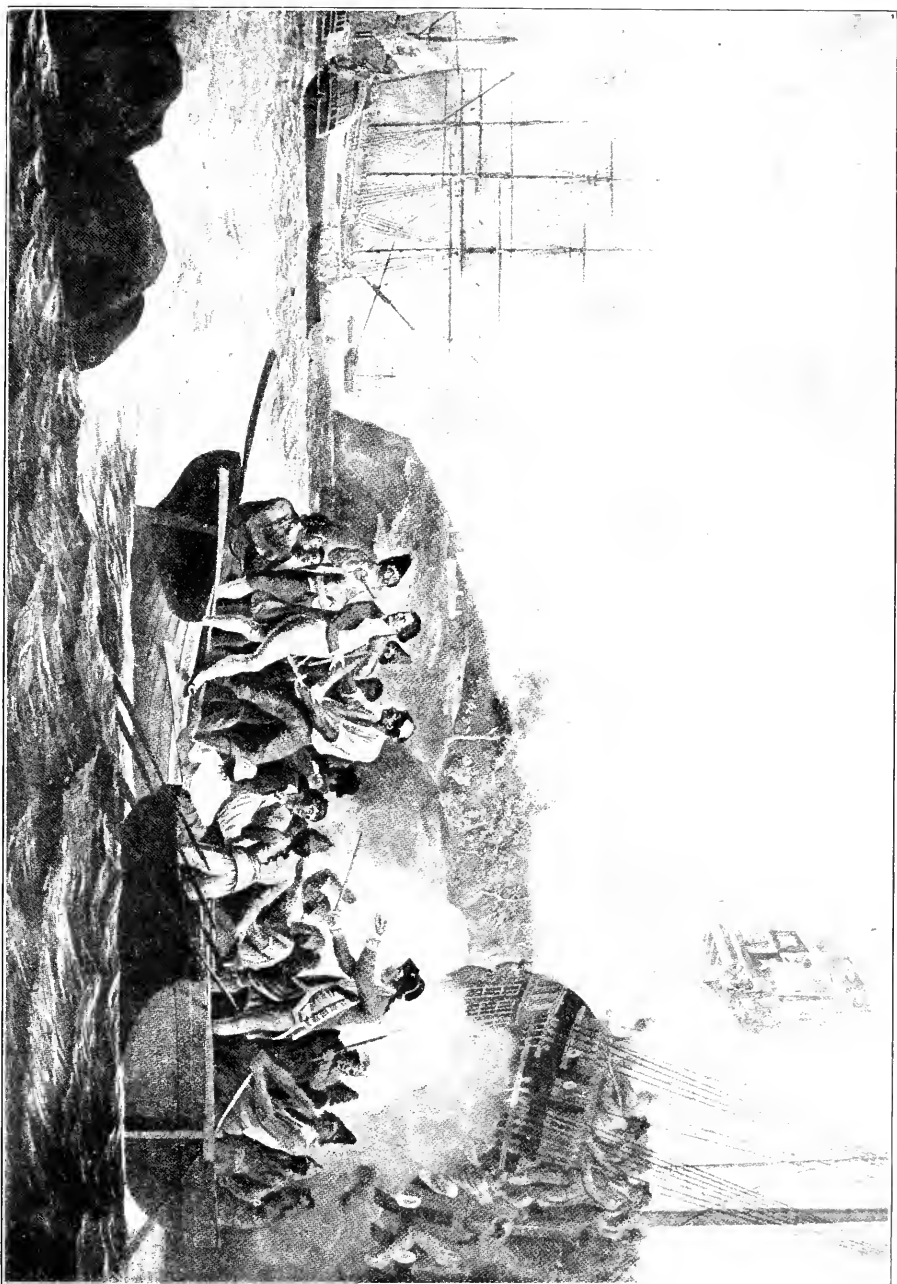
to surround his future trading post—Fort Pitt. Part of the scheme was to import from the Sandwich Islands wives for these persons. Meares in his Voyage says that these Chinese numbered seventy, but in the Spanish archives the list of them is preserved, showing only twenty-nine and giving their names as Jinfo, Allon (Ah Long), Arton (Ah Tong) etc., etc.

The next day Colnett prepared to depart as soon as certain supplies which the Spaniards had agreed to furnish were received. Martinez's conduct now became vacillating—sometimes he said the vessel might go and then again he changed his mind. In the end he asked for Colnett's papers, which the latter accordingly took on board the *Princessa*. Now a dispute arose, a trifling misunderstanding, apparently caused by both parties standing upon their dignity, and possibly inflamed by erroneous interpretation. Each commander seems to have lost his temper and after mutual recriminations, Martinez ordered Colnett under arrest and his vessel under seizure. In his official report he claims that this action was necessary as otherwise Colnett would have built a trading post elsewhere, from which it would have been impossible to eject him except by force.

The Spaniards at once took possession of the *Argonaut*; the British flag was hauled down and the Spanish flag hoisted. Such of her stores and supplies as the Spaniards required they took; though there appears to have been an undertaking that these would be accounted for if the vessel were not condemned by the Viceroy. Of the fifty-eight persons brought by the *Argonaut*, some of the English were to be sent on her to San Blas, and the remainder, later, on the *Aranzazu*.

On July 13th, as the *Argonaut* with her captives and her prize crew was ready to sail for San Blas, the *Princess Royal* returned to Nootka. After leaving the sound on July 2nd she had encountered a storm which drove her far to the southward and making her way back again, Hudson concluded, when opposite Nootka, to run in and ascertain if the *Argonaut* had arrived. Leaving the vessel in the offing he put off in the launch. When he boarded the *Princessa* he found himself a prisoner. On his refusal to order the *Princess Royal* to enter the trap at Nootka the Spaniards prepared to capture her by force, and, seeing resistance useless, he ordered his lieutenant to surrender the vessel, which was accordingly done. The Spaniards took possession and she was towed into the sound.





SPANISH INSULT TO THE BRITISH FLAG AT NOOTKA SOUND, 1789

Seizure of Captain Colnett of the British ship "Argonaut," by Don Esteban Martínez, Spanish commandant

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Martinez immediately sent the *Argonaut* and the *Princess Royal* to Mexico as prizes. His reason for seizing the latter, which he had less than a fortnight previously allowed to depart the port, was very weak. He says he feared that she would carry to Macao the news of the seizure of the others. But this is flimsily transparent, as he sent a large number of the captured sailors back to China in the American vessel *Columbia* which left the sound about the end of July.

Colnett complained bitterly of his treatment on the voyage to Mexico; he was locked in his room each night at 8 o'clock and the door was not opened till morning; when he desired a drink of water during the night his request was refused and he was compelled to endure his thirst until the morning. His men also were closely confined and kept in irons on the voyage.<sup>13</sup> The *Argonaut* reached San Blas on August 15th and on the 27th the *Princess Royal* arrived with twelve English and two Portuguese prisoners. After their arrival they received more humane treatment, though still in confinement. On December 6th, Martinez returned to San Blas, having spent the interval in exploration of the coast and in learning more about its inhabitants.

With the troubles of Colnett in Mexico we have no concern. The *Argonaut* remained in Mexican waters, employed in the service of the Government, but the *Princess Royal*, now known by the Spanish name *Princesa Real*, sailed northward with the expedition from Mexico in 1790 under Elisa. In May, 1790, Revilla Gigedo, who had succeeded Florez, ordered the *Argonaut* to be returned to the possession of Colnett and that the *Princess Royal* be also re-delivered to him. The prisoners in Mexico were released. The remainder of the captured seamen had reached Macao long prior to this time. This action says the official Spanish document was "the result of pure generosity." Revilla Gigedo's order at first directed that Colnett was not again to enter any place on the Spanish-American coasts, either for the purpose of settlement or of trade with the natives, but later at Colnett's earnest solicitation this embargo was withdrawn and he was given permission to touch at places not under the control of Spain.

Towards the beginning of winter, 1790, Colnett sailed from Mexico in the *Argonaut*.<sup>14</sup> When he arrived at Nootka the *Princess*

<sup>13</sup> Colnett's Voyage, pp. 98, 99.

<sup>14</sup> Colnett's Voyage, p. 101.  
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*Royal* was not there, but he ultimately obtained possession of her at the Sandwich Islands. The *North West America* or *Gertrudis*, as the Spaniards had re-named her, after being used by them in trading and exploring passed over to the possession of the English about the same time. The details of the movements of these vessels will be dealt with in the consideration of the Spanish settlement at Nootka in 1790 and of the various exploring expeditions of 1789, 1790, 1791, and 1792.

It is necessary to turn now to the diplomatic action which these incidents brought forth. In the language of Professor Manning whose monograph on the Nootka Sound Controversy is a classic: "The whole episode to this point seems to have been a series of blunders and would not merit careful consideration had not the consequences been so serious for the home Governments."<sup>15</sup>

No news of the stirring events of June reached England until January 4, 1790, when Anthony Merry, the British *Chargé d'affaires* at Madrid, sent to the Foreign office a confused account based on the rumors then current in the Spanish capital. The gist of it was that a small Spanish man-of-war had captured in the port of Nootka an English ship which had come for the purpose of making a settlement and that the captured vessel had been manned with Spanish seamen and sent as a prize to Mexico.<sup>16</sup> The very vagueness of the information allowed the Ministers, who, like the populace, were ever prone to hatred of the Spaniard, to fill in the details from imagination. Manifestly the incident lost nothing by drawing from this source. Nevertheless, no step was taken. The first official information from Spain was the following letter from the Marquis del Campo, dated February 10, 1790:

"My Lord: Continuing the frequent expeditions which the King, my master, has ordered to be made to the northern coasts of California, the Viceroy of Mexico sent two ships, under the orders of Don Estevan José Martinez, ensign of the navy, to make a permanent settlement in the port of San Lorenzo, situated about the fiftieth degree of latitude, and named by foreigners 'Nootka' or 'Nioka,' of which possession had formerly been taken. He arrived there the 24th of last June. In giving his account to the Viceroy, M. Mar-

<sup>15</sup> Nootka Sound Controversy, p. 361.

<sup>16</sup> Narrative of Negotiations between England and Spain, p. 1.

tinez said that he found there an American frigate and sloop, which had sailed from Boston to make a tour of the world. He also found a packet-boat and another vessel belonging to a Portuguese established at Macao, whence they had sailed with a passport from the Governor of that port. He announced also that on the 2d of July there arrived another packet-boat from Macao. This was English and came to take possession of Nootka in the name of the British King. She carried a sloop in pieces on board.

"This simple recital will have convinced your excellency of the necessity in which the Court of Madrid finds itself of asking His Britannic Majesty to punish such undertakings in a manner to restrain his subjects from continuing them on these lands which have been occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for so many years. I say this to your excellency as an established fact, and as a further argument against those who attribute to Captain Cook the discovery of the said port of San Lorenzo. I add that the same Martinez in charge of the last expedition was there under commission in August of 1774. This was almost four years before the appearance of Cook. This same Martinez left in the hands of the Indians two silver spoons, some shells, and some other articles which Cook found. The Indians still keep them, and these facts, with the testimony of the Indians, served M. Martinez to convince the English captain.

"The English prisoners have been liberated through the consideration which the King has for His Britannic Majesty, and which he has carefully enjoined upon his viceroys to govern their actions in unforeseen events. His Majesty flatters himself that the Court of St. James will certainly not fail to give the strictest orders to prevent such attempts in the future, and, in general, everything that could trouble the good harmony happily existing between the two crowns. Spain on her side engages to do the same with respect to her subjects.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"THE MARQUIS DEL CAMPO.<sup>17</sup>

"His Excellency M. the DUKE OF LEEDS."

The inaccuracies herein are plainly apparent and need not be dwelt upon. The naïve suggestion that Great Britain should punish her subjects for trading and making settlements on the Northwest

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<sup>17</sup> Manning's *Nootka Sound Controversy*, pp. 367, 368.

coast of America drew from the Marquis of Leeds a reply that, "as yet no precise information has been received relative to the events mentioned in your excellency's letter, but while awaiting such I have His Majesty's orders to inform your excellency that the act of violence spoken of in your letter as having been committed by M. Martinez in seizing a British vessel under the circumstances reported makes it necessary henceforth to suspend all discussions of the pretensions set forth in that letter until a just and adequate satisfaction shall have been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain. In the first place it is indispensable that the vessel in question shall be restored. To determine the details of the ultimate satisfaction which may be found necessary more ample information must be awaited concerning all the circumstances of the affair." <sup>18</sup>

This brusque reply came as a shock to the Spanish diplomats. It is interesting to note that at this very time Colonel Ferdinand Miranda, the South American agitator, was in England and in close touch with Pitt, before whom he had just laid his grand scheme for the new empire in South America, embracing all that continent except Brazil and Guiana. In the event of war the opportunity would be afforded to shear Spain of her possessions in the new world, their unprotected condition offering a fine mark for combination with the revolutionist element which is indigenous to those latitudes.

Floridablanca, the Prime Minister of Spain, regarded the answer as an indication that Pitt was using the incident merely as an excuse to pick a quarrel. His subsequent conduct lends colour to the view that Pitt had at the inception determined to humble the power of Spain which under Carlos III and Carlos IV was regaining the important position she had occupied under Philip II. "Satisfaction previous to discussion" was his demand—a demand peculiarly distasteful to the high-strung Spaniard. The advisers of the Spanish monarch hurriedly took stock of their martial equipment.<sup>19</sup> They found forty-five ships of the line and thirty-two frigates ready for immediate commission, and in addition twenty-four of the former class and seven of the latter could be made available in a short time. Feverish preparations for war were commenced in Spain, though every effort was made to preserve a peaceable external appearance.

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<sup>18</sup> Arch. Hist. Nacional Madrid, See Estado, 4297.

<sup>19</sup> Id.

Late in March Spain sent a reply ignoring the demand for satisfaction as a condition precedent to the discussion of the question and stating that being convinced that nothing but ignorance of Spain's incontestable right to the exclusive sovereignty, navigation, and commerce of the territory, coasts, and seas in question could have induced British subjects to resort thereto, the Viceroy had liberated the vessel and her crew, and that having instructed him to avoid even the least act which might give offense the incident was regarded as closed. The note expressed the hope that the British King would order his subjects to respect Spanish rights and that it would not be necessary to enter into discussions regarding the indubitable rights of his Crown.<sup>20</sup>

Up to this point the controversy had proceeded on the assumption that only one ship had been captured. The Spanish authorities had reports showing the actual occurrences at Nootka, but either through carelessness or for some other reason neglected to make them known. In April, Meares arrived on the scene—*Deus ex machina*. Till this moment the British had only the information from the Spanish Foreign Office and the confused account that Merry had sent. Meares soon placed before the King his celebrated Memorial—a document more useful to stir the public mind to war with Spain than as a statement of facts. Exaggerated, contradictory, intentionally false, it exists to this day a complete proof of his mendacity. And behind it the motive, mean and sordid, to fill the pockets of himself and his co-adventurers with a large money payment wrested from Spain in the heat of blood. The plain truth has already been stated; it makes a strong case against the Spaniard. In any other time the exaggerations, the unwarranted inferences, the imputations of dishonesty, of duplicity, of insolence, and of deliberate cruelty with which it abounds would have carried their own condemnation. But the Ministry were excited; the war spirit was rampant.

The Memorial is dated April 30, 1790. On that very evening the Cabinet resolved to demand "an immediate and adequate satisfaction for the outrages committed by Monsieur de Martinez; and that it would be proper in order to support that demand and be prepared for such events as may arise that Your Majesty should give orders for fitting out a squadron of ships of the line."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Arch. Hist. Nacional Madrid; Narrative of Negotiations between England and Spain, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Manning's Nootka Sound, p. 376.

Until the beginning of May the greatest secrecy prevailed. No inkling of the trouble had escaped. The country consequently received a rude shock when on the morning of May 5th it was learned that a press of seamen had occurred the preceding night and that the nation was on the verge of war with Spain. The next day the King sent a message to Parliament that two British vessels and two others whose nationality had not been fully ascertained had been captured at Nootka by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war, their cargoes seized and their officers and crews sent as prisoners to a Spanish port. The correspondence which had occurred was summarized and Parliament informed that no satisfaction had been offered; that moreover "a direct claim is asserted by the Court of Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce in the territories, coasts, and seas in that part of the world."<sup>22</sup> After stating that the Minister at Madrid was to renew the demand for satisfaction, His Majesty went on to say that learning that Spain was preparing for war he had taken similar steps and then appealed to the Commons for the necessary supply.

Parliament unanimously supported the address in reply; and on June 10th £1,000,000 was voted "to enable His Majesty to act as the exigency of affairs might require."<sup>23</sup> Preparations for war went vigorously forward. The introduction to Vancouver's Voyage tells of "the uncommon celerity and unparalleled dispatch which attended the equipment of the noblest fleet that Great Britain ever saw."<sup>24</sup> This is known as "The Spanish Armament, 1790." The populace were greatly excited. War with Spain appealed strongly to the nation. Old scores and very recent ones would now be settled. The literature of the day is filled with pamphlets in which the high handed acts of Spain at Nootka and at the Falkland Islands twenty years before are set forth with many additions calculated to inflame the public mind. A rare print showing the seizure of Captain Colnett is reproduced herewith. Its absolute historical inaccuracy is an index to the public knowledge of events at Nootka.

The Triple Alliance was then in existence, and in accordance with its terms Great Britain called upon Holland and Prussia for assistance. The Dutch generously responded with ten sail of the

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<sup>22</sup> Manning's Nootka Sound, p. 381.

<sup>23</sup> Parliamentary History, xxviii, p. 784.

<sup>24</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 1, p. 48; ed., 1801.



line. Prussia engaged to fulfil her obligations under the treaty if war should occur. The various colonies were notified of the strained relations with Spain and ordered to be prepared for defence. Four regiments of foot and two ships of war were ordered to the West Indies.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time Spain was looking for support. The Family Compact of 1761 bound the Bourbon sovereigns to an alliance offensive and defensive and naturally Spain's chief reliance was therefore upon France. In response to the overtures of Spain, Louis XVI ordered an armament of fourteen ships of the line. The States General, then under the control of the *Tiers état*, when informed of this action entered into a lengthy theoretical discussion upon the question whether the right to make war and peace was in the King or in the people. In the end the King's action was approved as a precautionary measure but Floridablanca was informed by Montmorin, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, that, while Spain could rely upon the King, the Assembly was a doubtful factor and in view of this condition he suggested that peace should be maintained.<sup>26</sup> On June 16th Spain made formal application to France for the assistance guaranteed by the Family Compact, but Montmorin replied that the Assembly having declared that the right to make peace and war was in the people, the King, Louis XVI, must submit the demand to that body. It was plain to Spain that no aid could be obtained in that quarter and a change took place in her diplomatic tone.

A lengthy circular letter had, on June 4th, been sent by Spain to the different Courts of Europe recounting the origin of the dispute and the negotiations with Great Britain. The right of Spain to the sovereignty, navigation, and exclusive commerce of the continent and islands of the South Sea was explained to be limited and to refer only to the continent, islands, and seas discovered by Spain and secured by treaties and uniformly acquiesced in by the nations of the world.<sup>27</sup> The desire to maintain peace was expressed and it was suggested that the menacing tone of the British Government indicated that the subject was being used merely as a pretext to break with Spain.

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<sup>25</sup> Manning's *Nootka Sound*, pp. 386, 387.

<sup>26</sup> Montmorin to Floridablanca, Arch. Hist. Nacional Madrid, See Estado, 4038.

<sup>27</sup> Greenhow Hist., App. D.

While warlike preparations were proceeding and both countries were seeking support for the expected struggle the diplomats continued their exertions. The British sent Alleyne Fitzherbert as Ambassador to Madrid, as it was found unsatisfactory to carry on the negotiations in London. It would serve no useful purpose to deal closely with the correspondence that ensued. For a time each nation stood its ground, for in this contest they represented two antagonistic conceptions. It was far indeed from being merely a fight for the "cat-skins of Nootka" as the anonymous author of the *Letters on the Errors of the British Minister in the negotiation with the Court of Spain* calls it.<sup>28</sup> The Spaniard clung to the antiquated notion that because his subjects had been the first of Europeans to see the Pacific Ocean all lands washed by its waters were the possessions of Spain. This natural title, to his mind unassailable, became indefeasible by the gift of Pope Alexander VI, whose Bull of May, 1493, had confirmed to Spain all lands discovered or thereafter to be discovered by the Spaniards in the Western Ocean. The Briton, since the days of the Tudors, had acted upon the principle that mere discovery is only an inchoate title and that lands not controlled by any civilized nation become the territorial possession of the people first occupying and developing them.<sup>29</sup> As for the Papal Bull, the reply of Queen Elizabeth, two hundred years before, crystallized the sentiments of the nation: "That she could not persuade herself that they possessed any just title by the Bishop of Rome's donation, in whom she acknowledged no prerogative in such cases, so as to lay any tie upon princes who owed him no obedience."<sup>30</sup>

Matters gradually assumed a less belligerent tone. How far the peace terminating the war between Sweden and Russia, leaving the latter power free to prosecute her attacks on Britain's old ally, Turkey, and how far the existing internal difficulties in The Netherlands may have aided in this pacific movement it is not necessary to enquire. Britain now submitted a memorial in which, after declaring that a peaceful settlement was desired, it was stated that no negotiation to that end could be undertaken until the vessels were restored, Meares indemnified, and satisfaction given for the insult to the British flag.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>29</sup> Manning's *Nootka Sound*, pp. 377, 378.

<sup>30</sup> Speech of Senator Colquitt, February 17, 1846, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Fitzherbert to Floridablanca, June 13, 1790; *Annual Register*, xxxii, p. 298.

From June 13th, when this document was submitted, until July 24th, the diplomats discussed the questions. Fitzherbert's instructions said that in the opinion of the Foreign Office the satisfaction when given would necessarily imply that Spain was "not in possession of an actual, known, and acknowledged Sovereignty and Dominion at Nootka" which could justify her action, and that therefore no discussion upon this point could take place after the satisfaction; then in lengthy and verbose phrase the Foreign Office went on to say that neither could any discussion take place before the satisfaction which could convince Britain of Spain's sovereignty at Nootka.<sup>32</sup> Thus it appears that Pitt, acting in this somewhat unreasonable manner, was determined that the abandonment of the Spanish claim of sovereignty must be the price of peace. With these instructions was enclosed a draft of declaration and counter-declaration almost identical with those which passed between Fitzherbert and Floridablanca on July 24th. By the declaration, as signed, Spain acknowledged her willingness to give satisfaction for the injury complained of—the capture of Meares's vessels—to make full restitution and to indemnify the interested parties for the losses sustained thereby. Thus it appears that the "satisfaction" about which so much had been said, which had been so strenuously claimed on the one side and refused on the other, was simply an apology. This declaration was accepted by counter-declaration on the same day and the dark war clouds began to break.

During all this time the "Spanish Armament" lay at Spithead, ready to stand out into the Atlantic upon the shortest notice; Admiral Cornish with eight ships of the line had already set sail and, favoured by an easterly wind, was clear of the Channel. The Dutch fleet of ten sail of the line under Admiral Kinsbergen was also at sea ready to coöperate. A detachment of the Guards to the number of two thousand men were under orders to march to Portsmouth and every preparation had been made to facilitate their prompt embarkation.<sup>33</sup> When it was learned that Admiral Cornish had sailed, the Spanish fleet at Cadiz was ordered to sea, and for a time these two fleets were hovering near Cape Finisterre dangerously near each other. Two Spanish ships of war carrying one thousand soldiers were sent to Porto

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<sup>32</sup> July 5, 1790, Leeds to Fitzherbert, British Museum MSS., 34432, pp. 32-36.

<sup>33</sup> Events 1780 to 1790, p. 174.

Rico, where it was apprehended an early attack would be made. By July 20th, Spain had thirty-four ships of the line and sixteen smaller craft at sea.

Early in September Fitzherbert presented to Floridablanca the first *projet* of a treaty.<sup>34</sup> And again the arguments and counter-arguments, the proposals and counter-proposals, the disputes over words and phrases, continued for more than a month. The action of the National Assembly of France in reply to the demand for aid in suggesting a re-casting of the Family Compact, showed to the world that while Britain could rely on her allies, Spain stood alone. The people of England began to complain of the inordinate length of the negotiations and the consequent period of uncertainty. The firmness with which Britain had entered upon the matter foreshadowed immediate satisfaction or war; but, now, nearly eight months had elapsed, immense expense had been incurred, yet nothing tangible had been obtained. These two forces caused the Ministry to be insistent that the treaty which had been altered and resubmitted on October 15th should be arranged within ten days.<sup>35</sup> The Junta, whose advice was taken, were of opinion that the fortunes of war should be tried, declaring that its terms were so drastic that nothing further could be demanded at the end of an unsuccessful war. Floridablanca, however, continued the discussion and succeeded in obtaining small concessions here and there. The treaty with these changes was presented to Floridablanca on October 23rd. When that day's conference closed, the Spanish Minister declared that he was still in doubt whether the reply he should give the next morning would be for peace or for war. King Carlos IV, however, was satisfied and, on October 28, 1790, was signed the Nootka Sound Convention. So important is this document in our history, and so much has it been misunderstood that it is presented in full in the appendix to this work.

Like most compromises this treaty was strongly approved and strongly condemned in England and in Spain. In the former country the opposition led by Fox declared that it had cut down the national rights, claiming that theretofore Britain had had the right to settle in any part of America not fortified against her by previous occupancy, but now that right was limited; so too the navigation,

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<sup>34</sup> Narrative, p. 168.

<sup>35</sup> Narrative, pp. 257-285.

fishery, and commerce of the Pacific, before without restriction, were subject to the limitations of the treaty. The fact that Spain had always denied any such rights was not in their opinion material. Hence her partial waiver was no adequate return for the restrictions now placed on British subjects. In Spain the treaty was distasteful to the national pride and was regarded as a breaking away from time-honoured views. The enemies of Floridablanca would not be satisfied with his explanations, nor with his suggestion that it was only a temporary expedient owing to the inadvisability of resorting to the arbitrament of the sword in the present unhappy condition of Spain. So insistent were they that in February, 1792, Floridablanca was dismissed from office after fifteen years of faithful service. His fall was attributed to the Nootka Sound Convention.

To the world at large this treaty was the first external evidence of the ebb of the tide—the beginning of the collapse of the Spanish colonial system. It was the first express renunciation of Spain's ancient claim to exclusive sovereignty, navigation, commerce, and fisheries on the Pacific Coast of America.

The treaty itself does not deal with sovereignty at all. Beyond the engagement to restore the buildings and land and to indemnify Meares for his losses, it deals only with navigation, fishery, and commerce in the Pacific and the forming of settlements on its shores. The satisfaction given by Spain in July, 1790, is the abandonment of her claim to sovereignty in this latitude, for it was an admission that Martinez was in the wrong in seizing the vessels, which he would not have been, had the territory been subject to Spain. But neither the treaty nor the declaration ever transferred or attempted to transfer the abandoned Spanish sovereignty. In the result the settlement of the Nootka difficulty left this Northwest coast (at least so far as related to the undefined territory beyond the line which international law would allow Spain to claim as hers under the doctrine of propinquity) a land without sovereignty in any European state, a sort of no-man's-land to which title could be acquired by entering into possession and exercising dominion over it. This position is important to be borne in mind because of its connection with the Oregon Dispute nearly sixty years later.

The provision for the restoration of the land and buildings at Nootka falls properly into the consideration of the work of Capt.

George Vancouver on this coast and will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

The compensation which Spain had agreed to make was referred to commissioners to adjust, and after the usual delays a convention was signed by Don Manuel de las Heras on behalf of Spain, and Mr. Ralph Woodford on behalf of Great Britain, at London on February 12, 1793, whereby Spain agreed to pay to the interested parties "two hundred and ten thousand hard dollars in specie" in full of all damages. Meares in his Memorial had with his usual exaggeration claimed \$153,433 as actual losses and \$500,000 as probable losses.<sup>36</sup> To reach these figures he had, for instance, valued all sea-otter skins at \$100 apiece, though as Dixon in his Remarks pointed out the average price of all such skins obtained on this coast since the time of Captain Hanna (1785) was but \$29 1/6;<sup>37</sup> Meares further estimated that the *Iphigenia*, *North West America*, and *Princess Royal* would have collected a thousand skins each and the *Argonaut* two thousand skins, even though in the preceding year the combined result of the work of the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia* had been but seven hundred and fifty skins, which had been sold at an average, as he (Meares) claimed, of \$50 each.<sup>38</sup> In this connection it must not be overlooked that the *Iphigenia* had only been under seizure for about a fortnight and Meares had in hand her returns; this, however, did not prevent him from claiming them over again. It may therefore be safely concluded that the amount paid by Spain was a very liberal allowance and far exceeded any actual losses.

<sup>36</sup> Meares' Memorial, App. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Dixon's Remarks on Meares' Voyage, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Answer to Dixon, pp. 22, 23.





CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER, R. N.



## CHAPTER VIII

### CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER

Some months before news of the capture of the British vessels at Nootka Sound had reached England, the Government had determined to continue the survey of the Northwest coast, so well begun by Captain Cook. Henry Roberts, who had served under that great navigator, was offered and accepted command of the expedition. George Vancouver, who also had sailed with Cook as midshipman, was commissioned to accompany Roberts as second in command. However, just as preparations were nearing completion, word reached the Government of the Nootka trouble. It appeared, at first, that neither Great Britain nor Spain would submit to the demands of the other. Both countries actively prepared for war and, for the time being, the second British expedition to the Northwest coast was abandoned, in order that the officers and men might be drafted into the vessels then being commissioned for active service. Spain, as related in the preceding chapter, was in no position to engage in hostilities and before the autumn of 1790 the Nootka Convention had been arranged and peaceful relations restored.

The Nootka dispute was no sooner settled than the British Government again turned its attention to western American affairs. Vancouver was given command of the postponed expedition, Roberts being engaged elsewhere. The *Discovery*, a new sloop of three hundred and forty tons, originally designed for the service, was recommissioned. She was to be accompanied by the armed tender *Chatham*, of one hundred and thirty-five tons, in command of Lieutenant William Robert Broughton. Great care was exercised in preparing the vessels for their long voyage. As in the case of Cook's ships, the stores supplied were of the best that the arsenals could produce.

In accordance with the terms of the Nootka Convention, Vancouver was clothed with authority to receive from the Spanish officer

he was to meet at Nootka, the lands and houses that Meares claimed had been wrested from him in May, 1789. He was also to explore the Northwest coast of America, between the parallels of 30 degrees and 60 degrees, north latitude. In his examination Vancouver was to take particular pains to keep in view:

"1st, The acquiring accurate information with respect to the nature and extent of any water communication, which may tend in any considerable degree, to facilitate an intercourse, for the purposes of commerce, between the North-West coast, and the countries upon the opposite side of the continent, which are inhabited or occupied by His Majesty's subjects."

"2ndly, The ascertaining, with as much precision as possible, the number, extent, and situation of any settlements which have been made within the limits above mentioned, by any European nation, and the time when such settlement was first made."<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the first, it was deemed of great importance that it should be definitely settled whether any of the inlets or fiords recently discovered, or that might be discovered, communicated with the Atlantic; or if there were any large rivers communicating with the lakes discovered by the French and British furtraders in the heart of the continent. Men still clung to the false theories respecting that *ignis fatuus*, the Strait of Anian, which for so many years had exercised the minds of geographers and led them to believe all manner of strange stories of that mysterious northern way. Cook's voyage, although it had done much to rob these false theories of their vogue, at least among British men of science, had not by any means killed belief in the Strait of Anian. Meares had endeavoured to revive interest in the ancient relations, and his positive assertions for a time influenced the opinion of some geographers; and just at this time Buache, the French geographer, astonished Europe by proving, to his own satisfaction at least, that the strait of the charlatan Maldonado was not a figment of the imagination but a reality. So Vancouver was instructed to lay at rest once and forever all such crude theories respecting navigable rivers and straits that by long and sinuous passages connected the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. British geographers of that generation were not impressed with Maldonado or de Fonte; nor did they believe in the existence of their chains of lakes and rivers.

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<sup>1</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 1, p. XVIII.

The romance of the Elizabethan era could not flourish in the materialistic Georgian period. Already the golden age of discovery had passed, and no longer were the extravagant tales of the quack explorer received with credulous regard. In fact, the material view of the Georgian period had suppressed the romantic and placed on high the politico-economic. In that age Samuel Purchas and his accounts of the "silver bowels" and "golden entrails" of America, and such picturesque descriptions deceived no one.

In view of the fact that the officer placed in command of the expedition failed to find the two principal rivers of western America, the Columbia and the Fraser, it is interesting to recall that he was specifically instructed not only to ascertain the general line of the sea coast, "but also the direction and extent of all such considerable inlets, whether made by arms of the sea, or by the mouths of large rivers, as may be likely to lead to or facilitate"<sup>2</sup> a communication with the Atlantic.

To all vessels belonging to His Catholic Majesty, Vancouver was to extend every assistance in his power and to avoid giving any offence to the subjects of the Spanish King. It was particularly recommended that the British officer upon meeting with Spanish men of war, should enter into a free and unreserved communication of all charts and discoveries made by him, upon the condition that the Spanish officers should reciprocate the courtesy.

Additional instructions were forwarded by the Admiralty with Lieutenant Hergest, commanding the transport *Daedalus*. These were confined more particularly to the procedure to be followed at Nootka Sound in the surrender of the "buildings," and "districts," or "parcels of land," recently seized by the Spaniards and to the movements of the transport. With the additional instructions a letter was transmitted from Count Floridablanca, dated the 12th of May, 1791, and addressed to the Governor or Commander of the "Port at St. Lawrence," instructing that officer to immediately surrender the lands at Nootka Sound and Port Cox, claimed by the British.

Yet another note of instruction was despatched to Vancouver, but this was merely the usual formal order that he should repair to London immediately on his return, to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty a full account of his voyage, and to take care, before

<sup>2</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. I, p. XIX.

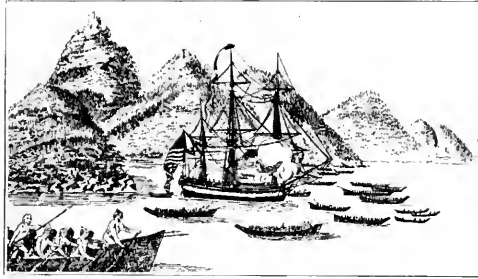
leaving the sloop "to demand from the officers, and petty officers, the log books, journals, drawings, etc., they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection; and enjoining them, and the whole crew not to divulge where they had been until they shall have permission to do so." <sup>3</sup>

The *Chatham* and *Discovery* sailed from Falmouth the 1st of April, 1791, and after a long passage, in the course of which New Holland, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand were visited, the vessels arrived at the Sandwich Islands in January, 1792. Departing thence in March, Vancouver sighted the coast of New Albion on the 17th of April, in latitude  $39^{\circ}27'$ . "The shore appeared straight and unbroken, of a moderate height, with mountainous land behind, covered with stately forest trees; except in some spots, which had the appearance of having been cleared by manual labour; and exhibited a verdant, agreeable aspect." <sup>4</sup>

Vancouver directed his course along the coast to the northward, keeping within sight of land and determining the position of its various capes and bays. Off Cape Orford the vessels were visited by the natives in canoes and the explorer observes that "a pleasing and courteous deportment distinguished these people." Under the 46th parallel, the Cape Disappointment of Meares was sighted, but, as Meares had done before him, Vancouver failed to observe the great fluvial artery, the estuary of which was discovered a few months later by Captain Gray of the American ship *Columbia*. So much has been said and written of Vancouver's failure to discover the opening, found shortly afterwards by the American captain, that exceptional interest is added to the British explorer's observations with regard to the land sighted on Friday, the 29th of April. "Noon brought us up," so runs the journal, "with a very conspicuous point of land composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high, and projecting into the sea from the low land before mentioned. These hummocks are barren, and steep near the sea, but their tops thinly covered with wood. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point 2 or 3 miles into the ocean, until they

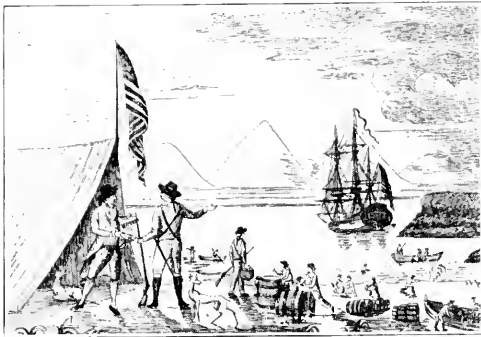
<sup>3</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. I, p. XXVIII.

<sup>4</sup> Id., p. 196.



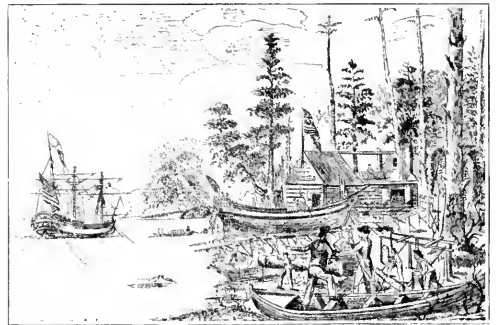
After an old Drawing by Davidson

IN THE STRAITS OF JUAN DE FUCA  
 Captain Gray obliged to fire upon the natives  
 who disregarded his orders to keep off



After one of Davidson's old Drawings

AT THE FALKLAND ISLANDS  
 Captain Gray with chart in hand, conversing  
 with one of his officers



After an old Drawing by Davidson

IN WINTER QUARTERS AT CLAYOQUOT  
 Captain Gray giving orders to Mr. Yendell con-  
 cerning the building of the sloop  
 "Adventure"



After an old Drawing by Davidson

AT WHAMPOA  
 Captain Gray, facing the ships, converses with  
 a friend upon the discovery of Oregon



joined those on the beach nearly four leagues further south. On reference to Mr. Meares's description of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first inclined to believe it to be Cape Shoalwater, but on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be that which he calls Cape Disappointment; and the opening to the south of it, Deception Bay."<sup>5</sup> So Vancouver missed the mouth of the Columbia River.

Passing Point Grenville and Barkley's Destruction Island, Vancouver reached the latitude in which geographers of more than a century and a half had placed the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Dalrymple, the cartographer, in his rare pamphlet entitled "Plan for Promoting the Fur Trade," published in 1789, states that "it is alledged that the Spaniards have recently found an entrance in the latitude of 47°45' north, which in 27 days course brought them to the vicinity of Hudson's Bay; this latitude exactly corresponds to the ancient relation of John de Fuce, the Greek pilot in 1592." Here, by a coincidence as strange as it was fortunate, Vancouver fell in with the *Columbia*, commanded by Captain Robert Gray. Having read Meares' account of the voyage of the sloop *Washington* behind Nootka, he was naturally anxious to hear more of the discoveries made on that occasion. Puget and Menzies were sent on board to acquire "such information as might be serviceable in our future operations." On the return of the boat Vancouver learned that Gray had commanded the sloop *Washington* in 1789 at the time she was supposed to have made a singular voyage behind Nootka. "It was not a little remarkable," observed Vancouver, "that, on our approach to the entrance of this inland sea, we should fall in with the identical person, who, it had been stated, had sailed through it. His relation, however, differed very materially from that published in England. It is not possible to conceive anyone to be more astonished than was Captain Gray, on his being made acquainted, that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop *Washington*. In contradiction to which, he assured the officers, that he had penetrated only 50 miles into the Straits in question, in an E. S. E. direction; that he found the passage 5 leagues wide; and that he understood from the natives that the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; that this was all the information he had acquired respecting this inland sea, and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he

<sup>5</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 1, pp. 209-10.

had entered at." Gray also gave his visitors information as to his operations on the coast in the winter, relating, among other things, that the Clayoquot chief, Wicaninish, planned to capture his ship by bribing a Sandwich islander on board to wet the priming of his fire-arms, thus to enable the Indians who had assembled for that purpose to overpower the crew. The plot was happily discovered in time to prevent its execution. The ships then parted, the *Discovery* and *Chatham* to the northward, while the *Columbia* followed them, although Gray had stated that it was his intention to proceed southward on a trading cruise.<sup>6</sup>

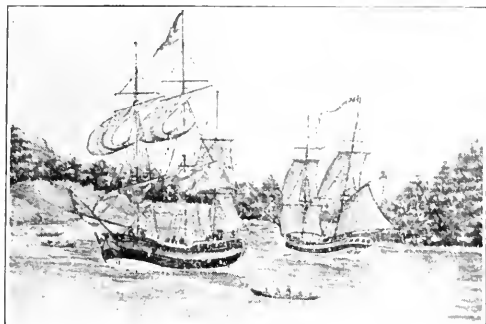
At noon on Sunday, April 29th, the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, the latter in the lead, sailed into the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Vancouver in passing gave the name of Classet to the Cape Flattery of Cook. The vessels passed between Tatoche Island and a large rock, which in honour of Duncan, who had first sketched the entrance of the strait, was named Rock Duncan. Then Vancouver commenced his careful and laborious survey of the great inland sea, studded with islands, that is such a remarkable feature of the coast. Vancouver hugged the continental shore and, proceeding from point to point, at last reached the maze of islands and inlets, to which he gave the name of Puget Sound, in honour of Peter Puget, his second lieutenant. Although the explorer anchored under New Dungeness not far from the Port Angeles of the present day, it is not recorded either in the narrative of the expedition, nor in any other authentic work, that he visited that beautiful park-like country at the southern extremity of Vancouver Island, which fifty years later excited the admiration of Captain McNeill, of the steamer *Beaver*, and James Douglas, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Strictly following the letter of his instructions, Vancouver surveyed, with elaborate care, each bay and harbour, each inlet and sound. The nomenclature of the shores of that mediterranean sea bears ample testimony of his minute examination. With the exception of the names bestowed by the Spaniards in their surveys of the years 1791 and 1792, there is scarcely a large island, bay or sound, or a prominent cape that does not bear the name given it by the British explorer. Vancouver at once and forever disposed of the mystery of the Strait of Anian. Before his investigations Maldonado and De

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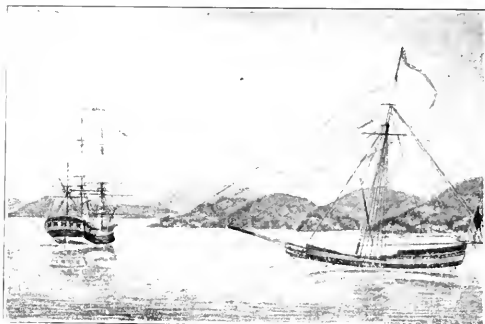
<sup>6</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 1, pp. 214-15.





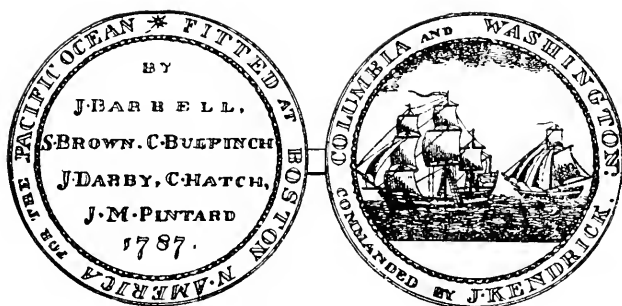
From an old Drawing by Haswell

THE SHIP "COLUMBIA" AND THE BRIG  
"HANCOCK" IN HANCOCK'S RIVER,  
QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S ISLANDS

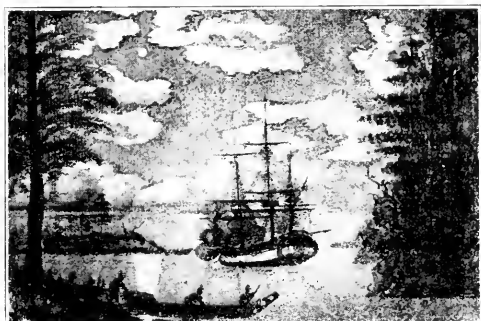


From an old Drawing by Haswell

THE SHIP "COLUMBIA" AND THE SLOOP  
"WASHINGTON"

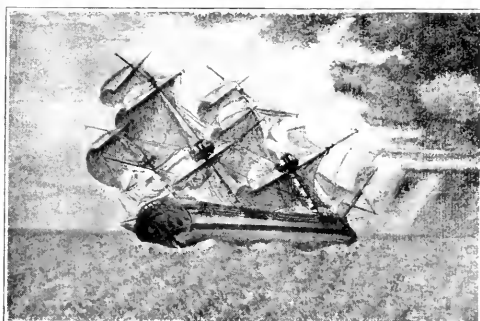


MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE DEPARTURE  
OF THE "COLUMBIA" AND THE "WASHINGTON"



From an old Drawing by Davidson

THE SHIP "COLUMBIA" SURPRISED BY  
THE NATIVES OF CHICKLESET



From an old Drawing by Davidson

THE "COLUMBIA" IN A SQUALL

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Fonte, Juan Ladrillero, and Martin Chake, and all the pretensions of those who had averred their belief in the exploits of these impostors, dissolved into thin air, leaving not a wrack behind. But more than that, Vancouver not only laid at rest these stories, but he was the first to establish the insular character of the land occupied by the Spaniards in 1789. Before his day, the Indians had reported to Spaniard and furtrader that behind Nootka lay channels of the sea, and indeed it had been opined that the shores visited by adventurers in their search for the pelt of the sea-otter were not part of the continent, but merely a chain of islands that fringed the coast. Vancouver, however, was the first explorer to establish this fact.

In the evening of April 30th, the *Chatham* and *Discovery* anchored off New Dungeness. Perhaps it was a happy omen that May-Day dawned bright and beautiful. But whether or no, there were any on board superstitious enough to give heed to signs, the fact remains that from that day until the beginning of August, when the vessels sailed into Queen Charlotte's Sound, no serious mishap befell the expedition. Proceeding from New Dungeness, Vancouver sailed through Admiralty Inlet to Puget Sound, thence past Whidby Island, the beautiful San Juan or Haro Archipelago, and, still hugging the continental shore, by Bellingham Bay and Lummi Island into the southern end of the Gulf of Georgia; thence on to Semiahmoo and Boundary Bays, Points Roberts and Grey, to the entrance of Burrard Inlet. Point Grey was so named "in compliment to my friend Captain George Grey of the Navy," and Point Roberts "after my esteemed friend and predecessor in the *Discovery*."<sup>7</sup>

Here again Vancouver failed to find a large river. Between these points the Fraser embouches into the Gulf of Georgia, but although in crossing from one point to the other, the strong current of the river, and its vast sand-banks forced the small boat, in which the explorer was making his examination, far into the Gulf and although it was noticed that the intermediate space was occupied by low land, apparently a swampy flat that extended several miles back from the shore, the river of which this swampy flat was the delta was not discovered. Moreover, it was observed that the water "nearly half over the Gulph, and accompanied by a rapid tide was nearly colourless, which gave us some reason to suppose that the northern branch of the Sound might

<sup>7</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 1, pp. 299-300.

possibly be discovered to terminate in a river of considerable extent." Between Points Grey and Atkinson, Vancouver found the narrow entrance of a long canal, which he examined with care, little thinking that on the shore of this inlet was to arise a great city, destined to be the western metropolis of the greatest Dominion of the British Empire. That inlet was named Burrard's Canal after Sir Harry Burrard.

Following the western shore of the Gulf he had named in honour of the reigning sovereign, George III., Vancouver discovered and explored the inlet named after Sir John Jervis. Returning to Point Grey, where it was the intention to land and breakfast, Vancouver fell in with two little Spanish vessels, the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, commanded respectively by Don Dionisio Galiano and Don Cayetano Valdez. These vessels proved to be a detachment from the expedition of the accomplished but unfortunate Malaspina, then in the service of Spain. Galiano and Valdez had entered the strait five days after the British expedition, and since that time had been engaged in examining the coasts partly surveyed by Spanish officers in previous years.

Vancouver, who up to that time, had not known that the waters he had explored had been visited by the Spaniards, was not altogether pleased to find this the case. "I cannot avoid acknowledging," he says in his journal, "that, on this occasion, I experienced no small degree of mortification in finding that the external shores of the Gulph had been visited, and already examined a few miles beyond where my researches during the excursion, had extended."<sup>8</sup>

Here on that summer morning of one hundred and twenty years ago, chance caused the two exploring expeditions to meet. In a manner it may be described as an historic occasion, for the one signified the rise of a new power, and the other marked the close of Spanish effort on the Northwest coast. The well equipped British vessels were in marked contrast to the little galleys of Spain. The meeting was observed by an interchange of courtesies between the British and Spanish officers.

Almost the first news imparted to Vancouver was that Bodega y Quadra, the commandant of San Blas in California, was awaiting the arrival of the British Commissioner at Nootka, in order to restore the disputed territory to the Crown of Great Britain, in accordance with

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<sup>8</sup> Vancouver, *Voyages*, London, 1798, vol. 1, p. 312.



FALLS AT INDIAN RIVER POST  
Head of North Arm, Burrard Inlet



terms of the Nootka Convention. Vancouver speaks in high terms of the behaviour of the Spanish officers: "Their conduct was replete with that politeness and friendship which characterizes the Spanish nation; every kind of useful information they cheerfully communicated, and obligingly expressed much desire, that circumstances might so concur as to admit of our respective labours being carried on together; for which purpose, or, if from our long absence and fatigue in an open boat, I would wish to remain with my party as their guest, they would immediately despatch a boat with such directions as I might deem necessary for the conduct of the ships, or, in the event of a favourable breeze springing up, they would weigh and sail directly to their station; but, being intent on losing no time, I declined their obliging offers, and having partaken with them a very hearty breakfast, bade them farewell, not less pleased with their hospitality and attention, than astonished at the vessels in which they were employed to execute a service of such a nature. They were each of about forty-five tons burthen, mounted two brass guns, and were navigated by twenty-four men, bearing one lieutenant, without a single inferior officer. Their apartments just allowed room for sleeping places on each side, with a table in the intermediate space, at which four persons with some difficulty, could sit, and were in all other respects, the most ill calculated and unfit vessels that could possibly be imagined for such an expedition; notwithstanding this, it was pleasant to observe, in point of living, they possessed many more comforts than could reasonably have been expected."<sup>9</sup>

The *Sutil* and *Mexicana* were fitted out at Acapulco as an adjunct of Malaspina's expedition in the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, but these vessels had sailed before the schooners reached that port. The voyage was undertaken for the purpose of continuing the examination of the Straits of Fuca, commenced by Manuel Quimper, under Don Francisco Eliza, who had been ordered in 1790 to survey that inlet. It is stated in the official narrative of the expedition that Estevan Martinez, in sailing down the coast in the *Santiago* in the year 1774 had sighted a broad entrance a little to the north of the 48th parallel. In the log of the *Santiago*, however, no mention is made of that discovery. The *Sutil* carried Dionisio Galiano, who commanded the expedition, Secundino Salamanca and seventeen men; and the *Mexicana*, Caye-

<sup>9</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 1, pp. 313-14.

tano Valdez, Juan Vernachi, Josef Cordero, draughtsman, and the same complement of men as the *Sutil*. In view of Vancouver's remarks upon the size and equipment, it is interesting to note that the dimensions of each ship were as follows: Keel—46 feet, 10 inches; Length over all—50 feet, 3 inches; Beam—13 feet, 10 inches; Aft-hold—6 feet, 2 inches; Forehold—5 feet, 8 inches. The armament consisted of one three-pounder, four falcons, eighteen muskets, twenty-four pistols, and eighteen sabres.

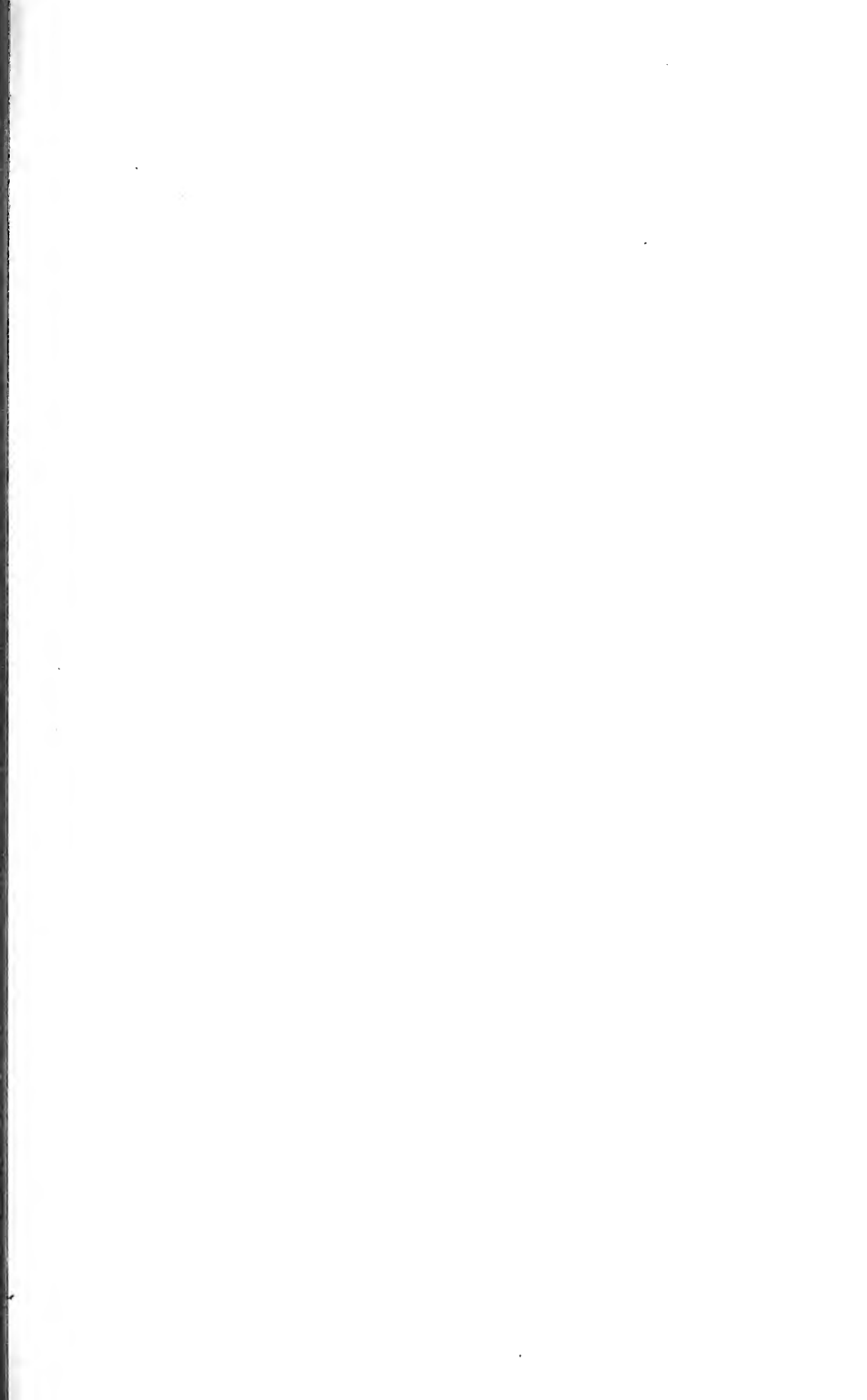
The *Sutil* and *Mexicana* sailed from the Mexican port on March 8th, and, after a stormy voyage, in which the latter was dismasted, reached Nootka on May 12th, finding there Francisco Eliza, with the frigate *Concepcion*, the *Santa Gertrudis*, Alonso de Torres commander, and the brigantine *Activa*. Bodega y Quadra had arrived but a few days before to carry out the convention concluded between the Spanish Court and that of England in 1790. Galiano's journal throws an interesting light upon the Spanish occupation of Nootka, and especially upon the relations that existed between his countrymen and the natives. "While we were in this port," he writes on one occasion, "we saw with particular gratification the close friendship which reigned between the Spaniards and the Indians. Maquinna, influenced by the presents and good treatment of Commander Quadra, had come to live very near the ships. He ate from the Commander's table daily, and, though not at it, was very near, and used his knife and fork like the most polished European, allowing himself to be waited on by the servants, and amusing everybody by his merry humour. He drank wine with pleasure, and left to others, so as not to muddle his brain, the care of limiting his quantum of that liquor, which he called "Water of Spain." He was usually accompanied by his brother, Quatlazapé, for whom he showed great affection. Some of his relatives and vassals also generally dined in the cabin, and for these latter a dish of beans or haricots, food they most preferred, was set daily. Maquinna was endowed with clear and alert talent, and very well knew his rights of sovereignty. He complained of the treatment of the foreign vessels which traded on the Coast, on account of certain vexations which he said his people had received. He denied that he had ceded the port of Nootka to the English lieutenant, Meares, and only acknowledged that he had allowed him to settle





Alessandro Manzoni  
*[Signature]*







SPANISH SHIP "ATREVIDA" IN COMMAND OF ALEXANDRO MALASPINA, ON NORTHWEST COAST

there, repeating continually the cession he made to the king of Spain of that port and the stores pertaining to it with all their products.”<sup>10</sup>

The French frigate, *La Flavia*, of about five hundred tons, arrived at Nootka while the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* lay at anchor there. The *Flavia* flew the new national flag which was then seen for the first time on this coast. The object was to trade for furs and to seek information respecting the unfortunate La Pérouse.

The journal also relates that early in June, natives arrived to ask Bodega y Quadra to assist them against a vessel which had attacked a village in Esperanza Inlet, killing seven, wounding others, and despoiling the rest of their otter skins. The Indians brought with them a wounded man to be treated by the Spanish doctor. As far as is known, this vessel was the *Columbia*, commanded by Captain Gray. The natives related that the Americans, being unable to agree upon the rate of exchange for furs, had used force to compel them to surrender their peltries.

Having taken on board Luis Galvez, the surgeon of the *Aranzazu*, the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* sailed for the Straits of Fuca and a few days later came to anchor at the port of Nunez Gaona, now known as Neah Bay, to which place the Spaniards had determined to transfer the settlement at Nootka, in anticipation of the surrender of that port to the British. Salvador Fidalgo, commanding the *Princesa*, was then making preparations for the transfer, clearing a site for an orchard and making yards for the cows, sheep, pigs and goats, brought from San Blas. Nunez Gaona, however, was abandoned shortly afterwards. It seems strange that an effort should have been made to establish a colony at this place, for it was but ill-adapted for settlement. Although Quimper and Francisco Eliza had examined the straits and the inland sea, as far as the Gulf of Georgia, called by the Spanish, “Gran Canal de Nuestra Sonora del Rosario” (Grand Canal of Our Lady of the Rosary), they had not completed their survey.

The work of continuing the exploration of these inland waters had been entrusted to Galiano and he now proceeded to carry out his instructions. He did not, like Vancouver, follow the continental shore, but touched at the Port of Cordova, where now stands the city of Victoria. “The port of Cordova is beautiful,” runs an entry in the

<sup>10</sup> Voyage of *Sutil* and *Mexicana*: Barwick's Translation in archives of British Columbia, pp. 17-18.

journal of June 9th, "and affords good shelter for sailors; but the water is shallow, as we saw, and Tetacus informed us: the land is very irregular, of slight elevation, and, as the neighbourhood shows, the surface of soil on the rock is of little depth. Nevertheless it is fertile, covered with trees and plants, and these growths are almost the same as those of Nootka, but wild roses are most abundant. Also rather more birds are seen and more of the same kind of seagulls, ducks, kingfishers, and other birds. It was in this port that the schooner *Saturnina* had to fire at the canoes of the inhabitants to protect the launch of the Packet *San Carlos*, which came in her company, and which launch they obstinately wanted to seize."<sup>11</sup>

Galiano then made his way through the San Juan or Haro Archipelago, noticing on June 12th, flames to the southeast of Mount Carmel (Mount Baker), which phenomenon was interpreted as indicating the presence of an active volcano in that neighbourhood. In crossing the Gulf of Georgia, two small boats were sighted, which it was thought belonged to the two English ships, known to be exploring the inland sea. The Spanish vessels at this time were making for the Sound of Floridablanca (the Spanish name for the estuary of the Fraser River), in order to search for the river, which was supposed, from the report of the natives, to empty into that bay, but the current prevented them reaching the head of the channel, so they anchored under Punta Langara (Point Grey) and here the British and Spanish expeditions met as already narrated.

Naturally the explorers exchanged notes. Upon Vancouver pointing out the only spot he had left unexamined, at the head of Burrard Inlet, Galiano and Valdez were much surprised that a large river, which they had been told emptied into the waters of the Gulf of Georgia, had not been seen. The mouth of the river is shown on the Spanish chart between the Points Langara and Cepeda, the Spanish names of Points Grey and Roberts of Vancouver. This river had been named Rio Blanca, in honour of Count Floridablanca. It seems almost beyond belief that Vancouver's small boats, for he had left his ships at anchor in order to examine more carefully the bay and inlets of the coast, should have failed to find the mouth of the Fraser River. Yet such was the case.

The *Discovery* and *Chatham* and the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* then

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<sup>11</sup> Voyage of *Sutil* and *Mexicana*: Barwick's Translation, etc., pp. 42-43.





*Thomas Welby*



*C. P. Welby*



*J. L. Friend &  
J. B. Barrell*



proceeded together in accordance with an arrangement made between Vancouver and Galiano. In the neighbourhood of Desolation Sound, a great school of whales was seen, which led Vancouver to observe that—"this circumstance, in some measure, favoured the assertion in Mr. Meares's publication, that a passage to the ocean would be found by persevering in our present course; though this was again rendered very doubtful, as we had understood, from our Spanish friends, that, notwithstanding the Spaniards had lived upon terms of great intimacy with Mr. Gray and other American traders at Nootka, they had no knowledge of any person having ever performed such a voyage, but from the history of it published in England; and so far were these gentlemen from being better acquainted with the discoveries of De Fuce or De Fonte than ourselves, that, from us, they expected much information as to the truth of such reports." Vancouver then remarked that Valdez, who spoke the Indian language fluently, said that the natives had told him that the inlet "did communicate with the ocean to the northward, where they had seen ships." Valdez, however, it was observed, did not place much reliance in these reports. In view of the extraordinary story concocted by Meares with regard to Kendrick's reputed circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, the remarks of the Spanish navigator are exceedingly interesting.

The British and Spanish vessels continued in company for several days and their officers were jointly engaged in a minute examination of the continental shore. Each indentation was examined with care in small boats commanded by Vancouver, Broughton, Mudge, Puget, Baker, Whidby, and Johnstone, and the wealth of information acquired was faithfully embodied in the great chart of Vancouver, which must stand as a monument to that officer's zeal and ability. The late Captain Walbran well crystallized the unanimous judgment of scholars in stating that Vancouver carried on this survey "with a zeal beyond all praise." On the 13th of July, however, the two expeditions parted company off the entrance to Desolation Sound. Galiano and Valdez "begging leave to decline accompanying us further, as the powers they possessed in their miserable vessels were unequal to a co-operation with us, and being apprehensive their attendance would retard our progress."

Vancouver and Galiano at this point again compared notes and presented each other with copies of the charts they had made and

"after an exchange of good wishes, we bade each other farewell, having experienced much satisfaction, and mutually received every kindness and attention our peculiar situation could afford our little society."

Galiano and Valdez exhibited praiseworthy zeal in following out their instructions and, in spite of their inadequate equipment, they succeeded in accomplishing a great deal. In common with other Spanish explorers the reputations of these men have suffered from the fact that the splendidly equipped British expeditions overshadowed their really laudable efforts in the later days of Spanish activity in these waters. Spain never did justice to her navigators, whose labours were not given to the world until sometime after the reports of the British explorers were made public. The Spanish literature on the subject of the Northwest coast is meagre in the extreme, whereas English literature of travel and geography has been enriched by numerous monumental works on British enterprise in the North Pacific. It is a relief therefore to find that the notable achievements of the two Spanish commanders, Galiano and Valdez, have not been entirely overlooked by their Government.

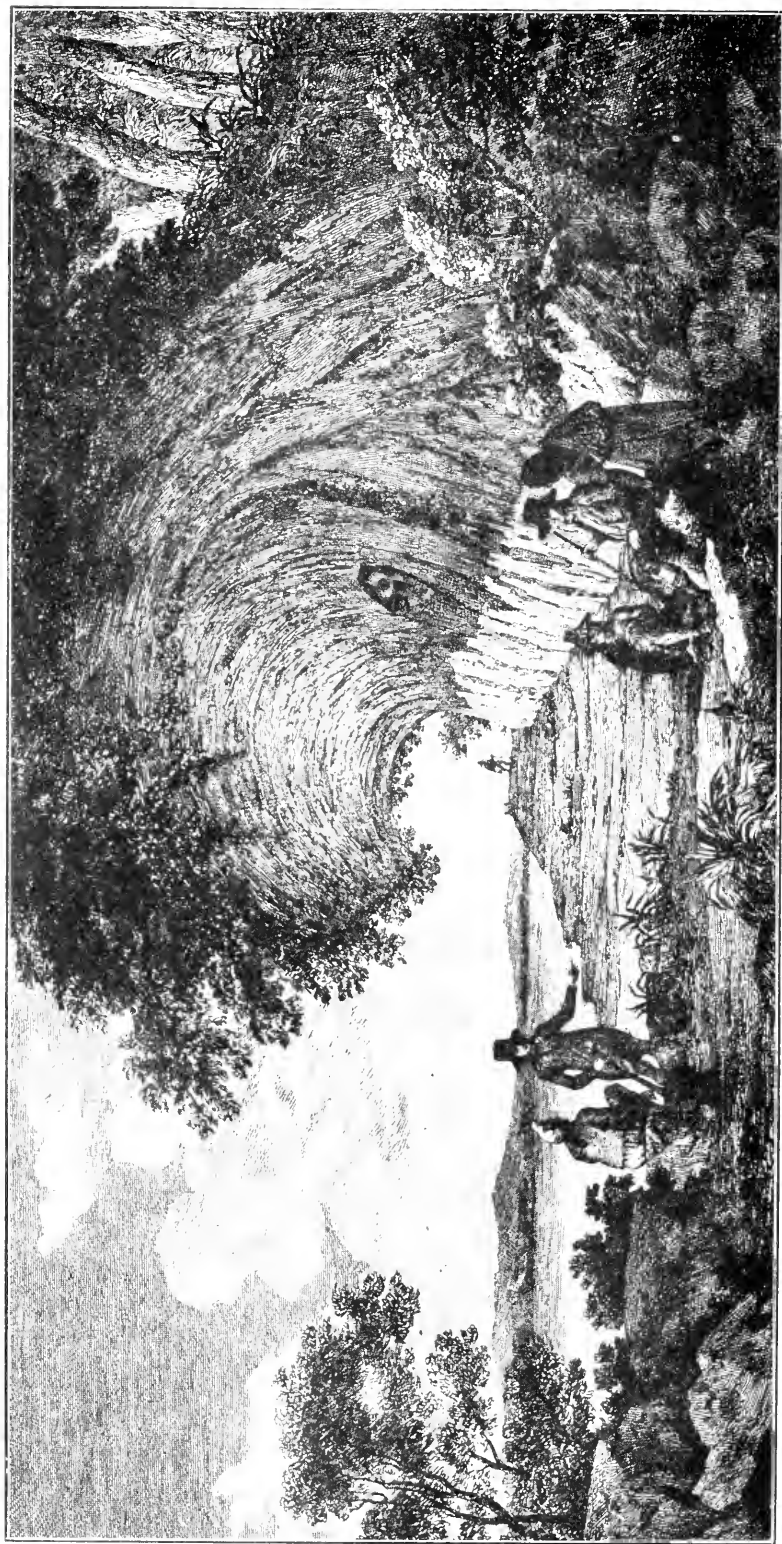
The work of the expedition can best be portrayed by quoting from the original journal, which has been specially translated for the Archives Department of British Columbia. For instance under the dates June 15th to 18th, 1792, the following entries appear:

1792, June 15th.—"In the morning Vernachi went in the launch to seek a good anchorage to N. W., of the one we were in, thinking to find it within the Sounds of Porlier, from which we thought we were not very distant: our position was midway between the two points which lie to the S. E. of these sounds.

"The wind began to freshen from the N. E., and our position was growing serious if it should blow violently from that quarter. At half-past eight in the morning the launch, which had started at half-past four, was not yet in sight and its delay began to give us some anxiety; but we saw it soon after, and it arrived alongside without having found a desirable anchorage in the two leagues distance it had travelled.

"As the weather would not allow the Schooners to cross to the N. coast, it was resolved to proceed in them in search of the desired anchorage. We set sail at 9 in the morning hoping to find it in the





VIEW OF NATURAL GALLERY ON GALLIANO ISLAND  
From an old Spanish drawing, made about 1792

Sound of Porlier; we reached the sound at mid-day, and entered easily, without stopping to send the launch to reconnoitre it, for although the wind which was blowing fresh from E. N. E., left us directly we got under shelter of the point at the entrance, the waters bore us inward, whither they were running swiftly.

"Having got inside we saw an Archipelago of numbers of small, low islands, and perceived that the Channel was divided into two main branches, one running S. E., and the other W.; it was at once resolved to take the former, so as to continue to have the assistance of the wind to get out if necessary. But when we had lost the shelter of the coast, the *Mexicana* experienced such a squall of wind, in the direction of the Channel, so strong that it put her in danger of capsizing. We saw at once how risky it was to entangle ourselves among these islands, the channels of which were unknown to us, and were of no interest to examine. The wind, being compressed to pass through the narrow space in the opening of the mountains, blew with great force: the currents were rapid and had to take various directions according as the multitude of islands demanded; and as no shore whatever was visible, it seemed probable that there were no convenient anchorages. As we could not go far inland, which would keep us a long time in this place, to the detriment of the important surveys in the direction of the mainland, it seemed prudent to get out without delay.

"But to get out of these Channels was not so easy as we expected. The current had acquired such force that we could not overcome it with the oars, and the wind was slack and gentle. So in order to get into the main Channel we had to spend two hours in constant labour and danger. The *Mexicana* managed it by passing to windward of the small island that lies at the entrance, and very near the end of its reef, in four fathoms, the stones being visible at the bottom; but the *Sutil*, which was getting more and more involved at the entrance, preferred to bear away so as to pass through the narrow Channel formed by the islet and the Coast, and did so successfully.

"There were in these Channels several deserted villages, and one with inhabitants on the W. side of the sound; from the latter five canoes came out with two old men and nineteen youths, all very robust and good looking; they came up to the Schooners, gave us

mulberries and shell fish, and took in exchange buttons and beads; and thinking that we wanted fresh water they went to their villages and brought us some vessels full of it.

"Free from the danger we had been in, we followed the Coast with the object of finding a good anchorage; we sailed straight to the Point of Gaviola, and not finding it there, we went on to the mouths of Wintuysen, aided by a fresh wind from the E., which cleared the sky. We reached the E. point of the said mouths and passed between them and the Islet: on doubling the said Point we saw two canoes which followed close to the shore observing the movements of the Schooners, and on coming athwart them they approached very cautiously. To gain their confidence and friendship we gave those who came in the canoes the best proofs of our intentions by throwing them some strings of beads into their canoes; but we could not get them to come near. We continued to proceed along the Coast with the same object, until at last we discovered an anchorage at a mile off the point, and as it seemed suitable we steered to it. We called this roadstead "Cala del Descanso," from our need of rest and our appreciation of the discovery on that occasion. We then reckoned five days since our entrance into the Strait and in them not only had we rectified but likewise added to the surveys of the previous years; which served as recompense for our fatigues and labours, no less than the hope of continuing the remaining tasks with equal result. For this object we tried to fit ourselves by replenishing the wood and water, and taking further measures which our position required with all possible despatch.

"When we had finished mooring the Schooners we landed on the shore at the end of the creek, and tried to penetrate into the wood in search of fresh water; but we had not gone far when we perceived some natives of the country who made signs to us not to go further, and others who were running apparently to inform their wives. We gratified them by withdrawing, and made them understand why we had come; then two of them took us to two very poor springs which were on the Coast, E. of the Port, about two cables beyond the anchorage of the Schooners, and in one of these springs there were three holes covered with semi-circular stones; this confirmed us in the idea we already had of the scarcity of fresh water on those Coasts. With this knowledge we returned to the beach and found six Indians

who were giving sardines to our sailors: we gave them in return beads and other tokens of friendship, but without being able to inspire them with entire confidence.

"On this day thirty-nine canoes with two or three Indians apiece came together round the Schooners. We did not find any remarkable difference between their physiognomy and that of the other natives who had visited us in the Strait; but on the other hand we could not help noticing the fact that many of them squinted, and they wore their whiskers covered with short hair, the beards with pear-shaped ornaments, and their eyebrows rather thick. Their clothes were reduced in general to blankets of coarse and well woven wool, fastened by two pins on the shoulder, but only long enough to reach to the knees. An occasional one wore a deerskin, particular attention being called to that which covered the man who appeared to be the Tais, who wore besides a second woollen blanket on top, a hat in the form of a truncated cone, five brass bracelets on the right wrist, and a hoop of copper round his neck, very similar to the one we had seen on an Indian in lat.  $60^{\circ}$  the year before. Some wore hats and many were painted with red ochre; they came smiling, appeared gentle, and if not stupid at least dull of understanding. The idiom is entirely different from that of Nootka, and they make even greater guttural noises and aspirates, so that it appeared to us more difficult to learn.

"They offered us in exchange great quantities of sardines, sundried and smoked, and arms, namely: arrows, some having well shaped points of flint or mussel shell, others of bone and serrated; clubs of whalebone, and medium-sized bows of fairly strong and flexible wood. They also offered new blankets which we afterwards concluded were of dog's hair, partly because when the woven hair was compared with that of those animals there was no apparent difference, and partly from the great number of dogs they keep in those villages, most of them being shorn. These animals are of moderate size, resembling those of English breed, with very thick coats, and usually white: among other things they differ from those of Europe in their manner of barking, which is simply a miserable howl.

"It was very easy for us to see that in spite of the pleasure we endeavoured to show, and the continual proofs of friendship which

we gave these Indians, we could not obtain their confidence. They were always hesitating and suspicious; the slightest movement upset them, and this frequently interrupted our communication.

"They prized beads and Monterey shells, the pearl of which they use for ornaments, and they value pieces of rough iron more than that manufactured into knives or razors, perhaps because they use them for points for arrows, harpoons and other things.

"Very noteworthy is the difference in character which we perceived in the natives in such a short distance as that which lies between the mouths of Porlier and those of Wintuysen. The former are trusting and affable; the latter suspicious and disagreeable. But is not the same difference sometimes seen between neighbouring settlements, and more civilized nations? And if in towns living under the same laws the circumstances of education are sufficient for this to happen, why is it strange that the same thing should occur among these Tribes, who are apparently independent, and have no constant intercourse, as we have observed by noting that the canoes do not go beyond a certain distance away from the villages? Navigators must keep these reflections in mind and never trust the savages of the Coasts, even if they have found those of other neighbouring villages humane and amiable.

"We gave ourselves up to rest for the night, dividing our crew into four watches, and setting sentinels accordingly, so that by their vigilance the others might rest quietly. The night was peaceful and there was no disturbance in the anchorage throughout it.

June 16th.—"We spent part of the following day in arranging and making fair copies of our rough notes of observations, points of reference and calculations, and information of all kinds, which, as jottings made in the midst of the duties and active work of the ships, required to be expanded in good form and order before other new ideas confused those already acquired. We likewise continued to replenish the water, of which we found that at that season thirty barrels daily could be got in the place we were in.

"The Savages did not overcome their distrust however much we endeavoured to make them understand our peaceable views: no entreaties or attentions sufficed to induce the Chief to come on board the *Sutil*, and all the Canoes kept close together and were alongside the Schooner in great trepidation. Nevertheless they went on



making exchanges without difficulty and supplying us with fish until the afternoon, when upon the boat putting off from the *Sutil* to go to land, all those who were near became alarmed and went off without daring to approach the Schooner during the rest of the day. Later on two Canoes appeared in the anchorage, and arrested our attention by the evil appearance of the four Indians who came in them, for they were all squint-eyed and of very disagreeable countenances. They showed us their weapons, and gave us to understand that they did not lack courage: we responded with signs of friendship and kindness, and they withdrew, more arrogant about their own bravery than satisfied as to our intentions.

"On no other part of the coast had we seen such an ingenious method of fishing as among these Indians. They took in each Canoe a very well made harpoon of mussel shell, mounted on a fairly long rod with a hook at the other end. They also took a piece of wood in the shape of a cone with some thin and flexible strips of bark fastened in the periphery of its base like feathers, the whole being very like a shuttlecock. They fixed this in the hook by its base that held the feathers, and on seeing a fish at a great distance below the water they put it in very gently, point downwards, and close to the head of the fish. They then pulled away the hook and the shuttlecock went up to the surface with a rapidity which did not allow the fish to see what it was. Deceived in this manner it followed the object up to the surface of the water, and then the Indian, who had already turned the rod and presented the harpoon, threw it at the fish, usually with such accuracy that he seldom failed to hit it.

June 17th.—"On the 15th and 16th the rain had been almost continual, but the 17th was a delicious Spring day. Under a clear sky a pleasant country then presented itself to our view: the varied and brilliant green of some of the trees and meadows, and the grand roar of the waters dashing upon the rocks in various creeks, charmed our senses and afforded us a condition the more agreeable as we were the nearer to the past dangers and fatigues. Desiring to utilize it for the benefit of the crews and the advancement of our surveys, Salamanca went out with five men armed and supplied with beads and other trifling things, to go towards the site of the villages of the Indians to see if they had dismantled them, as might be inferred from the passing of the armed canoes.

“Salamanca found the country he went to visit was covered with brushwood and very straight pine trees; he saw the remains of the village which the Indians had abandoned; and he returned to the ship.

“On the 18th we repaired the boat and continued the work of taking in water, and in the afternoon we went in the launch to visit the interior of the mouths of Wintuysen, and examine the ends of the creeks we had seen the day previous. The second mouth, reckoning from our anchorage, is more sheltered than that of El Descanso, but not so clear and good for anchorage. We afterwards went along a Channel which turns to the E. S. E., and from its direction should fall into the Archipelago we saw on the previous point to eastward of the Port.”

It should be mentioned that the “Wintuysen” of the foregoing extract was the name bestowed in 1791 by the Spanish navigator, Eliza, upon the inlet, the arms of which are known today as Northumberland Channel, Nanaimo Harbour and Departure Bay. The “Cala del Descanso” (Small Bay of Rest) of Galiano and Valdez is the little haven of Gabriola Island, opposite Nanaimo, to which the original name, Descanso, was restored in 1904 by Captain John H. Parry, of H. M. surveying vessel, *Egeria*, as related by Captain John T. Walbran in his well-known and exhaustive work on the Coast Names of British Columbia.

In due course the British explorer reached the broad channel that separates the north eastern end of Vancouver Island from the mainland. After emerging from the long, narrow passage, named after Lieutenant James Johnstone, Vancouver, as heretofore, adopted the plan of despatching boats in all directions to examine the indentations of the continental coast. The cluster of large islands to the north westward of the entrance to Knight's Canal was named Broughton's Archipelago, in recognition of the services of the Commander of the *Chatham*. The ships then anchored under Point Gordon, at the entrance of Fife's passage, while the small boats were employed in charting the various fiords, islands and rocks.

It should be explained that Johnstone and Swaine had been despatched on July the 4th to examine the narrow passage leading to Queen Charlotte Sound. The flying expedition passed through Johnstone's Strait and made at midnight, in a torrent of rain, a small

island under the lee of which they were partly sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. Here the party were storm-bound until the morning of the 10th, the dawn of which brought a change of weather, which enabled them to reach "an island conspicuously situated, from whence their expectations were gratified by a clear though distant view of the expansive ocean." This observation determined once for all the insular character of the Nootka region. As the boat had only been provisioned for seven days, Johnstone was compelled to lose no time in returning to the ships, which were reached safely early on the morning of the 12th.

It was not until Johnstone and Swaine returned with the news of a channel to the northward, communicating with the ocean, that Galiano suggested that the British ships should proceed without the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*. Thus, several days before the vessels of either expedition reached the ocean to the northward, it had been clearly established by the English officers that the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Queen Charlotte's Sound were connected by a series of gulfs, sounds and straits.

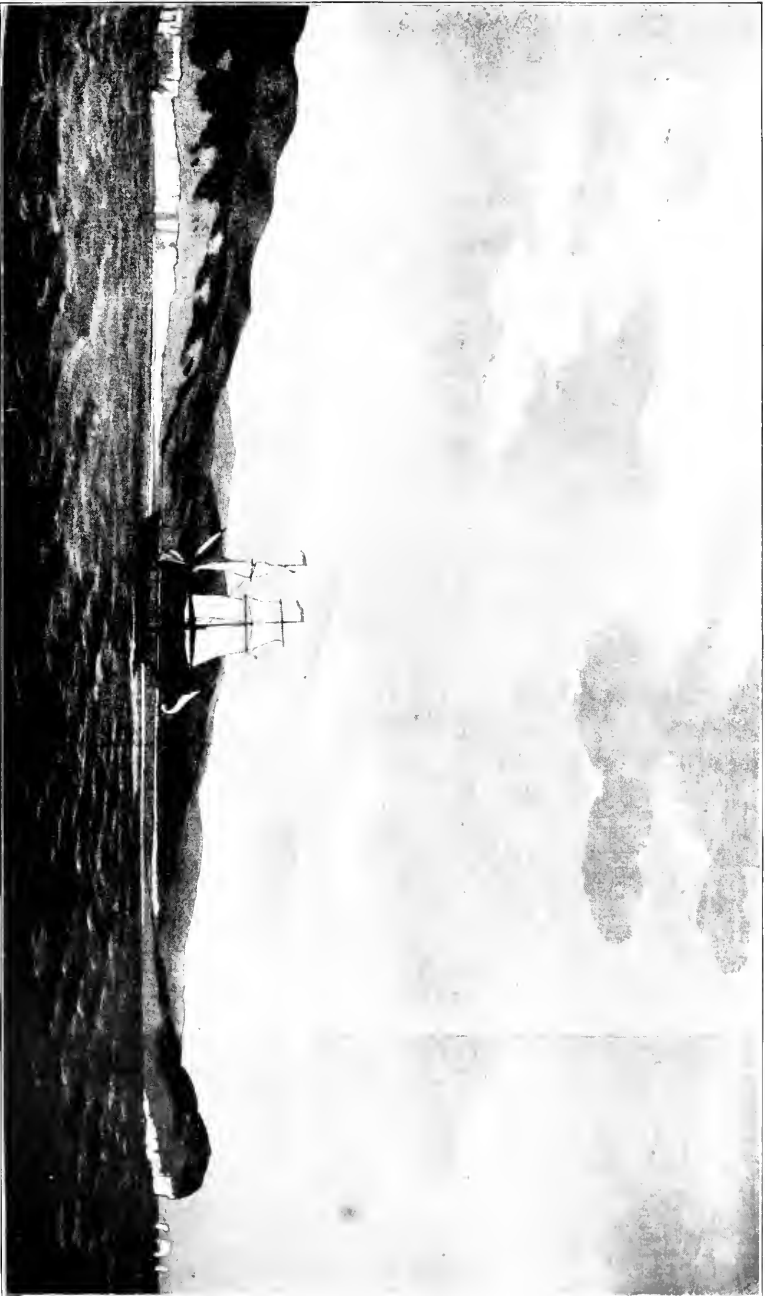
On August 5th, Vancouver reached the ocean and steering a northward course passed Cape Caution and entered Fitzhugh Sound, where at four in the afternoon the *Discovery* suddenly grounded on a shoal of sunken rocks. Fortunately the sea was calm; had it been otherwise "nothing short of immediate and inevitable destruction would have resulted from the untoward accident." The boat remained in this "melancholy situation" until two in the morning of the 7th, when with the rising tide, Vancouver had the "indescribable satisfaction of feeling her again afloat without having received the least apparent injury." On the evening of the seventh, the *Chatham* met with a like misfortune, and for a time she was in a precarious position. A thick fog coming in from the ocean hid the *Chatham* from the *Discovery*, causing much anxiety to Vancouver; however about nine on the following morning, the fog lifted and showed the *Chatham* approaching under sail, apparently uninjured. The *Discovery* weighed anchor and joined the tender and the two vessels sailed southward in company. It was then that Vancouver confirmed the name of Queen Charlotte's Sound given to the opening by Wedgborough of the *Experiment* in August, 1786. The American captains Gray and Kendrick had called it Pintard's Sound. The Sound where

the vessels had grounded was recognized as that named Fitzhugh's Sound by Captain James Hanna, of the *Sea Otter*, on his second voyage.

Vancouver made Friendly Cove on the afternoon of Tuesday, August 28th, having been piloted to the anchorage by a Spanish officer. Riding at anchor in the cove was the Spanish brig *Activa*, flying the broad pennant of Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, Commandant of Port San Lorenzo de Nutka, as the inlet was called by the Spaniards. Beside the *Activa* lay the store ship *Daedalus* and a small merchantman, the *Three Brothers*, of London, commanded by one Alder, late of the Royal Navy. As the Commandant resided on shore, Lieutenant Puget was despatched to acquaint him of the arrival of the British expedition and to state that the Spanish flag would be saluted by the British vessels if the Spaniards would return the compliment with an equal number of guns. On receiving a polite message in reply, Vancouver saluted the Spanish flag while the guns from the fort echoed the martial salutation. Vancouver, accompanied by some of his officers then called upon Bodega y Quadra, who received the party with the greatest cordiality.

The meeting was historic inasmuch as never before had ships of the royal navies of Great Britain and Spain exchanged courtesies on the Northwest coast. Moreover, the two commanders, Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra, had been authorized by their respective Governments to give effect to the terms of the Nootka Convention, of which treaty it may be truly said that it marked a turning point in the history of Northwestern America. That agreement had brought the two greatest colonizing powers of the world face to face in the Pacific, and, as the loyal Iriarte sorrowfully observed, this meant much to Spain.

Of the two men who conducted the historic negotiations at Nootka in September, 1792, the Spaniard lost nothing in comparison. The memory of the British officer, George Vancouver, is revered by his countrymen, and nearly all that can be known of his character and career is known. He was a brave and painstaking commander—neither so brilliant nor so successful as the immortal Cook who had trained him—yet an accomplished navigator, an excellent disciplinarian, kindhearted, courageous and resourceful; a man to whom



THE COUNTRY OF NEW ALBION

In the latitude of 45 N. when Cape Lookout and the 3 Brothers bore S. S. E. dist 8 leagues



duty always came first; just such a man, in fact, as the British Navy has ever given to the service of the Empire. Of the Spaniard, all too little is known, but that which is known redounds to his credit. Brave, courteous, honourable, noble in appearance and charming in manner, Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra was the personification of Spanish grace and sagacity. If the management of Spanish affairs in the Pacific had always been in such able hands there might have been no Nootka Affair and today no Canadian seaboard in the west. In the long story of Spanish dalliance and futile effort in the North Pacific, the name of Bodega y Quadra is conspicuously associated with the only real attempt ever made by Spain to vindicate her policy and to establish her sovereignty in that quarter. As Commandant of San Blas and as Governor of Nootka he had exerted all his influence in behalf of the northern enterprise and had sought to fortify his country's position; but he came too late.

Bodega y Quadra was at this time about forty-eight years of age. Of his lineage it is known that he came of a noble house. He was the son of Don Thomas de la Bodega, and his wife, Francisca Mollinado, a native of Lima (where her son was born about the year 1744), but of pure Galician descent. It appears that "Quadra" had been added to his father's name at the request of a relative, Don Antonio de la Quadra, who resided in Peru at the time that Thomas de la Bodega emigrated to that country.<sup>12</sup> The noble-hearted Spaniard died in March, 1794, either at San Blas, or at his country house at Tepic, a small town about sixty miles from the coast.

Such were the two men who met at Nootka in the summer of 1792, the one to hand over and the other to receive the property claimed by the British Government. The story of that meeting has almost been forgotten, but in the annals of the Northwest coast it holds an important place—for its human interest as well, because it marked the end of Spanish sovereignty and heralded the dawn of a new era.

The day following the arrival of the *Discovery* and *Chatham* was observed by an interchange of hospitality. In the morning Bodega y Quadra with several of his officers breakfasted with Vancouver. They were received with due formality and saluted on

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<sup>12</sup> Meany, Vancouver and Puget Sound.

their arrival and departure—"the day was afterwards spent in ceremonious offers of courtesy, with much harmony and festivity." The same evening Vancouver, with as many of his officers as could be spared, were entertained at dinner by the Spanish Commandant, and were "gratified with a repast we had lately been little accustomed to, or had the most distant idea of meeting with at this place. A dinner of five courses, consisting of a superfluity of the best provisions, was served with great elegance; a royal salute was fired on drinking health to the sovereigns of England and Spain, and a salute of seventeen guns to the success of the service in which the *Discovery* and *Chatham* were engaged."<sup>13</sup> The notorious chief Maquinna sat at the table.

It is amply testified not only by Vancouver, but as well by the American traders who had visited the port of Nootka during the Spanish regime, that Bodega y Quadra was ever profuse in his hospitality. One of the furtraders records that the dinner service was of solid silver and that the viands were always of the best. The *pour parlers* were auspicious and all seemed well-pleased, although the occasion must have been a sad one for Bodega y Quadra, who, no doubt, could not help observing the elation of the British officers.

There was one person, however, who looked with sullen eye upon the festivities that marked the meeting. Maquinna, the Nootkan Chief, did not disguise his regret that his friends the Spaniards were about to leave the place. His first meeting with the British was unfortunate and did not tend to promote a regard for the new masters of the port. Maquinna had visited the *Discovery* early on the morning after the arrival of Vancouver, but the sentinels and officers of the watch, not knowing his rank, had turned him away. He bitterly resented this indignity and angrily complained to Bodega y Quadra of the affront that had been offered him. The Spaniard "very obligingly found means to soothe him," and after presents of blue cloth, copper and other articles, he appeared to be satisfied. Vancouver relates, however, that "no sooner had he drank a few glasses of wine, than he renewed the subject, regretted the Spaniards were about to quit the place, and asserted that we should presently give it up to some other nation; by which means himself and his people would be constantly disturbed and harassed by new masters. Señor

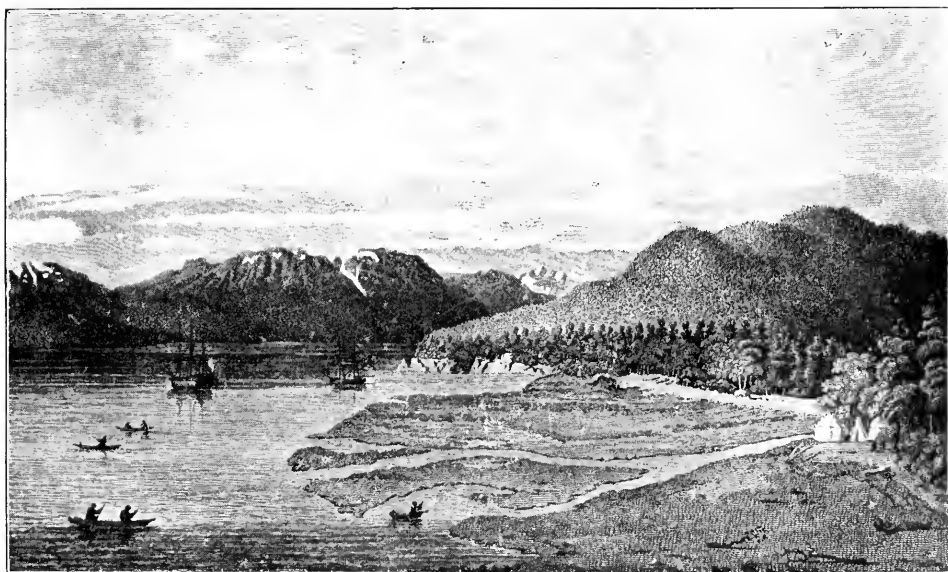
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<sup>13</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. I, p. 385.





FRIENDLY COVE. NOOTKA SOUND



SALMON COVE. OBSERVATORY INLET



Quadra took much pains to explain that it was our ignorance of his person which had occasioned the mistake, and that himself and subjects would be as kindly treated by the English, as they had been by the Spaniards. He seemed at length convinced by Señor Quadra's arguments, and became reconciled by his assurance that his fears were groundless." Vancouver added that "I could not help observing with a mixture of surprise and pleasure, how much the Spaniards had succeeded in gaining the good opinion and confidence of these people; together with the very orderly behaviour, so conspicuously evident in their conduct towards the Spaniards on all occasions."<sup>14</sup>

After this ceremonious interchange of courtesies, the business of the hour, that of settling what lands were to be surrendered, engaged the attention of the British and Spanish Commanders. Before Vancouver's arrival; Bodega y Quadra had sedulously collected evidence bearing upon the dispute between Martinez and Colnett, Hudson, Duncan, and Funter, the men commanding the ships of the company of which Meares was the moving spirit. He had obtained a joint letter from Gray and Ingraham, of the *Columbia* and *Washington*, dealing at some length with the events of 1789.<sup>15</sup>

The statement of the American captains is all in favour of the Spanish contention, and much has been made of it by American historians in after years. In view of this fact, Robert Duffin's letter to Vancouver, written on September 26, 1792, at Nootka, is of peculiar interest. It reads as follows:

To Cap<sup>n</sup> George Vancouver, Commander of His Majesty's Ships *Discovery*, and *Chatham*, now Laying in Friendly Cove; Nootka or King George's Sound.

Sir:—

Whereas different reports have been propagated, relative to what right Mr. Meares had for taking Possession of the Land in Friendly Cove Nootka Sound: I shall here state with that Candor, and Veracity, which has always influenced me on such Occasions; an impartial account of Mr. Meares's proceedings in the above Port.

Toward the Close of the Year 1787, a commercial Expedition was undertaken by John Henry Cox, Esqr. & Co.—Merchants then

<sup>14</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 1, pp. 385-86.

<sup>15</sup> This letter is given in Greenhow's Oregon and California (London, 1844), pp. 414-17.

residing at Canton, who accordingly Fitted and equipped; two ships, for the Fur Trade, on the N. West Coast of America.—

The conduct of this Expedition was reposed in John Meares Esqr. as commander in Chief, and sole conductor of the Voyage, and who was likewise one of the Merchant Proprietors; these Vessells were Equipped, under Portuguese Colours; with a view, to mitigate those Heavey port charges imposed on Ships of every Nation (Portuguese only excepted) which circumstance, is well known to every commercial Gentleman trading to that part of the World.

Under these circumstances, the said Vessells were fitted in the Name and under the Firm, of John Cavallo Esqr. a Portuguese Merchant, then residing at Macao; but he had no property in them whatsoever, both their Cargoes being intirely British property, and solely navigated by the subjects of His Britanic Majesty.

We arrived at the said port, in Nootka Sound, in May 1788, on our first arrival, in the above port the two chiefs Maquilla, and Calicum were absent. On their return which was either on the 17th or 18th of the same month, Mr. Meares, accompanied by myself, and Mr. Robt. Funter, our 2nd officer, went ashore and treated with the said Chiefs; for the whole of the land that forms Friendly Cove, in Nootka Sound, in his Britanic Majesty's Name, and accordingly bought it of them, for 8, or 10, Sheets of Copper, and several other trifling Articles.—The Natives were fully satisfied with their agreement. The Chiefs, likewise their subjects, did homage to Mr. Meares as their Sovereign, using those formalities, that are peculiar to themselves, and which Mr. Meares has made mention of in his publication.

The British Flag was displayed; on shore, at the same time; those formalities were used as is customary on such occasions (and not the Portuguese Flag, as has been insinuated by several people who were not present at the time; consequently advanced those assertions without a Just Foundation) on our taking Possession of the Cove, in his Majesty's Name, as aforementioned, Mr. Meares caused a house to be erected on the very spot, where the *Chatham's* tent now stands; it being the most convenient part of the Cove for our intentions. The Chiefs, with their subjects, offered to quit the Cove entirely and reside at a place called *Tashers*; and leave the Place to



MACUINA  
Xefe de Nutka



TETACÚ  
Xefe de la entrada del Estrecho de Juan de Fuca



ourselves as sole masters, and owners, of the whole Cove, and Lands adjacent.

Consequently we were not confined merely to that Spot; but had equall Liberty to Erect a house in any other part of the Cove but chose the Spot we did for the above mentioned reason.

Mr. Meares therefore appointed, Mr. Robt. Funter, to reside in the house, which consisted of three Bed Chambers and a Mess-room for the Officers, and proper apartments for the Men,—the above apartments were elevated about 5 feet from the ground, under these were other apartments for putting our stores in—exclusive of House were several sheds, and out houses, built for the conveniency of the artificers to Work in.

On Mr. Meares' departure; the said House, &c., was left in good condition, and he enjoined Maquilla to take care of it until he (Mr. Meares) or some of his associates should return, on the Coast again.

It has been reported by several people that on Don José Estn. Martinez's Arrival in the Cove, there was not a Vestige of the said House remaining. However that might be I cannot tell, as I was not at Nootka when he arrived. On our return in July, 1789, in the said Cove, we found it Occupied by the Subjects of His Catholick Majesty; and likewise some People belonging to the Ship *Columbia*, commanded by Mr. John Kendrick, under the Flag and Protection of the United States of America had their Tents, and out houses erected on the same Spot where our House formerly stood, but I saw no remains of our Architecture.

We found laying at Anchor in the said Cove His Catholick Majesty of Spain's Ships—*Princessa* and *San Carlos* and likewise the Ship *Columbia* and Sloop *Washington*.

The second Day after our arrival, we were captured by Don José Estn. Martinez, and the Americans were suffered to Carry on their Commerce with the Natives unmolested.

This Sir, is the Best information I can give you that might tend to elucidate the propriety of Mr. Meares's taking Possession of the Village of Nootka and Friendly Cove.

Should anyone whatsoever doubt the truth of this Protest, I am

always ready to attest it before any Court of Judicature, or any one Person duly Authorized to Examine Me.

I have the Honor to be with the Greatest Esteem, Sir,

Your most Obedient and very Hum<sup>le</sup> Servant,

ROBT. DUFFIN.

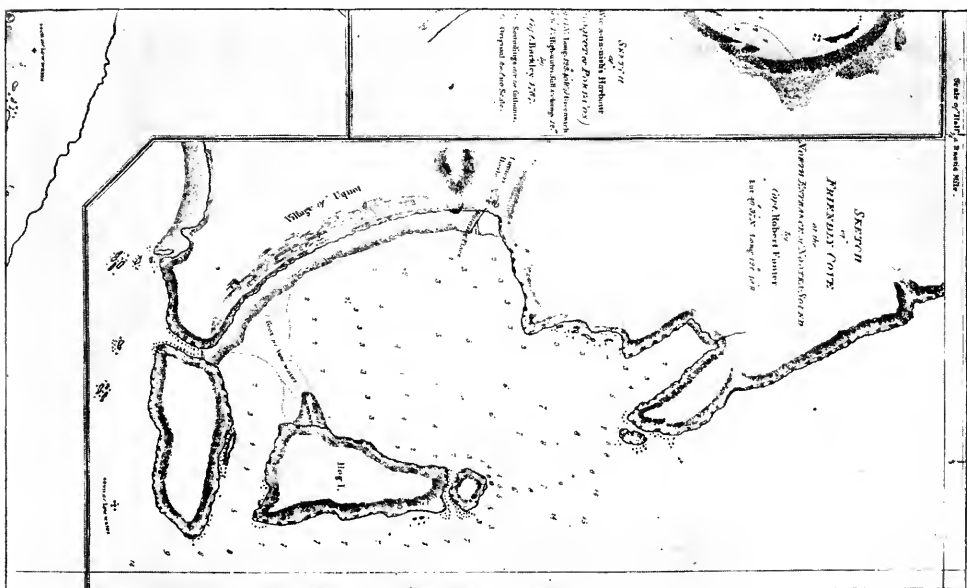
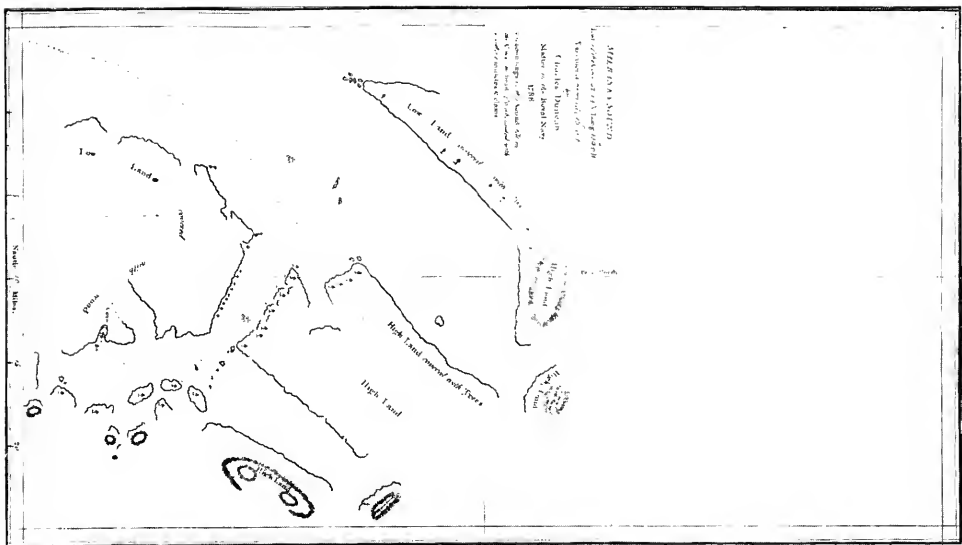
The said Robert Duffin sworn to the truth of the beforementioned relation, before me, in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, the 26th day of September, 1792.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

The Spaniard opened the negotiations with a letter respecting the restitution to be made, transmitting therewith all the correspondence in his possession dealing with the question and the evidence he had gathered during his residence at Nootka. From the first it seemed that a deadlock must ensue for Bodega y Quadra averred that there was nothing to be handed over but part of the beach of Friendly Cove and a small extent of land behind it, while Vancouver insisted that the whole port should be surrendered. Neither officer seemed inclined to yield.

The Spaniard advanced the arguments used in the diplomatic controversy between Great Britain and Spain in 1790, while Vancouver insisted that the commissioners were in no way concerned with the facts that had induced their respective Governments to come to an understanding, but solely with the execution of the definitive provisions of the treaty. Differ as they might, however, with respect to their interpretations of the provisions of the Nootka Convention the personal relations of Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra were marked with the greatest cordiality. Vancouver's journal contains many complimentary and friendly references to the Spanish officer. There is no reason to believe that this regard was not mutual, although Bodega y Quadra's private opinion of Vancouver has never been published. The annals of this coast hardly afford a more pleasing picture than that of the negotiations at Nootka in 1792 between the representatives of the British and Spanish Governments.







It should not be forgotten that these negotiations were of a delicate nature. A little lack of consideration for the feelings of others, a small show of bitterness or resentment on the part of either commissioner, might have caused national prejudices to blaze forth with disastrous consequences, but dignity, courtesy, and magnanimity marked the occasion. Whatever may have been his feelings, Bodega y Quadra did not display any bitterness; and Vancouver, disappointed as he was at his failure to bring the matter to a successful issue, was careful not to give voice to his thoughts. It was fortunate that such strong men had been charged with the conduct of the affair.

The official correspondence of the two officers was severely formal. It cannot be better illustrated than by their notes exchanged on September the 13th, 1792, and Vancouver's minute of the 15th which follow in order. Vancouver writes thus to Bodega y Quadra on the 13th, in riposte to the Spaniards home-thrust of the previous day, in the courteous diplomatic duel going on between them:

On board his Britannic Majesty's Ship *Discovery*,  
Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, 13th September, 1792.

Sir:—

I am excessively concernd that after the explanatory conversation which took place yesterday to find on the translation of your letter of that date any further necessity of corresponding on the subject of these Territories! What I understand to be the Territories of wch his Britannic Majesties subjects were dispossessed of & to be restord to them by the 1st Article of the Convention & Count Florida Blanca's Letter, is this Place, intoto, & Port Cox, of wch if it's not your power to put me in full possession I can have no Idea of hoisting the British flag on the spot you have pointed out in this Cove of but little more than an hundred yards in extent any way. If therefore that is your situation, I must decline recieving any such restitution on the part of his Britannic Majesty & so soon as his Britannic Majesty's Vessels under my command are in readiness I shall proceed to sea untill I shall recieve further directions from the British Court on this subject, nor can I avoid in this instance observing the material difference of the language of your two last letters from that of your first, in wch if the Translation is right, you say: "but comprehending the Spirit of the King my Master is to establish a solid Peace &

permanent with all nations & consulting to remove Obstacles wch influence discord far from thinking to continue in *this Port* I am ready without prejudice to our legitimate rights nor that of the *Courts better instructed resolves, generously to Cede to England the Houses Gardens & Offices wch have with so much labour been cultivated.*" On these subjects I have already acknowledged my thanks for the genrous disposition of the Spanish Court in leaving those Offices & for our Convenience; these however I consider as erected on the Territories of which the British Subjects were dispossessed in April 1789.

I have the Honour to be with Sentiments of the sincerest regard & Esteem

GEO. VANCOUVER.

In response Bodega y Quadra is no less ready in pressing his point of the attack with the object of at any rate disarming his opponent, as his reply of the same date exemplifies:

Nootka 13 September 1792.

Sor Dn. George Vancouver, Commander &c., &c.

Sir:—

I thought after the verbal conversation wch we had the difficulties you had put to me were settled, & that we had both complied with our duty, but seeing by your attentive letter of the 13 currt that you do not conform I repeat, I will leave you in Posesion not only of the territories wch were taken from his Brittanick subjects in April 1789 but also that wch was then occupied by the Natives of the Place, & now by the Spaniards in consequence of the Cession made in their favor by Maquinna. But you have not the power to controvert, nor I to adjudge the property of this Land; thus I hope it will be convenient to you to have the possession of the whole, & well inform our Sovereigns, & they will decide the most Just.

This medium I think the most conformable to the Pacific Spirit of the Courts as in the Seventh Article of the Convention, its orderd that *'in all cases of Quarrels or the infraction of the Articles of the present Convention, The Officers of the one & the other Party without passing to any violence or act of Force, are to give an exact*

*relation of the case & of its circumstances to their respective Courts who will terminate Amicably such differences.* All ours consists in the rights of Possession & property.

You say you are authorizd to recieve the whole, I am not for to deliver in those terms. In this Idea I judge we shall be under the necessity to instruct our Kings of the truth of things of wch they have no knowledge, & that for my part there may not be the least motive for Disgust, nor for you to suffer any extortion. I am ready to deliver all that was occupied by the English in that Epoch as a thing belonging to Great Brittain & to leave you in possession of the remaining Land. Reserving only the right of Property, wch I have not the power to alienate, & according to my method of thinking, ought to be preservd Jointly with the Brittanick Subjects & to comply in this manner with the sense of the treaty.

For what respects the Houses, Gardens & Offices, I in nothing vary from my first expressions wch were always limited with these words—without prejudice to our legitimate right, or what the Courts better instructed may resolve. This is without renouncing the property wch I comprehend ought to remain in favor of the King my Master, I shall be happy to have in answer the pleasure to find you are fully satisfied & that you will Live persuaded of the sincerity with which I esteem you

Sir

Your affectionate Servant

(Signed) Juan Franco de la Bodega y Quadra.

In reply to the foregoing, Vancouver's succeeding despatch is unconditional and demands an unconditional surrender or a cessation of the negotiations, in the following terms:

On board his Britannic Majesty's Ship *Discovery*, Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, 15 September 1792.

Sir:—

I have recd your letter of the 13 and in reply have only to say that like the former ones it contains nothing but a discussion of right, which as I have before observd is diametrically foreign to the business we are orderd to execute, that subject having already been thoroughly investigated by the Ministers appointed by the respective Courts for that purpose as is fully explaind in the preamble

to the late Treaty. You likewise mention Mr. Meares's Vessels being under Portuguese Colours, that is equally foreign, Mr. Fitzherbert & the Count of Florida Blanca being as well informd of that subject as we are by Mr. Meares's original petition to the Parliament of Great Britain I am therefore only here as I have before repeatedly mentiond, to recieve & be put into full possession of, on the part of his Britannic Majesty the territories the British Subjects were dispossessed of in April 1789 wch are this Place & Port Cox.—this is the Place which was then occupied by the said subjects, here they were captured; their Vessels sent as prizes, & themselves Prisoners, to New Spain; by wch means this place was forcibly wrested from them, & occupied & fortified by the Officers of the Spanish Crown.

This place therefore agreeable to the first Article of the Convention & the Count of Florida Blanca's first letter (of wch the British Court has transmitted me a true translation) with that of Clioquot or Port Cox are to be restord without any reservation whatever on which terms & on those terms only I am here to recieve the said territories, & must here insist on declining any further correspondence on this Subject except recieving your positive Answer wether you will or will not restore to me on the part of his Britannic Majesty the said territories & in respect to the 7th Article of the Convention, in the present instance, there can be no appeal whatever, you being orderd to restore the said territories & I orderd to recieve them, your will therefore favor me with your final answer on that subject, permitting me to remain &c. &c.

GEO. VANCOUVER.

Sor. Dn. Juan Franco. de la Bodega y Quadra.

On September 17th, however the negotiations came to an abrupt termination. After many diplomatic notes had passed between the two officers, Bodega y Quadra signified that he could not depart from the terms of his offer "*leaving me in possession only, not formally restoring* the territory of Nootka to Great Britain." Two days later Vancouver, finding Bodega y Quadra still firm in his determination, "considered any further correspondence totally unnecessary; and instead of writing, I requested in conversation the next day to be informed if he was positively resolved to adhere, in the restitution of this country to the principles contained in his last

letter and on receiving an answer from him in the affirmative, I acquainted him that I should consider Nootka as a *Spanish port* and requested *his permission* to carry on our necessary employment on shore, which he very politely gave, with the most friendly assurance of every service and kind offices in his power to grant.”<sup>16</sup>

The negotiations having thus been brought to a conclusion, both Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra prepared to sail south for the winter. Jacinto Caamano was appointed to take charge of the port until the arrival of Fidalgo in the *Princessa*. The *Activa* then made ready to sail and Vancouver likewise prepared his vessels for their southern cruise. Before the officers parted, however, Vancouver in a formal letter advised Bodega y Quadra that as he could not receive the territory in dispute on the conditions proposed, he would immediately report the result of the negotiations to the Court of London and wait for further instructions for the regulation of his future conduct. The next day Bodega y Quadra acknowledged the receipt of the communication and the charts of the coast which Vancouver had transmitted a few days before. These notes concluded the correspondence of that year (1792).

On Friday, September 21st, Vancouver gave a farewell dinner to the Spanish commander and “the day passed with the utmost cheerfulness and hilarity.” The next day the *Activa* sailed from Friendly Cove.

Nootka Sound in that day was the recognized rendez vous of the traders resorting to the Northwest coast. Here they beached and repaired their vessels and here they refitted and replenished their water casks and conducted all the operations that must of necessity be performed after long and stormy voyages. Nootka Sound in the years when the furtrade flourished frequently presented an animated scene. While Vancouver was there, in the summer of 1792, an English and an American shallop were on the stocks in the cove, which when finished were to be employed in collecting skins in the inland waters of the coast. At anchor in the stream lay the American brig *Hope*, in command of Ingraham; a French ship; the *Venus*, of Bengal, commanded by one Shepherd; the Spanish ships of war *Gertrudis* and *Concepcion*, of thirty-six guns each; the brig *Activa* of twelve guns; the *Princessa*, *Aranzuzu* and *San Carlos*, transport

<sup>16</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 1, p. 403.

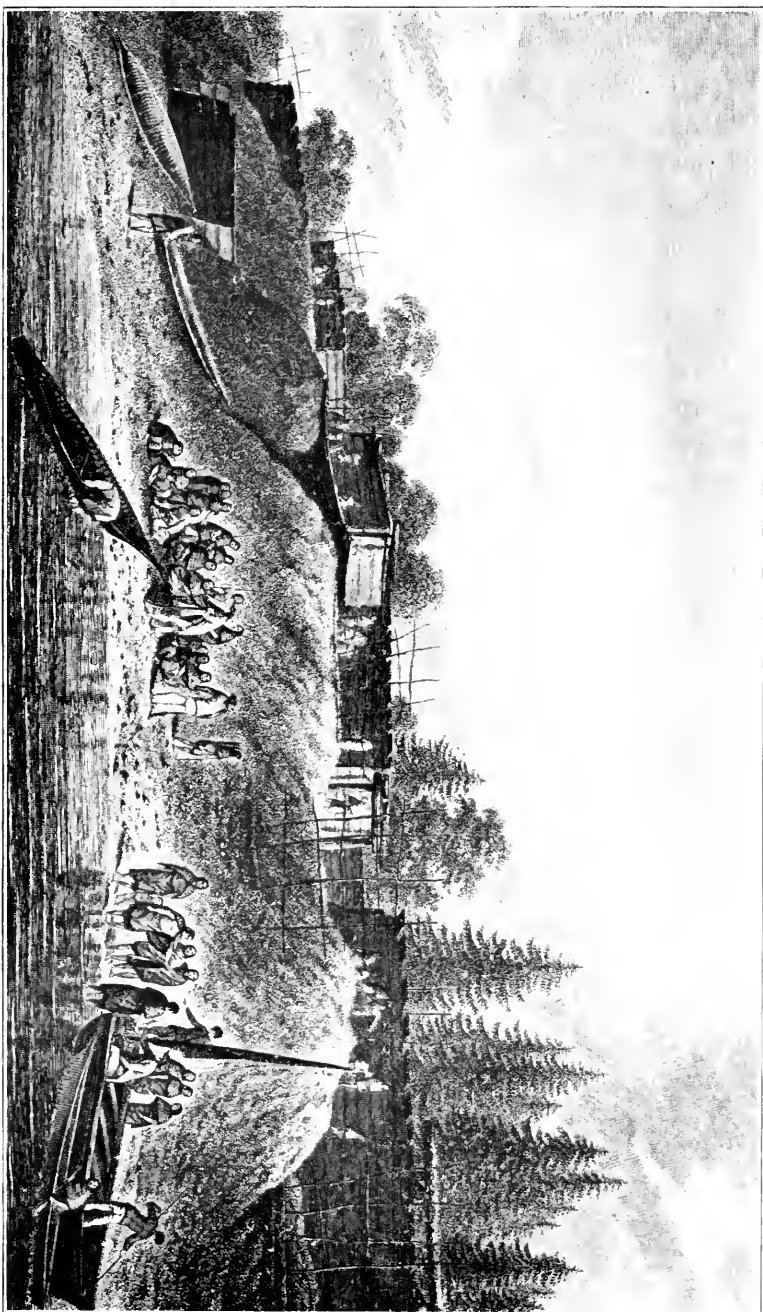
and storeships; the little vessels, *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, commanded by Galiano and Valdez, and His Majesty's ships *Discovery*, *Chatham* and *Daedalus*. On the shores of Friendly Cove were the officers' quarters, barracks, a hospital, storehouses, and other buildings.

Vancouver was greatly impressed with the establishment. He remarked that the buildings "appeared sufficiently secure, and more extensive than our occasions required. A large new oven had been lately built expressly for our services, and had not hitherto been permitted to be used. The houses had been all repaired, and the gardeners were busily employed in putting the gardens in order. The poultry, consisting of fowls and turkeys, was in excellent condition, and in abundance, as were the black cattle and swine."<sup>17</sup> From these and other remarks of the British officer it is to be gathered that after the re-occupation of the place in 1790 the Spaniards had bestowed no little care upon the establishment. In fact, it is evident that the Spanish government had intended to occupy it permanently and would have done so had it not been for the Nootka Convention. Such was Nootka in the year 1792.

Vancouver, with the three British vessels, left Nootka on October 13, 1792. At the outset owing to a sudden calm the *Chatham* was swept by the tide against a rocky point of the cove and it was only by strenuous exertions and assistance from the *Daedalus* that the vessel was got off without any apparent injury, though she had struck very heavily. On the *Discovery* Vancouver had two strange passengers. They were two young women of the Sandwich Islands who had sailed from their native land in the *Jenny* of Bristol. That vessel had only arrived at Nootka, on her way to England, a few days before Vancouver's departure and at the captain's earnest request he consented to give them a return passage to their homes. Passing by Cape Classet he records that "finding that this name had originated only from that of an inferior chief's residing in this neighbourhood," he had restored Captain Cook's appellation of Cape Flattery. The *Daedalus* was detached to examine Gray's Harbour, while the *Chatham* and *Discovery* explored the Columbia. The former led the way, but as the water shoaled and was breaking in every direction the *Discovery* "hauled to the westward to avoid the threatened danger." Just as he turned away Vancouver saw, in the fading light,

<sup>17</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 1, p. 393.





A VIEW OF THE HABITATIONS IN NOOTKA SOUND

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signals from the *Chatham*, which however he could not clearly understand. Finding ten fathoms water he anchored for the night. At day break on the 20th he was delighted to see the *Chatham* ten miles nearer the shore, but was grieved to learn from Mr. Johnstone, her lieutenant, that the surf had been so heavy during the night as to destroy one of her small boats by dashing it upon the deck. He then recorded his opinion that the port was "inaccessible to vessels of our burthen . . . with this exception, that in very fine weather, with moderate winds and a smooth sea, vessels not exceeding four hundred tons, might, so far as we were enabled to judge, gain admittance."

On that day however he made another attempt; but while the *Chatham* made headway the *Discovery* was driven out by the strength of the current, the wind having died away. The morning of the 21st a heavy gale was blowing and Vancouver concluded to abandon the attempt, leaving Lieutenant Broughton to examine the Columbia in the smaller vessel. Ill fortune pursued her, however, and that very day the *Chatham* grounded upon an extensive shoal in mid-channel, but, later, being floated she was anchored in safety. Vancouver complains that Captain Gray's chart, which Lieutenant Broughton had with him, did not much resemble what it purported to represent, and that this shoal had completely escaped that navigator's attention. Even the spot at which Captain Gray showed an anchorage was found to be very shallow. The difference in the season of the year no doubt accounts for these and other discrepancies. Having resolved to make his examination in the cutter and the launch, Lieutenant Broughton set out on October 24th, with a week's provisions. Proceeding carefully up the river, noting exactly the conditions prevailing, surveying the course of the stream, and naming the principal points, bays, and islands, he reached on the 30th, Point Vancouver, which he considered to be 84 miles up the river and 100 miles from the *Chatham*, which lay in the estuary. After formally taking possession of the country in His Britannic Majesty's name (on which occasion, it is gravely recorded that the Indian chief who accompanied him, drank His Majesty's health), Broughton set out on the return to his vessel. Getting out of the river, the *Chatham* made her way to San Francisco where the *Discovery* lay. The two vessels in company proceeded to Monterey where the *Daedalus* had already arrived. After about two months occupied in preparing the charts,

drawings, letters, and other documents for transmission to England in charge of Lieutenant Broughton, during which period Señor Quadra showered upon Captain Vancouver every kindness and thoughtful consideration, the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* sailed for the Sandwich Islands. Lieutenant Broughton was ordered to repair to England with these papers, covering the work to that date, without a moment's loss of time.

Leaving the Sandwich Islands in March, 1793, Vancouver with the *Discovery* made the coast at the spot discovered by Señor Quadra's expedition in 1775 and named Porto de la Trinidad in latitude about  $41^{\circ}$  north. While there Mr. Menzies found upon a hill the cross which the Spaniards had erected in taking possession. It was in a state of decay but a portion of the inscription was still legible. Nootka was reached on May 20th, only to find that the *Chatham*, which had arrived about the middle of April, had sailed on May 18th. The Spanish fort on Hog Island had been erected during Vancouver's absence. It mounted eleven nine-pounders and "added greatly to the respectability of the establishment." The *Discovery* saluted the fort, and the honour was returned. The Spanish vessel *San Carlos*, in command of Señor Don Ramon Saavedra, anchored soon after Vancouver's arrival. Señor Fidalgo, the governor of the port, informed the English commander that Saavedra was to supersede him and that being therefore about to return to San Blas he would take charge of and forward any dispatches through that channel to England—an opportunity of which Vancouver readily availed himself.

After a delay of four days Vancouver sailed to the northward to take up his work in the vicinity of Calvert Island where it had ended in the preceding year. Proceeding up Fitzhugh Sound the *Chatham* was met and together the vessels continued the survey of the maze of islands and intricate waterways which form our coast line. Here the work was carried on, generally speaking, by means of boat excursions with the ships as a central point, which from time to time was changed as the more important of the channels were examined and charted. On the 3rd, 4th and 5th of June, 1793, the surveying parties were in Dean's Canal and Cascade Canal. This is the locality which Alexander Mackenzie reached about the 22nd of the next month. Describing the habitations of the natives Vancouver

27  
 By George Vancouver Esq  
 Commander of His Majesty's  
 Ship Discovery 4<sup>th</sup> 22

Sir (46) I have the  
 pleasure to inform you that the  
 Discovery is now at anchor in the  
 harbor of Nootka Sound and a  
 number of the crew are employed in  
 the survey of the coast. I have  
 the honor to be, Sir, your  
 obedient servant, George Vancouver

Received by the  
 Honble Secretary of the Navy  
 10<sup>th</sup> of September 1792.  
 (Signature)

To the Honble Secretary of the Navy  
 at the Admiralty Office  
 Whitehall London  
 Dear Sir

RECEIVED  
 THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY  
 10 SEP 1792

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says: "These appeared to be well constructed; the boards forming the sides of the houses were well-fitted, and the roofs rose from each side with sufficient inclination to throw off the rain. The gable ends were decorated with curious painting, and near one or two of the more conspicuous mansions were carved figures in large logs of timber, representing a gigantic human form, with strange and uncommonly distorted features." <sup>18</sup>

Not only did Vancouver survey minutely the continental shore and examine the various winding canals, but he paid careful attention also to the habits and customs of the natives, as the above extract shows in reference to their houses. He gives a description of the labret, that strange, disfiguring lip ornament so common in the early days amongst the northern Indians. Some of these were two and a half, and even three and four tenths, inches in length and an inch and a half broad. So too, he noticed the woollen garments, so beautifully woven by these Indians, and the clothing made from pine bark, in some instances with sea-otter fur worked into it and decorated with very fine, well spun, and vari-coloured woollen yarn. As he pursued his investigations in the neighbourhood of Greenville canal and Nepean Sound, as he called them, he noticed that the natives seemed to differ in a trifling degree from those he had been accustomed to see; "they were not taller," he says, "but they were stouter, their faces more round and flat, their hair, coarse, straight, black and cut short to their head; in this respect they differed from any of the tribes of North West America with whom we had met, who, though in various fashions, universally wore their hair long, which was in general of a soft nature, and chiefly of a light or dark brown colour, seldom approaching to black." <sup>19</sup>

Proceeding steadily northward, bestowing the names of his friends on islands and capes, and thus giving a sort of immortality to many who would otherwise have been forgotten, he reached the latitude of the Skeena River. But Vancouver did not see this stream as he had kept along the outside fringe of islands, although he named Port Essington. Here he met three vessels the *Butterworth*, of London, *Pinice Lee Boo* and *Jackall*, all in command of a Captain Brown. The traders saluted with seven guns, Vancouver replied with five.

<sup>18</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 2, p. 272.

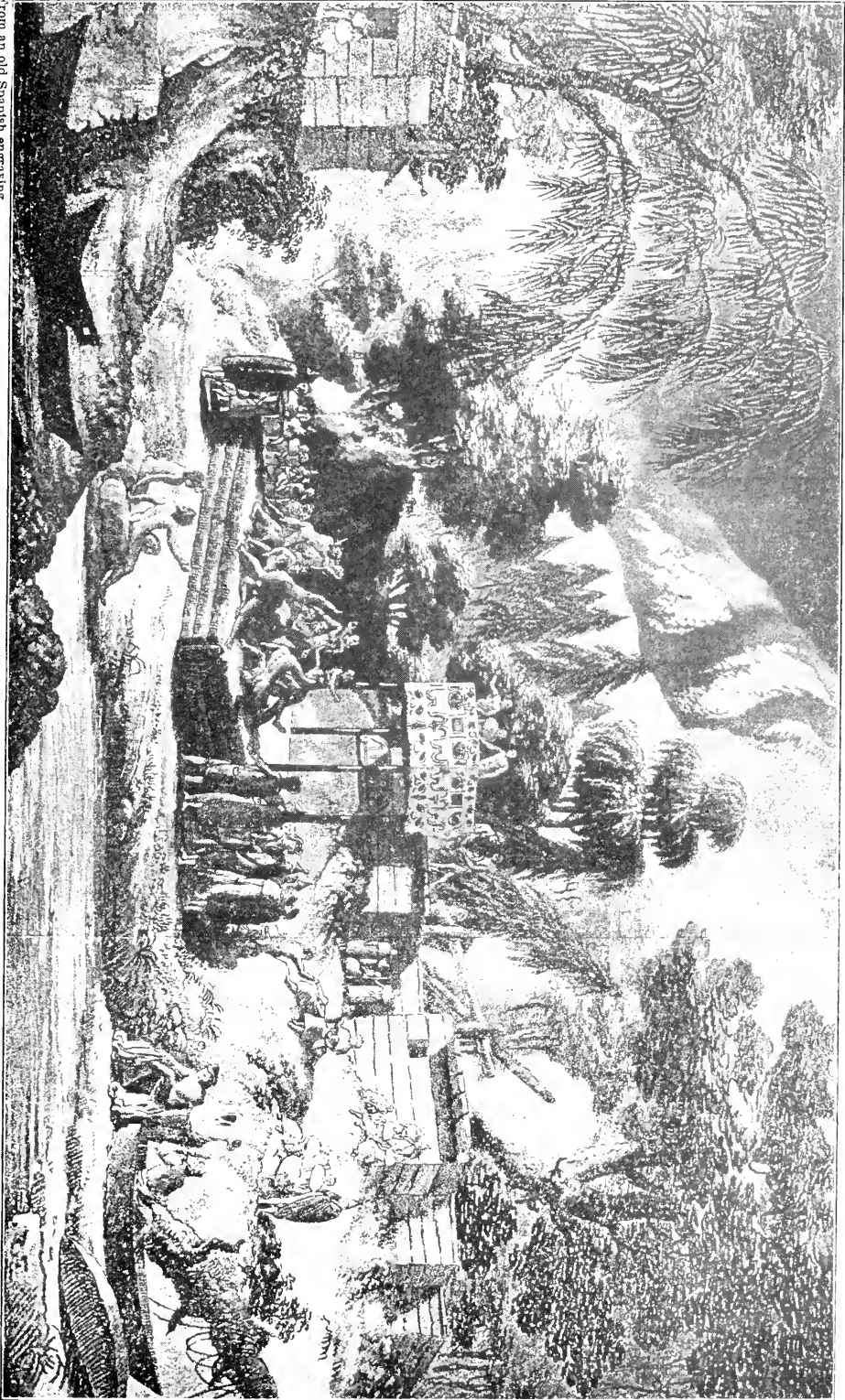
<sup>19</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 2, p. 320.

From these vessels it was learned that the vicinity was strewn with dangerous rocks; an offer of one of the trading vessels to serve as a pilot was gladly accepted. Captain Brown spoke of a large opening extending northeastward, whose southern entrance was in latitude  $54^{\circ} 45'$ . This, opined Vancouver, was probably the same as that laid down in Señor Comaano's chart as *Estrecho de Almirante Fuentes*, or De Fonte's Strait. This is the Observatory Inlet and Portland Canal, which figured so prominently in the Alaskan boundary dispute of later years.

In Behm Canal, Vancouver noticed a strange spired rock. At once the Eddystone lighthouse comes to his mind, and New Eddystone takes its place on the map. It is now the middle of August, 1793, and here Vancouver meets and names the hunch-backed salmon. He says it is "the worst eating fish"; that the hateful protuberance is more marked in the male than in the female; and that the mouths of both were made in a kind of hook, resembling the upper mandible of a hawk. Here, too, Vancouver had some trouble with the Indians. Under the guise of honest trade—which he, of course, did not seek—they surrounded his small boat, and incited by an old woman they attempted to steal anything movable in it. They seized the oars, and brandished their spears. For a time things assumed a threatening attitude. The altercation attracted the attention of Mr. Puget in the yawl. He hurried to Vancouver's support, but the situation became so dangerous that Vancouver was compelled, in order to save his crew (whose inaction under his orders was mistaken for pusillanimity) to fire upon their assailants. This action, as unexpected as it was effective, solved the difficulty. The Indians leaped into the sea, putting their canoes between themselves and Vancouver. Before he could follow the affair up, he found that two of his men had been very severely, but not fatally, wounded and required the immediate attention of the surgeon. He was, therefore, reluctantly compelled to desist from teaching the savages a salutary lesson.

About September 20th Vancouver reached Cape Decision in latitude  $56^{\circ}$ . Wishing to spend some time in the examination of the western shore of Queen Charlotte Islands, he accordingly decided to turn his vessels' prows southward at this point. He reached Nootka on October 5th. The only vessel there was the *San Carlos*, laid up for the winter. The *Daedalus*, which he had hoped would





From an old Spanish engraving  
CELEBRATION IN HONOUR OF THE COMING OF AGE OF THE DAUGHTER OF THE FAMOUS NOOTKA CHIEF, MAGITTNA, ABOUT 1792

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have returned from Port Jackson, had not arrived. A French vessel, *La Flavia*, having on board a very valuable cargo of European commodities for Kamschatka, to be exchanged there for furs with which a cargo of tea was to be purchased in China, had called at Nootka in the course of the summer. Such incidents show the growing importance of that port.

After remaining only three days the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* sailed for the Californian coast. Between San Francisco and Monterey the *Daedalus* was met, northward bound. On this visit Vancouver received treatment the very reverse of that which Quadra had accorded to him in the preceding year. Señor Arrillaga, the commandant, refused to allow any persons except the officers to land unless actually engaged in obtaining wood and water or other necessary services, and then only within sight of a Spanish officer. He further required that all persons return to the ships by sun-down; and while he permitted an observatory to be erected he would not except the observer from this rule. Lastly he requested that the utmost expedition be employed, so that the vessels, even under these iron-clad arrangements, might depart at the earliest moment. Considering the whole matter, Vancouver rightly concluded, immediately upon finishing his examination of the California coast, to sail to the Sandwich Islands, where he doubted not that the uneducated inhabitants would cheerfully afford the accommodation so unkindly denied him at San Francisco and Monterey. About December 14, 1793, the little fleet sailed from the American coast and arrived at the Sandwich Islands on January 8, 1794.

From that time until the middle of March, Vancouver was engaged in exploring and charting the Sandwich Islands. Sailing again for the American coast with the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*—the *Daedalus* having previously left for Australia—Vancouver sighted it in latitude  $55^{\circ}$  on April 4, 1794. As his work during this—his third—season was entirely outside our boundaries it will not be followed in detail. In August the exploration was concluded and Vancouver informs us that Mr. Whidby took possession of the whole coast from New Georgia northwestward to Cape Spencer. Describing that event, which took place on the shores of Prince Frederick's Sound, while the surveying parties stopped to dine, he says: "The colours were displayed, the boats' crews drawn up under

arms, and possession taken under the discharge of three vollies of musketry, with all the other formalities usual on such occasions, and a double allowance of grog was served to the respective crews, for the purpose of drinking His Majesty's health." How different from stately and solemn Spanish ceremony already described! <sup>20</sup>

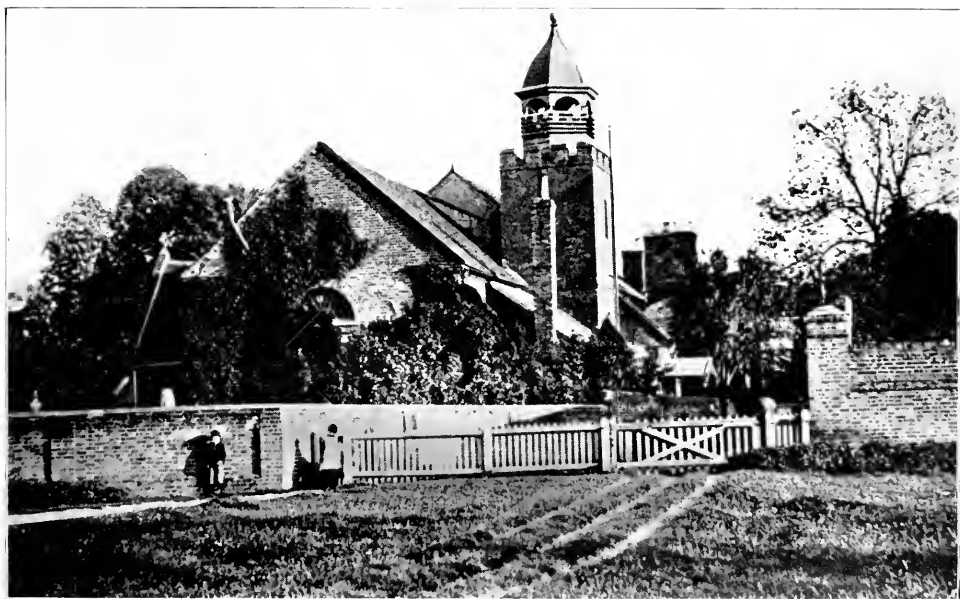
Vancouver now sailed for Nootka Sound, where he arrived on September 2nd. Lying at anchor at Friendly Cove he found the Spanish vessels, *Princessa*, *Aranzuzu*, and *San Carlos*, the *Phoenix*, a barque from Bengal commanded by Captain Moor, the sloop *Lee Boo*, which he had met in the preceding year, and the *Washington*, now rigged as a brig and commanded by Captain Kendrick. Brigadier General Don José Manuel Alava, the new Governor of Nootka, had only arrived the day before in the *Princessa*. This appointment had taken place owing to the death in March, 1794, at San Blas, of our highly valuable and much esteemed friend Señor Quadra. In relating this circumstance Vancouver makes very plain the great admiration and respect he entertained for the Spanish representative. He tells us that the sudden news of his death "produced the deepest regret for the loss of a character so amiable and so truly ornamental to civil society." <sup>21</sup>

Vancouver soon learned that Alava expected soon to receive the credentials necessary to enable him to finish the pending negotiation respecting the cession of territory mentioned in the Nootka Convention on which he and Quadra had been unable to agree. Although two years had since gone by Vancouver had received no communication thereon either of a public or private nature. Thinking it highly probable that instructions would reach him by the same conveyance as that by which Alava's were transmitted he determined to remain for a time at Friendly Cove. The necessity of repairs to his vessels, of obtaining new planking and spars, of erecting an observatory to check his recent surveys, and of preparing new cordage added many valid reasons for a short delay at this historic spot.

About six weeks were spent at Nootka on this occasion. In that interval the *Jenny* of Bristol, now commanded by Captain Adamson, and the *Jackall* of Captain Brown's fleet, arrived at this Mecca of the maritime furtraders. Vancouver and Alava made a state visit

<sup>20</sup> Vancouver's Voyage, Quarto ed., vol. 3, p. 285.

<sup>21</sup> Id., p. 301.

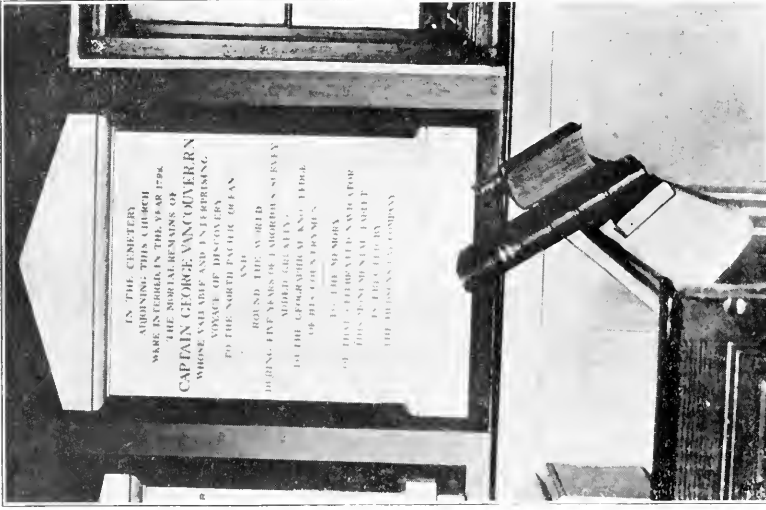


PETERSHAM CHURCHYARD, SURREY, ENGLAND

Where stands the tomb and monumental tablet erected to the memory of Captain George Vancouver by the Hudson's Bay Company







CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER'S TOMB AND MEMORIAL TABLET  
Erected by the Hindson's Bay Company to his memory in Petersham Church, Surrey, England



to Maquinna at Tashees. The barbaric splendour of their reception at the hands of this celebrated personage Vancouver describes very fully—the lengthy, earnest address of welcome, the grotesque group of painted performers, their savage and barbarous appearance, their peculiar music, their grotesque masks and strange musical dresses—then the giving of gifts again and again until the stock that the visitors had brought was completely exhausted. A few days after their return to the cove the Spanish officers were Vancouver's guests upon the *Discovery* and no instructions relative to the cession of the territory at Nootka having arrived, on the 16th October, 1794, Captain Vancouver ordered the anchor to be weighed, the sails were unfurled, and the *Discovery* bade adieu to our coasts forever. The *Discovery* and the *Chatham* after a short stay at Monterey sailed in December, 1794, for England. In a heavy gale the *Discovery's* main mast was sprung, and scurvy having made its appearance the vessel called at Valparaiso for the necessary assistance. Resuming the voyage, Cape Horn was rounded and the *Chatham* arrived in London on October 17, 1795, the *Discovery* three days later.

After his return Vancouver devoted himself entirely to the preparation of his Journal for publication. He had corrected all the proofs except the last few pages when he died at the old Star and Garter Inn, Richmond Hill, Surrey, May 10, 1798. He was buried in the church yard of St. Peters, at Petersham, on the 18th.<sup>22</sup> Considering that Vancouver was not yet forty-one years of age at the time of his death all must marvel at his abilities which caused him at thirty-four years of age to be selected for such an important office, and that enabled him to carry it through in a manner which has evoked the highest praise from every student of our history and geography. It was eminently proper that the name of such a man should have been selected for the great, bustling city at the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

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<sup>22</sup> Walbran's Place Names, Vancouver.

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## CHAPTER IX

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

While British, American, French and Spanish expeditions were exploring the littoral, a new force was at work in the interior of the Continent. At first the Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, known in history as the Hudson's Bay Company, did not extend their operations far beyond the shores of that inland sea. It was the policy of the Company to bring the Indians to Fort Churchill, Fort Nelson, or Fort Prince of Wales, to barter their rich furs. This policy saved the expense of establishing inland forts, and the Company's servants from the attacks of savages, who, however amenable they might be far from their homes on the shores of Hudson's Bay, could not be expected to be so tractable in their own hunting grounds. The furs were shipped direct to England through Hudson's Straits. Thus a century and more before, the great wheat fields of the Middle West became the granary of the Empire, the route, now proposed as one of the outlets for that fertile region, was used by the homing ships of the great Company.

The trade of the Adventurers was lucrative, and, almost from the time of the granting of their charter in 1670, large dividends were paid to the share-holders.

But commerce could not always be carried on in peace and security, even in the bleak and isolated territories of Hudson's Bay. In the stormy period that preceded the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, the forts of the Company were more than once attacked and sometimes captured by French expeditions, in one of which La Pérouse, the brilliant navigator who commanded the ill-fated French expedition to the Pacific in 1785-8, played an active part. In the time of these hostilities no dividends were declared, but so rich was the field that a year or two of uninterrupted peace offset the losses.

Long before Canada was lost to France, the traders of the St.

Lawrence had crossed the Great Lakes and entered into communication with the tribes of the wild region to the northward of Lake Superior; but it was left to the gallant Pierre Gaultier de La Verendrye to pierce the heart of the continent. From his earliest years it had been his ambition to reach the Sea of the West, upon the shores of which he longed to plant the French flag. Verendrye was by nature an explorer; he became a furtrader by force of circumstances. Unable to procure from the Governor of Canada a commission to explore the interior of the continent, or even financial support for his enterprise, he was forced to adopt the role of trader, as by that means only could he hope to achieve his ambition. Neither the Governor, nor the merchants of Montreal, cared for western exploration, except as a means by which new territories, rich in fur, might be brought under their sway. In Verendrye worked that mysterious influence which has ever impelled men of Aryan race to follow the path of the evening sun. As commander of the trading-post of Nipigon, he stood on the threshold of that undiscovered land which barred the way to the Western Sea. Here, from the natives, he heard of great waters and great territories that lay far beyond Lake Superior, and these stories kindled in him a consuming desire to reach the western verge of the continent.

In the summer of 1731 Verendrye and his three sons, in the guise of furtraders, set out to solve one of the greatest geographical problems of the age. They were the first Europeans to build forts in the Middle West. On the shore of The Lake of the Woods, Verendrye erected a stockade from twelve to fifteen feet in height, in the form of an oblong to guard his rough cabins of logs and clay and bark. The rude establishment was christened Fort St. Charles. From this base Verendrye explored north, west, and south, building forts and trading with the natives even as far as the Mandan villages; but ever chafing at delays and untoward incidents that retarded his progress westward. The brave Frenchman was not to achieve his ambition, although his son, while in the country near the head waters of the Missouri, caught a glimpse of one of the eastern spurs of the "Mountains of Bright Stones," the name by which the Rocky Mountains were known to the Indians of those parts. No Frenchman was destined to lead an expedition into the land beyond that great barrier. From 1732 until 1743 the Verendryes, father

and sons, sought to pierce the western mystery, but without avail. They were defeated but not beaten. The father retired from the country, but only to plead his cause at the Viceregal Court of Canada. He was promoted and decorated with the coveted Cross of St. Louis, and authorized by Governor Galissonière to continue his explorations, yet no financial assistance was forthcoming. After devoting his life to his cherished purpose, Verendrye, in his declining years, could find none to help him to realize his dream. He died in December, 1749.

Verendrye led the way to that immense preserve where, in after years, rich harvests were reaped by contending traders. He left to posterity a noble example of fortitude and duty well-done. After his death the trade in the region he had discovered was continued, but it did not prosper.

Even while the French still held the great interior, an effort was made, in 1754-5, by a young officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, named Anthony Hendry (or Hendey), to reach the far west. It appears that Hendry, who was a native of the Isle of Wight, had been outlawed in 1748 for smuggling; he then entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and volunteered to go inland with the natives, who traded at the forts on Hudson's Bay. After the usual exciting experiences, incidental to travel in a new country, Hendry reached the broad waters of the Saskachewan, and to him belongs the honour of being the first Englishman to launch his frail canoe upon that lordly river of the western plains. He found on this river the fort built by De La Corne the year before. "On our arrival," says Hendry in his journal, which is preserved at Hudson's Bay House, "two Frenchmen came to the waterside and in a very genteel manner invited me into their home, which I readily accepted. One of them asked me if I had any letter from my master, and where, on what design, I was going inland. I answered I had no letter and that I was sent to view the country, and intended to return in the spring. He told me the master (presumably De La Corne) and men were gone down to Montreal with the furs, and that they must detain me till their return. However, they were very kind, and at night I went to my tent and told Attickasish, or Little Deer, my leader, that had the charge of me, who smiled and said they dared

not. I sent them two feet of tobacco, which was very acceptable to them." <sup>1</sup>

That meeting of the young English explorer with the French traders of the Saskatchewan is of more than passing interest—as Mr. L. J. Burpee, the learned author of "The Search for the Western Sea," justly observes. In all the records of the adventure on the great plains, no mention is made of the "French and English coming face to face west of the Great Lakes while the former were still in possession of Canada." <sup>2</sup> It is true that they had met and fought time and again in the marshes of New England and New France, and on the shores of the mediterranean sea named after that heroic, but unfortunate, Henry Hudson; but hitherto the French had been supreme in the Northwest. It requires no great stretch of imagination, therefore, to realize that the French, despite their politeness, must have been chagrined at the appearance of Hendry in the heart of their preserve. No attempt seems to have been made by the French traders to put into execution their threat of detaining the English explorer, for, on the following day he continued his journey. Hendry was not only to spy out the land; he was also to use every means in his power to induce the tribes of the interior to carry their furs to York Fort in the spring. His mission, however, was not particularly successful. The natives could not be persuaded to journey so far, to so little purpose. Yet some of the Assiniboines promised to accompany him and faithfully kept their word. In Assiniboia the young explorer witnessed the strange sight of vast herds of buffalo "grazing like English cattle" on the plains.

Hendry wintered among the Blackfeet, and his journals contain many interesting particulars respecting that bold and warlike tribe. In the spring he departed on his homeward journey, in due course arriving at a French trading post a few miles below the Grand Forks of the Saskatchewan, where he was kindly treated.

The explorer's narrative throws much light upon the methods of the French traders, who were preeminently fitted, alike from their sagacity, engaging politeness, and appreciation of the Indian character, to carry on their traffic in the lawless wild. "It is surprising," writes Hendry, "to observe, what an influence the French have

<sup>1</sup> Burpee, *Western Sea*, pp. 119-120.

<sup>2</sup> Burpee, *Western Sea*, p. 120.

over the natives. I am certain he (referring to the officer in charge) hath got above 1,000 of the richest skins." He adds "The French speak several (Indian) languages to perfection; they have the advantage of us in every shape; and if they had Brazile tobacco, which they have not, would entirely cut off our trade."<sup>3</sup>

A quarter of a century later Jonathan Carver, a son of Connecticut, attempted to realize the dream of the old French explorers, but apart from its motive, his exploration is not of surpassing interest. Still, his narrative is notable, if for no other reason than that it gave to the world the beautiful name "Oregon." Carver left Boston in 1776, proceeding by way of Michilimachinac, Green Bay, and the Fox, Wisconsin, and Mississippi rivers to St. Pierre, where he sojourned for some months. Finding that he could make no progress westward of that point, he changed his course and made Lake Superior with the intention of following the route of the furtraders, over the northern lakes and rivers, to its farthest extent, and thence to the Pacific. Again disappointed he returned to Boston.

During his mid-continental tour, Carver heard many marvellous stories as to the mountains, lakes, and rivers of the vast territories on the borders of which he ventured. These stories found expression in his journal, in which he described great rivers, which, from their sources in the centre of the continent, extended to the four points of the compass, thus providing water communication north and south, and east and west, even to the shores of that great ocean concerning which there had been so much speculation. Carver also told of the "Mountains of Bright Stones," and the "Oregon," or "River of the West."

Failing to obtain either that recognition or support for his western enterprise, which he deemed its importance deserved, he abandoned the project for others. Thereafter Jonathan Carver subsided into obscurity, his untrustworthy narrative alone preserving his name from oblivion.

Then, farther to the northward, the Hudson's Bay Company sought, in an examination of Arctic tundras, to add to the world's stock of geographical knowledge, and at the same time, perhaps, to sufficiently set forth its zeal in the search for the Northwest Passage, which, in the charter of 1670, had been specifically included as

<sup>3</sup> Burpee, *Western Sea*, p. 136.

one of the Company's especial duties. Samuel Hearne steps forth from the obscurity of an humble origin and occupation, and achieves fame as an explorer in the short space of two years. Hearne however was but the instrument; it was the half-breed Governor of Fort Prince of Wales, the noted Moses Norton, who launched the idea and equipped and despatched the expedition. At that time no one knew how far the continent extended from east to west. It was at first almost universally believed that at most a few hundred leagues separated the North and South Seas. As explorations were pushed farther afield, it became apparent that the continent reached farther and yet farther westward. The early French and British explorers expected to find the Pacific washing the western foot-hills of the "Shining Mountains." Hearne, however, from the evidence he had gathered, believed the continent of America to be "much wider than many people imagined, particularly Robson, who thought that the Pacific Ocean was but a few days' journey from the west coast of Hudson's Bay. This, however, is so far from being the case, that when I was at my greatest western distance, upward of five hundred miles from the Prince of Wales Fort, the natives, my guides, well knew that many tribes of Indians lay to the west of us and they knew no end to the land in that direction; nor have I met with any Indians, either northern or southern, that ever had seen the sea to the westward." Three times Hearne sallied forth from Fort Prince of Wales to find and explore the "Far-Off-Metal River"<sup>4</sup> of the natives. Twice he was left in the lurch by his Indian guides and forced to return to his base; but Hearne was not a man to be balked, and once more he left the fort, on December 7, 1770, for he was to travel with dogs and sleds, while the snow covered the earth with its even mantle. After many exciting adventures and narrow escapes, he reached the land of the Eskimo, where he was the unwilling witness of a bloody attack by the Chipewyans upon that innocent and inoffensive people. "The poor unhappy victims," says Hearne, "were surprised in the midst of their sleep and had neither time nor power to make any resistance; men, women and children, in all upwards of twenty, ran out of their tents stark naked and endeavoured to make their escape; but the Indians having possession of all the land side, to no place could they fly for shelter. One alternative

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<sup>4</sup> Burpee, *Western Sea*, p. 139.



only remained, that of jumping into the river; but as none of them attempted it they all fell victims to Indian barbarity." A young girl was speared beside the explorer; as she fell she writhed round his legs; nor did his pleading save her, for the savages, asking him contemptuously if he wanted an Eskimo wife, thrust their weapons into the unfortunate creature. At this harrowing sight Hearne could not restrain his tears.

At last the intrepid explorer reached the mouth of the Coppermine River, and observed it to be in latitude  $71^{\circ} 54'$  north and longitude  $120^{\circ} 30'$ , which position, however, gave the river an outlet two hundred miles too far to the north, as is proved by Franklin's accurate observation, which marks the point where the river embouches into the Arctic as  $67^{\circ} 40' 50''$  north and  $115^{\circ} 36' 49''$  west. Here Hearne erected a cairn and took formal possession of the country on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company. He then began to retrace his steps, but before doing so, he examined the copper mines of which so much had been said, only to find that they were "nothing but a jumble of rocks and gravel." On his homeward journey the explorer followed the shores of Great Slave Lake, and crossed this sheet of water to the mouth of Slave River; then, taking an easterly course, he arrived at Fort Prince of Wales on June 30, 1771.

Gradually the vast prairies, and the network of rivers and lakes that provide means of communication in the central portion of the continent, became known to the furtrader. But, in the year 1763 the Conspiracy of Pontiac and successive Indian wars rendered the central plains unsafe for the peddlers and caused a temporary suspension of the traffic. It was not until about the year 1771, that British traders could enter with safety the territory of the Saskatchewan, on which river the most remote of the old French posts had been built. The subsequent progress of the furtraders may be said to have corresponded with the wishes of the Indians and the success of the first enterprises.

At first the whole trade was conducted by the unsupported effort of individuals. The trader, wintering with a newly discovered band of Indians, or on some favourable spot, would hear of tribes still more remote, among whom provisions might be obtained, and trade pursued with little danger of competition. To the hunting grounds of these he would naturally repair, and while he was suffered to

remain alone he might obtain furs at a reasonable rate. But, as all men had the right to traffic at any place, the first discoverer of an eligible situation generally soon found himself followed by other traders, who were ever ready to reap where they had not sown. In these circumstances, the furtrader, naturally enough, endeavoured by every means in his power to secure to himself the preference of the Indians and to injure his competitor. Thus, in the Indian territories of the West, each man became a master unto himself, and took the law into his own hands. As a consequence, both the Indians and the trade suffered. The natives were bribed with rum, and this trafficking in strong spirits soon had a disastrous effect. While this warfare raged, mutual interest suggested the necessity of establishing a common, or co-operative, association as the only means of ending once for all so injurious a competition.

About the year 1779, nine distinct interests became parties to an agreement for one year, by virtue of which the whole trade was rendered common property. The success which attended this measure led to a second and similar agreement in the succeeding year, and that to a further agreement, which was to last for three years. Thus co-operation gradually became a recognized principle among the traders. However, an agreement for a short term was found not to work as well as had been anticipated, chiefly for the reason that the members of the association were naturally less anxious to stand by its articles than to prepare themselves for its termination, and the consequent return to the old order of things. It seemed almost impossible that out of this chaos of conflicting interests there could be formed an association so powerful as to unite in one brotherhood, the jealous traders. Yet this was accomplished. In 1783-84 practically all the factions were united in one great association, which assumed the historic name—The North West Company. At first the pact was for five years only, but so effective did it prove in eradicating evils, and so successful were the operations under it, that the association was continued from time to time until at last a permanent organization, although still subject to agreement,<sup>5</sup> became possible.

The fierce rivalries of the independent furtraders were thus abolished. The North West Company established upon the principle of co-operation, promoted, whilst that principle was adhered

<sup>5</sup> Origin and Progress of the North West Company, London, 1811.

to, the welfare of all concerned. It prevented the animosities, violence, and losses that before the days of coalition had become of every-day occurrence in the fur territories. No one thing, perhaps, is more significant of the good results that accrued from the policy than the fact that the returns of the furtrade increased from thirty thousand pounds in 1784 to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in 1810.<sup>6</sup> Another conspicuous result, in the decrease in the consumption of spirituous liquors was brought about by the amalgamation of the contending forces. In the year 1800, ten thousand and ninety-eight gallons were taken into the territory, but in the year 1803, when the North West Company met with strong opposition from independent traders, the consumption increased to twenty-one thousand two hundred and ninety-nine gallons. After the company had defeated or placated its opponents, the average consumption dropped to nine thousand seven hundred gallons in the five years ending with 1810.

At the outset the company had an opponent worthy of its steel in the X Y Company, formed by certain malcontents who refused to join the larger association. Amongst these were the notorious Peter Pond and the resolute Alexander Mackenzie. The struggle, however, did not last long. In 1787 the two Canadian companies amalgamated. At a later period the X Y Company was revived by a few Nor'Westers, who had become dissatisfied with the autocratic behaviour of the choleric Simon McTavish, nicknamed by his associates "le Premier," or "le Marquis." In 1793 Alexander Mackenzie returned to the X Y Company, and for several years he was the master mind of that organization. Simon McTavish died in 1804 or 1805, and shortly afterwards the X Y Company again united with its rival.

In the thirty-eight years of its existence the North West Company revolutionized the trade, consolidated its interests, and extended its sphere of influence even far beyond "The Mountains of Bright Stones." At one time the company possessed more than eighty forts or trading stations in the western territories, several of which were west of the Rocky Mountains. The influence of the bourgeois, as the officers of the association were termed, extended from Montreal, across the Great Lakes, to the farthestmost northern and southern limits of that vast territory which their daring and prowess had

<sup>6</sup> Origin and Progress of the North West Company, London, 1811.

brought under their sway. In short, the great central and western region was their empire and they governed it firmly, and, on the whole, justly.

If the North West Company thought that by this union, it had once and forever put an end to trade warfare, it had reckoned without its host. As the operations of the Nor'Westers, as the partners and servants of the Company came to be called, extended farther afield, they tapped the very sources of the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was the masterly policy of the traders of Montreal to establish posts in the most remote territories, as a result of which the Indians found that it was no longer necessary to make far journeys to dispose of their pelts. They naturally preferred to trade at the nearest fort, rather than to carry their furs to the shores of Hudson's Bay. Just as soon as this policy was adopted, the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company declined. For almost a century the Adventurers had scarcely moved out of their strongholds on the western shore of Hudson's Bay. Indeed, heretofore there had been no occasion for their going to meet the savage in the wilderness.

It was hardly to be expected that the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company would tamely submit to these encroachments on the part of their opponents. The enterprising daring of the united fur-traders rendered a conflict inevitable. Roused to action, the great chartered company resolutely set to work to frustrate the tactics of its opponents. At each advantageous point it built a fort, at first confining its operations to the more northern part of the field; but finding its trade molested even there, it determined to extend its system of forts over the whole country. This rivalry gave birth to a bitter feud. Wherever a Nor'Wester built his rude fort, the Hudson's Bay Company would plant one beside it. Hence two forts were often erected within sight of each other—a novel situation of which the Indian took full advantage, demanding more exorbitant prices for his pelts. But of all things, the Indian loved rum best. As long as one organization controlled the situation the traffic could be conducted without intoxicants, but so soon as this deadly rivalry was started, rum again became a common article of barter. Unscrupulous traders did not hesitate when hard pushed by an opponent to seduce the Indian from his allegiance with liberal potations. Such conditions could not exist without destroying trade. So keen and so

bitter was the rivalry, and so enamoured were the Indians of the "fire-water" of the traders, that in a short time whole districts were depleted of fur-bearing animals. The North West Company however, prospered, for its energetic bourgeois were ever moving the frontier farther west and north and south, reaching territories where the Hudson's Bay Company hesitated to follow. Before the latter company had occupied the Middle West its opponents had planted their flag on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains. While this civil war, for it was scarcely less, was engrossing the energies and activities of the opposing forces, there were yet men amongst the traders to whom exploration meant more than gain. The search for the Western Sea had been neither forgotten nor abandoned.

In the Northwest at that time was a young man, named Alexander Mackenzie, a Scotsman of good lineage. He it was who helped to organize the X Y Company, but he was now with and for the North West Company. In the last decade but one of the eighteenth century, he guided the destinies of Fort Chippewayan on Athabasca Lake; though like Verendrye, he thought more of exploration than of sordid traffic. Samuel Hearne's exploit, of nearly twenty years before, was, to him, both an object lesson and an achievement to be emulated. In 1789, therefore, Mackenzie set out to follow the northern outlet of Great Slave Lake to the Arctic Ocean. He was successful; and so another highway—for all rivers were highways to the furtrader—was placed on the map, and by so much was the knowledge of the geography of the Arctic coast increased. In honour of its explorer the river was named Mackenzie. Now the region, in which had been placed by geographers of old, the famous Straits of Maldonado, and the fanciful waterways of de Fonte, was indeed reduced. In the same year (1789) in which Mackenzie made this memorable excursion, the Spaniards on the Pacific were seizing the vessels of another British furtrading company, and fortifying themselves on the American shores of the North Pacific.

Upon his return to Fort Chippewayan, Mackenzie decided to go to London, there to learn how to reckon accurately latitude and longitude. Lack of this knowledge had more than once perturbed him while descending the Mackenzie River, and he had determined to fit himself at the earliest opportunity for the yet greater task he had

assigned himself—an expedition to the shores of the Western Sea, so long sought by French explorers.

The overland journeys of the furtrader were no less important than the coastwise explorations of the mariner; nor were his expeditions less arduous or less hazardous than those of the men who voyaged the trackless ocean. He had to pass from one savage tribe to another, generally with a mere handful of men, and it was only by the exercise of patience and diplomacy that he could overcome the prejudices, armed resistance, and treachery of the natives.

Even while Vancouver was exploring the coast, an expedition was being prepared at Fort Chippewayan to cross the continent. Alexander Mackenzie, having returned from London with his newly acquired knowledge of astronomy and surveying, was bending all his energies to the attainment of his great ambition. Having made every necessary preparation, he left Fort Chippewayan on October 10, 1792, with the determination of wintering on the Peace River, as near the mountains as possible, in order to take advantage of the opening of navigation in the early spring. Towards the end of October, Mackenzie arrived at his wintering place, whither two of his men had preceded him. The men, exhausted by the hardships of their journey, were disappointed at finding no houses ready. The Indians had prevented the completion of the post.

No sooner had the explorer's tent been pitched than he called before him the unruly natives and soundly rated them for the trouble they had caused. He said he would treat them with kindness if their behaviour merited it, but that he would be "equally severe if they failed in those returns" which he had a "right to expect from them." Mackenzie then presented the natives with a quantity of rum, which he naïvely recommended should be used with discretion.

Such incidents, it may be presumed, were of common occurrence in the fur territories; yet this scene exhibits in a very interesting manner the delicate relations that existed between the natives and the white man at that time. It seems little short of marvellous that a handful of men, by cajolery or threats, or by a diplomatic admixture of both, should be able to preserve their hold upon the lawless savages, who outnumbered them by hundreds to one.

Mackenzie's winter quarters were situated near the junction of a large stream with the Peace River. On account of its situation

the place was called Fort Fork. In the month of May, 1793, six canoes were despatched to Fort Chippewayan with the furs collected in the winter, and then Mackenzie, relieved for a time of such sordid details made final preparations for his great enterprise. The frail bark canoe, which was to carry the adventurers on the turbulent currents of the rivers and streams of the Rocky Mountain region, was but twenty-five feet long within, twenty-six inches deep, and four feet nine inches wide. It was so light that two men could carry it three or four miles without resting. This little vessel carried provisions, presents (without which no trader ventured into a new country), arms, ammunition, and baggage—in all three thousand pounds.

The party consisted of Alexander Mackenzie, Alexander Mackay, six voyageurs and two Indians to act as hunters and interpreters—ten in all.<sup>7</sup>

Such was the equipment of the expedition that, after untold hardships and dangers, was to carry British sovereignty across the continent to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. It seems almost incredible that, with such meagre equipment, so much was accomplished. Yet in that adventurous age, no doubt, the expedition was considered well-found and ample for the purpose. Ten men, six of whom were voyageurs and two Indians, were to assay a task that might well have appalled the stoutest hearts. But the careless and happy-go-lucky French-Canadian cared naught for danger until it was encountered; and if anxiety cast its shadow upon the mind of the leader, his elation at the thought that he was at least to embark upon his great enterprise did not allow it to obtrude.

On May 9, 1793, Mackenzie left his winter quarters. At first the track led through a country the beauty of which evoked the admiration of the explorer. "The ground rises at intervals," it is recorded in the journal of the expedition, "to a considerable height, and stretching inwards to a considerable distance; at every interval or pause in the rise, there is a very gently-ascending space or lawn, which is alternate with abrupt precipices to the summit of the whole, or, at least as far as the eye could distinguish. This magnificent theatre of nature has all the decorations which the trees and animals of the country can afford it: groves of poplars in every shape vary

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<sup>7</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, pp. 151-2.

the scene; and their intervals are enlivened with vast herds of elks and buffaloes: the former choosing the steeps and uplands, and the later preferring the plains. At this time the buffaloes were attended with their young ones, who were frisking about them; and it appeared that the elks would soon exhibit the same enlivening circumstance. The whole country displayed an exuberant verdure; the trees that bear a blossom were advancing fast to that delightful appearance, and the velvet rind of their branches, reflecting the oblique rays of a rising or setting sun, added a splendid gaiety to the scene, which no expressions of mine are qualified to describe.”<sup>8</sup>

As the canoe passed up the Peace River, the country assumed a different aspect. The park-like prairie, with its wooded eminences and verdant lawns, gave place to rugged and precipitous hills, and these in turn to the wild and awe-inspiring grandeur of the Rocky Mountains, whose snow crowned peaks stretched north and south in one long unbroken chain. Into this wilderness plunged the little party. As Mackenzie neared the mountain pass the current became wild and tumultuous, rushing headlong between craggy hills and precipitous walls of rock. In the great canyons of the Rocky Mountains the Peace River belies its name and becomes a foaming cascade, or a series of cascades, that even daunted the voyageurs, bred, as they were, to the task of navigating dangerous rapids. The hazards and difficulties of the enterprise continued to increase. “We now continued,” says Mackenzie in his entry of May 20th, “our toilsome and perilous progress with the line west by north, and as we proceeded the rapidity of the current increased, so that in the distance of two miles we were obliged to unload four times, and carry everything but the canoe; indeed, in many places, it was with the utmost difficulty that we could prevent her from being dashed in pieces against the rocks by the violence of the eddies. At five we had proceeded to where the river was one continued rapid. Here we again took everything out of the canoe, in order to tow her up with the line, though the rocks were so shelving as greatly to increase the toil and hazard of that operation. At length, however, the agitation of the water was so great, that a wave striking on the bow of the canoe broke the line, and filled us with inexpressible dismay, as it appeared impossible that the vessel could escape from being

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<sup>8</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 1801, pp. 154-5.



dashed to pieces, and those who were in her from perishing. Another wave, however, more propitious than the former, drove her out of the tumbling water, so that the men were enabled to bring her ashore, and though she had been carried over rocks by these swells which left them naked a moment after, the canoe had received no material injury. The men were, however, in such a state from their late alarm, that it would not only have been unavailing but imprudent, to have proposed any further progress at present, particularly as the river above us, as far as we could see, was one white sheet of foaming water.”<sup>9</sup> Of this place, he observed, “The river is not more than fifty yards wide, and flows between stupendous rocks, from whence huge fragments sometimes tumble down, and falling from such an height, dash into small stones, with sharp points.”<sup>10</sup>

Such were the daily experiences of the travellers. Small wonder is it that even the stout heart of the French-Canadian quailed as he advanced into this region, where Nature had erected every barrier that could possibly be devised to prevent the progress of Man. The voyageurs rebelled against the hardships of the way and clamoured to return. But the master-spirit of the enterprise would brook no opposition to his long-cherished plan. By the exercise of his authority, or by softer measures of persuasion, Mackenzie calmed the fears of his men and prevailed upon them to renew their allegiance. On this occasion, as on many others, Mackenzie proved himself a born reader. He treated the French-Canadians as a kind father would treat his wayward children, and, as often as he was called upon to give heart to his people, he never failed to overcome their fears and to unite them to his purpose.

In the course of the journey through the Peace River Pass, the canoe frequently had to be carried long distances. At one place it was necessary to cut a road over a precipitous mountain; the trees were felled parallel with the path, but not separated entirely from the stumps, “so that they might form a kind of railing on either side.” All the baggage and the canoe were carried along this primitive highway with laborious effort. The canoe was literally warped up the mountain, the line being doubled and fastened to successive

<sup>9</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 173.

<sup>10</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 175.

stumps. Three days were consumed in carrying the equipment over this portage of more than seven miles.

On the evening of the third day, to the relief of all, the party arrived at the river, a short distance above the canyon. At this place "the stream rushed with an astonishing but silent velocity between perpendicular rocks, which are not more than thirty-five yards asunder. When the water is high it runs over those rocks in a channel three times that breadth, where it is bounded by far more elevated precipices. In the former are deep round holes, some of which are full of water, while others are empty, in whose bottom are small round stones, as smooth as marble. Some of these natural cylinders would contain two hundred gallons. At a small distance below the first of these rocks, the channel widens in a kind of zig-zag progression, and it is really awful to behold with what infinite force the water drives against the rocks on one side, and with what impetuous strength it is repelled to the other: it then falls back, as it were, into a more straight but rugged passage, over which it is tossed in high, foaming, half-formed billows, as far as the eye could follow it." <sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the party embarked upon the tide.

Arriving at the fork formed by the junction of the Parsnip and Finlay rivers, Mackenzie ascended the former. It was now the end of May, and the river was in flood and the hardships endured in stemming the powerful current so disheartened the voyageurs that again they openly rebelled. "I therefore," says Mackenzie, "employed those arguments which were the best calculated to calm their immediate discontents, as well as to encourage their future hopes, though, at the same time, I delivered my sentiments in such a manner as to convince them that I was determined to proceed." <sup>12</sup> The country on either hand was rugged and mountainous, yet on all sides were seen evidences of the industrious beaver. "In no part of the North-West," wrote Mackenzie, "did I see so much beaver-work within an equal distance." To the explorer these indications of a lucrative trade must have been of peculiar interest.

Thus, as it were, fighting their way inch by inch, the men neared the headwaters of the Parsnip River. On the 5th of June, Mackenzie and Mackay left the canoe to ascend an adjacent moun-

<sup>11</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 180.

<sup>12</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 186.

tain, hoping that they might obtain therefrom a view of the interior. Little could be seen from the height, however, because of the thick forest; so Mackenzie climbed a high tree, from whose top he obtained a panoramic view of the surrounding country. On the west extended a range of snowy mountains, between which and another high ridge of land there appeared to be an opening that was thought to mark the course of a river. Upon their return to the Parsnip, Mackenzie and Mackay found neither the men nor the canoe. A fire was lighted to attract the attention of the voyageurs, and branches were sent adrift down the current, as a message to the men that their leader was ahead. Mackenzie himself walked along the bank in the blaze of the afternoon sun, tormented by swarms of gnats and mosquitoes; but without result. Nor was Mackay more successful in obtaining news of the missing party. Mackenzie feared that the men had seized the opportunity to desert, or that they had been lost in a rapid. Perplexed and distressed by these conjectures, and upbraiding himself for his imprudence in leaving his people in such a dangerous situation, the explorer encamped for the night. Scarcely had he retired, however, than the evening stillness was broken by the report of musket, the welcome signal that Mackay had found the party. Mackenzie at once proceeded to join his men, from whom he learned that the canoe had been wrecked and that they had experienced far greater toil and hardship than on any former occasion. These asseverations the explorer pretended to believe, and sought to comfort his men with a "consolatory dram." He was convinced, however, that the passage might have been made if exertions had not been relaxed.

A few days later the explorer met two natives, one of whom drew his knife and presented it in token of submission. These Indians had heard of white men, but had never before seen a human being with a complexion different from their own. Long schooled to the ways of the savage, Mackenzie did not attempt to push on, but remained to re-assure the natives. The party consisted of three men and three women and seven or eight children, all of whom presented a wretched appearance. They were consoled with beads and other trifles, and feasted upon pemmican. Mackenzie endeavoured to obtain from these people an idea of the country. His inquiries, however, elicited nothing but a confused account of tribes who lived to the westward,

a moon's travel onward, and who extended their journeys to the sea, or, as they expressed it, the "Stinking Lake." The men of tribes were represented as living almost continually in their strongholds from fear of their enemies. These stories did not comfort the explorer; but, persisting in his inquiries, he was rewarded with an account of a large river that ran towards the midday sun, a branch of which had its source not far from the encampment. Three small lakes and as many short carrying places, led to a tributary of the "Great River." This knowledge, imperfect as it was, aroused the liveliest interest. One of the Indians was induced to guide the party to the small lakes, of which they had spoken.

Taking leave of the Indians on June 10th, Mackenzie pushed on until he reached a small lake, which he judged to be the source of the Parsnip River. Upon landing it was discovered that a beaten path of eight hundred and seventeen paces led over a low ridge of land to another small lake. This ridge was termed "the Height of Land." Within a few paces of this spot were the sources of great rivers, the waters of which empty respectively into the Arctic and the Pacific Oceans. Here two sparkling rivulets tumbled down their rocky channels to lose themselves in the lake which is the source of the Parsnip; while two other glacial streams fell from the opposite height into another lake, draining into the Fraser. The party had crossed the divide, and now, for the first time, the canoe floated with the current. Arriving at the portage, another beaten path was found, one hundred and seventy-five paces long. This lake communicated with the third lake of the chain, the outlet of which flows into the North Fork of the Fraser River. Mackenzie called this stream Bad River, because its rapid, shallow and tortuous course was so impeded by fallen trees that it could be navigated only by dint of the greatest exertion. The banks were almost impassable by reason of treacherous swamps and thick woods.

In descending Bad River, the canoe struck in a shallow; Mackenzie instantly leaped out, the men following his example; but, before she could be stopped, the canoe came to deep water, so that all were obliged to re-embark "with the utmost precipitation." "We had hardly regained our situations," records the journal, "when we drove against a rock which shattered the stern of the canoe in such a manner that it held only by the gunwales, so that the steersman could no

longer keep his place. The violence of this stroke drove us to the opposite side of the river, which is but narrow, when the bow met with the same fate as the stern. At this moment the foreman seized on some branches of a small tree in the hope of bringing up the canoe, but such was their elasticity that, in a manner not easily described, he was jerked on shore in an instant, and with a degree of violence that threatened his destruction. But we had no time to turn from our own situation to inquire what had befallen him; for, in a few moments, we came across a cascade which broke several large holes in the bottom of the canoe, and started all the bars, except one behind the scooping seat. If this accident, however, had not happened, the vessel must have been irretrievably upset. The wreck becoming flat on the water, we all jumped out, while the steersman, who had been compelled to abandon his place, and had not recovered from his fright, called out to his companions to save themselves. My peremptory commands superseded the effects of his fear, and they all held fast to the wreck; to which fortunate resolution we owed our safety, as we should otherwise have been dashed against the rocks by the force of the water, or driven over the cascades. In this condition we were forced several hundred yards, and every yard on the verge of destruction; but, at length, we most fortunately arrived in shallow water and a small eddy, where we were enabled to make a stand, from the weight of the canoe resting on the stones, rather than from any exertions of our "exhausted strength."<sup>13</sup>

This passage from Mackenzie's journal graphically illustrates the dangers which beset the track of the explorer in those unknown wilds.

On Monday, June 17th, at eight in the evening, the party reached the bank of the Great River, an event which is recorded in the following words: "At length we enjoyed, after all our toil and anxiety, the inexpressible satisfaction of finding ourselves on the bank of a navigable river, on the west side of the first great range of mountains."<sup>14</sup>

Alexander Mackenzie had discovered the Great River, now known as the Fraser.

The voyage, even to this point, was a memorable undertaking,

<sup>13</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 218.

<sup>14</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 228.

for Mackenzie had traversed the whole course of the Parsnip River, from its junction with the Findlay to its remotest headwaters, and the most dangerous reaches of the Peace. Keen observer as Mackenzie was, however, he had failed to notice a large stream which flows into the Parsnip. This was the Pack River, which drains McLeod Lake. It appears that the Indians met by Mackenzie in the mountains knew of an easier route to the Fraser River. It followed the Pack River, McLeod Lake, and Crooked River, to Summit Lake, thence by what is now known as Giscome Portage, to the North Fork, some distance below the mouth of the Bad River. Had the explorer followed this route, he might have saved time, although the ascent of the Crooked River, a rapid and shallow stream, might have proved scarcely less difficult than the descent of the Bad River.

On the morning of Monday, June 18th, the little party of adventurers embarked upon the "Great River." The journal records that "the weather was so hazy that we could not see across the river, which is here about two hundred yards wide." A somewhat particular account of the reaches between the mouth of the Bad River and the junction of the north and south branches is given by Mackenzie. The current is described as "very strong but perfectly safe."<sup>15</sup> Yet it was a perilous undertaking, for at times the river rushed tumultuously between high perpendicular walls of rock, or foamed in long cascades; again, the disposition of the natives was unknown and no care or forthought could save the party, if they should be bent upon its destruction.

The exertions of the voyageurs, and the strong tide, lent wings to the little vessel, as she swept down the river. In the course of the day the party reached the "great fork" formed by the confluence of the north and south branches of the Fraser. The north fork has its source in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, not a great distance above the fifty-fourth parallel, while the south branch rises in the same range to the south of the fifty-third parallel, to the eastward of the 119th degree of longitude. Tête Jaune Cache marks the head of navigation on the southern fork, which is the larger branch. Writing a century and a quarter ago, Mackenzie observed that at the confluence of the two branches the channel "is about half a mile in breadth, and assumes the form of a lake." Even in that early day

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<sup>15</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 230.

forest fires seem to have devastated the country-side, for under the date of June 19, (1793) Mackenzie wrote that "clouds of thick smoke rose from the woods, that darkened the atmosphere, accompanied with a strong odor of the gum of the cypress and the spruce fir." The explorer was soon in the neighbourhood of the South Fort George of today, but he failed to discover the Nechaco River, for which he has been called to task by certain writers. This oversight, however, may be explained—the mouth of that stream is screened by low land covered with cotton-wood trees. In descending the Fraser by the east bank, the Nechaco might easily escape notice on a misty morning. The clear water of this beautiful river, however, is most noticeable against the muddy current of the larger stream. Even if the weather were foggy, and the mouth of the Nechaco masked by trees, or veiled in mist, it would seem that an explorer could not have failed to notice that a large body of clear water embouched into the main river at this point. But at high water, the turbid flood of the Fraser may back up the waters of the Nechaco. Be this as it may, Mackenzie missed the Nechaco, and passed the place where South Fort George stands today, remarking of the banks in that neighbourhood that they were "composed of high white cliffs, crowned with pinnacles in grotesque shapes."<sup>16</sup>

It is not always easy to follow the explorer from point to point, because, trained observer as he was, some well-known features of the river failed to attract his attention or at least are not recorded. Nor is it surprising that this should be the case, when it is recalled that Mackenzie often complained of the fog which generally shrouded the river in the early morning. The heavy mists which are characteristic of the Fraser at certain seasons of the year, rendered the navigation of the newly discovered highway a delicate undertaking. Mackenzie was always up betimes. "At three (or some such early hour) we were on the water," is a frequent entry in his journal, and the observation is usually followed by a reference to the heavy pall of mist which hid from view both the channel and the landscape. This difficulty narrowed the field of observation and sufficiently accounts for Mackenzie's failure to portray accurately in every particular the noble stream he discovered and explored. Then, again, it is likely that in the hundred and twenty years which have elapsed

<sup>16</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 233.

since Mackenzie's memorable excursion in 1793, the mighty current of the Fraser has wrought a change in many places. The river today, except where it flows between rock-bound shores, may not present quite the same appearance as it did a century and more ago.

But now and again there is no mistaking the points or places described. Thus it is with the Fort George Canyon, that notable feature of the upper river, of which Mackenzie writes: "In the last course the rocks contracted in such a manner on both sides of the river as to afford the appearance of the upper part of a fall or cataract. Under this apprehension we landed on the left shore, where we found a kind of footpath imperfectly traced, through which we conjectured that the natives occasionally passed with their canoes and baggage. On examining the course of the river, however, there did not appear to be any fall, as we expected; but the rapids were of considerable length and impassable for a light canoe."

The journal continues—"We had therefore no alternative but to widen the road so as to admit the passage of our canoe, which was now carried with great difficulty; as from her frequent repairs, and not always of the usual materials, her weight was such that she cracked and broke on the shoulders of the men who bore her. The labour and fatigue of this undertaking, from eight till twelve, beggars all description, when we at length conquered this afflicting passage of about half a mile, over a rocky and most rugged hill."<sup>17</sup>

A meridional observation taken at this point gave the latitude as  $53^{\circ}42'20''$ . The true latitude of Fort George Canyon is  $53^{\circ}41'30''$ .

The course was continued in a southerly direction for a quarter of a mile to the next carrying place, which was described as "nothing more than a rocky point about twice the length of the canoe." This evidently refers to that bold escarpment of rock at the narrowest part of the Fort George Canyon. "From the extremity of this point," the journal continues, "to the rocky and most perpendicular bank that arose on the opposite shore, is not more than forty or fifty yards. The great body of water, at the same time tumbling in successive cascades along the first carrying-place, rolls through this narrow passage in a very turbid current, and full of whirlpools."

On the banks of the river in this neighbourhood the explorer found "a great plenty of wild onions, which when mixed with our

<sup>17</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, pp. 234-5.



pemmican, was a great improvement of it; though they produced a physical effect on our appetites which was rather inconvenient to the state of our provisions."

Below Fort George Canyon, Mackenzie caught a glimpse of a few natives, who fled at the sight of the strangers. In spite of Mackenzie and Mackay's efforts to overtake them, the Indians made their escape, but not before they had given vent to their feelings by discharging a volley of arrows at the men who had endeavoured to conciliate them. The two interpreters reported that their language was quite unintelligible.

At half past four in the morning of Thursday, June 20th, the journey was continued, but little knowledge of the surrounding country could be gained as "the fog was so thick that we could not see the length of our canoe, which rendered our progress dangerous, as we might have come suddenly upon a cascade or violent rapid."<sup>18</sup> After the sun had dispersed the mist, two red deer, as the furtrader called the elk, were seen on the bank. Both were killed and formed a welcome addition to the larder of the expedition, which was depleted of all but bare necessities.

Of the country between the Fort George and Cottonwood Canyons Mackenzie observed that "here the country changed its appearance; the banks were but of a moderate height, from whence the ground continued gradually rising to a considerable distance, covered with poplars and cypresses, but without any kind of underwood."<sup>19</sup> The country was not so populous, as directly above and below Quesnel. Occasionally signs of the inhabitants were noticed. At one place, probably near the site of an Indian village, which stood on the west bank of the river, not far above the mouth of the Blackwater, a deserted Indian house was discovered. It excited the curiosity of the explorer, who examined it carefully. He remarked that it was "the only Indian habitation of this kind that I had seen on this side of Mechilimakina."

The dwelling was thirty feet long and twenty wide, with three doors, each three feet high by one and one-half in breadth. An ingenious fishtrap, found in the house, is well described by Mackenzie. It was of cylindrical form, fifteen feet long and four and a

<sup>18</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 234.

<sup>19</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 237.

half feet in diameter: "One end was square like the head of a cask, and a conical machine was fixed inwards to the other end, of similar dimensions: at the extremity of which was an opening of about seven inches diameter. This machine was certainly contrived to set in the river, to catch large fish; and very well-adapted to that purpose."<sup>20</sup> To this day fish traps of the kind described are in use on the rivers and streams of the interior.<sup>21</sup>

Near-by the house a tomb was noticed—"It was in an oblong form, covered, and very neatly walled with bark. A pole was fixed near it, to which, at the height of ten or twelve feet, a piece of bark was attached, which was probably a memorial, or symbol of distinction."

The canoe by this time had become so unseaworthy that it was decided to construct another, with as little delay as possible. As from the appearance of the country there was reason to believe that birch bark might be found, a party was landed at eight in the morning to scour the woods for the precious material. Four men were despatched on the mission, and at twelve they returned with enough bark "to make the bottom of a canoe five fathoms in length and four feet and a half in height." At this point Mackenzie took another observation, which marked the position of the expedition as in latitude  $53^{\circ}17'28''$ .<sup>22</sup> Cottonwood Canyon is in latitude  $53^{\circ}08'00''$ , so the party at that time must have been near this dangerous passage.

Mackenzie passed the mouth of the Blackwater on June 20th. This little stream did not escape notice.

Here again the reader of the explorer's journal, who is familiar with the Fraser River above Quesnel, will have no difficulty in recognizing a striking feature of that noble waterway. "Here," says Mackenzie, "the river narrows between steep rocks, and a rapid succeeded, which was so violent that we did not venture to run it. I therefore ordered the loading to be taken out of the canoe, but she was now become so heavy that the men preferred running the rapid to carrying her overland. Though I did not altogether approve of their proposition, I was unwilling to oppose it. Four of them undertook this hazardous expedition, and I hastened to the foot of

<sup>20</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 239.

<sup>21</sup> The author examined one of these fishtraps *in situ* on the Nechaco River in August, 1912.

<sup>22</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 240.

the rapid with great anxiety to await the event, which turned out as I expected. The water was so strong that although they kept clear of the rocks, the canoe filled, and in this state they drove half way down the rapid, but fortunately she did not upset; and having got her into an eddy, they emptied her, and in an half-drowned condition arrived safe on shore."

The carrying place was about half a mile long, and that it was frequently used by the Indians was proved by the fact that there was a well-marked path across it. Both the Fort George and Cottonwood Canyons are often navigated, even in this day, by Indians and white men in the cottonwood dug-out of native design and workmanship; but in both places navigation has been improved by the blasting out of certain rocks that in the old days threatened with destruction the little vessel of the Indian or the furtrader. At high water both canyons are dangerous, and even the hardest voyager might well hesitate before attempting to navigate the turbulent stream that flows between the rock-girt shores of the Fraser at these points. Mackenzie descended the river in flood time and his feat, therefore, is all the more remarkable.

After the passage of the Canyon the canoe was in such wretched condition that it "occasioned a delay of three hours to put her in a condition to proceed." At length, all being in readiness, the course was continued.

Those who know the Upper River will recognize Mackenzie's description of that portion of it "where the ledges of white and red clay appeared like the ruins of ancient castles." This description undoubtedly refers to the strange, castellated formation at the elbow of the river, between the Cottonwood River and the Cottonwood Canyon.

After this day of arduous exertion, the party camped in a storm of rain and thunder, near some old and deserted Indian houses. On the following morning ninety pounds of pemmican were buried in the ground for the homeward journey. "As I was very sensible," Mackenzie remarked on this occasion, of the difficulty of procuring provisions in this country, I thought it prudent to guard against any possibility of distress of that kind on our return; I therefore ordered ninety pounds weight of pemmican to be buried in an hole sufficiently deep to admit of a fire over it without doing any injury to our hidden

treasure, and which would, at the same time, secure it from the natives of the country, or the wild animals of the woods." <sup>23</sup> It is impossible to say exactly where this cache was made, but it could not have been far from the Cottonwood River.

Not far from the cache, Mackenzie passed the beautiful bench where today stands the flourishing town of Quesnel. Here "a large river flowed in from the left," which several years later Simon Fraser named Quesnel, in honour of Jules Maurice Quesnel, one of his lieutenants. A little below Quesnel, Mackenzie made an observation, and, according to his reckoning, the point was in latitude  $52^{\circ}47'51''$ . Near this point a small canoe was noticed, at the edge of the woods, and soon another, paddled by a single man, appeared in the stream. At the sight of the large canoe the natives gathered on the bank, armed with spears, bows, and arrows. It was quite apparent that the men were in a state of great apprehension, yet "they displayed the most outrageous antics," and indicated by their gestures that if the party should land it would be attacked. Mackenzie at once ordered his men to stop the canoe, as he knew that it would be useless to attempt to approach the savages before their fears had in some degree subsided. The interpreters, who fortunately understood the native language, informed Mackenzie that the Indians declared that all would meet with instant death if the canoe approached the shore. Their threat was not an idle boast, for it was followed by a volley of arrows, some of which fell short of the canoe and others passed over it. By this time the current had carried the canoe below, and Mackenzie ordered his men to quietly paddle up the opposite side of the river until he was abreast of the Indians. He was anxious to overcome their antipathy, the more so as he had noticed that a canoe had been despatched down the river, as he concluded to communicate the alarm and procure assistance.

It was in such dramatic moments as these that Mackenzie's determination and knowledge of Indian character proved an unfailing source of strength. Undaunted, he left his canoe and walked towards the group of excited natives, as calmly as if no danger threatened. He took the precaution, however, of sending one of his interpreters into the woods, there to conceal himself where he could command the position with his musket; but the man was particularly

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<sup>23</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 241.

enjoined not to fire until the explorer gave the signal. Mackenzie walked slowly, displaying as he went, looking-glasses, beads, and other alluring trinkets. This was more than the curiosity of the natives could withstand. They approached the shore, but at first did not venture to land. However, friendly relations were soon established, and with great satisfaction Mackenzie found that his interpreter and these people understood each other perfectly.

The explorer lost no time in seeking information respecting the course of the river. He was informed that it ran for days towards the mid-day sun, and that at its mouth white people were building houses—from which account it would appear that news of the Spanish settlements at Nootka and Neah Bay had reached even the distant territory of the Carriers. “They represented its current,” Mackenzie wrote, “to be uniformly strong, and that in three places it was altogether impassable, from the falls and rapids, which poured along between perpendicular rocks that were much higher, and more rugged, than any we had yet seen, and would not admit of any passage over them. But besides the dangers and difficulties of the navigation, they added, that we should have to encounter the inhabitants of the country, who were very numerous. They also represented their immediate neighbours as a very malignant race, who lived in large subterraneous recesses: and when they were made to understand that it was our design to proceed to the sea, they dissuaded us from prosecuting our intention, as we should certainly become a sacrifice to the savage spirit of the natives. These people they described as possessing iron, arms, and utensils, which they procured from their neighbours to the Westward, and were obtained by a commercial progress from people like ourselves, who brought them in great canoes.”<sup>24</sup>

This information, alarming as it was, did not affect Mackenzie's determination to reach the coast. Having persuaded two of the tribe to accompany him as guides and to secure a favourable reception from the tribes below, the expedition started once more on its perilous voyage. The “malignant race” who lived in subterraneous recesses, were evidently the Thompson Indians, who dwelt underground in the winter months in their “keekwillee” houses. The territory of

<sup>24</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, pp. 245-6.  
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this tribe abutted on the Fraser River. In that day there was a very large village at Camchin, now Lytton.

In this region many natives were seen but although they exhibited the utmost surprise at the appearance of white men, and were frequently hostile, they did not attack the party. Nevertheless, on their account, it was necessary to proceed with caution, as it was not known at what point Indians of a more savage disposition might be met.

At one point Mackenzie prevailed upon an old man to sketch the river upon a large piece of bark. Again it was represented as being extremely rapid, with numerous falls and cascades, many of which were dangerous and others altogether impracticable. The carrying places were of great length, passing over rugged hills and mountains. Beyond lay the lands of three tribes speaking different languages. At a great distance, the old chief observed, the river reached the water which the natives did not drink. Another very old man said that as long as he could remember he had heard of white people to the southward, and that, although he could not vouch for the truth of the report, one of them, in an attempt to ascend the river, was destroyed. From what he heard, the explorer concluded, wrongly, as appeared subsequently, that the river did not enter the Ocean to the north of the River of the West, as the Columbia was generally called in the days before it was actually discovered. The natives also told of another route to the sea, and one more easily followed.

At no time, in the whole of his career, did the resolute character of Alexander Mackenzie show to better advantage than on this trying occasion. The mutinous conduct of his men, the hostility of the savages, and the rugged nature of the country, all conspired to prevent his executing his great project. Little wonder is it, then, that his mind became a prey to gloomy thoughts. In spite of the overwhelming difficulties of the situation, however, he did not lose heart, but resolutely set himself to attain his end. The explorer's journal gives a graphic account of the predicament of the expedition at this crisis. "My people," Mackenzie observed, "had listened with great attention to the relation which had been given me, and it seemed to be their opinion, that it would be absolute madness to attempt a passage through so many savage and barbarous nations. My situation may, indeed, be more easily conceived than expressed: I had no more than thirty days provisions remaining, exclusive of such supplies as

I might obtain from the natives, and the toil of our hunters, which, however, was so precarious as to be matter of little dependence; besides, our ammunition would soon be exhausted, particularly our ball, of which we had not more than an hundred and fifty, and about thirty pounds weight of shot, which, indeed, might be converted into bullets, though with great waste.

"The more I heard of the river, the more I was convinced it could not empty itself into the ocean to the North of what is called the River of the West, so that with its windings, the distance must be very great. Such being the discouraging circumstances of my situation, which were now heightened by the discontents of my people, I could not but be alarmed at the idea of attempting to get to the discharge of such a rapid river, especially when I reflected on the tardy progress of my return up it, even if I should meet with no obstruction from the natives; a circumstance not very probable, from the numbers of them which would then be on the river; and whom I could have no opportunity of conciliating in my passage down, for the reasons which have been already mentioned. At all events, I must give up every expectation of returning this season to Athabasca. Such were my reflections at this period; but instead of continuing to indulge them, I determined to proceed with resolution, and set future events at defiance. At the same time I suffered myself to nourish the hope that I might be able to penetrate with more safety, and in a shorter period, to the ocean by the inland, western communication."<sup>25</sup>

Therefore, at a point not far from the place where Alexandria stands today, Mackenzie decided to abandon the river and to continue his journey overland. In order to carry out the new design, it was necessary to return to the mouth of a stream that had been noticed on the north bank—the West Road River of Mackenzie—the Blackwater of today. The men who, but a short time before, had been in a state of open rebellion, now promised to stand by their leader, whatever might be the consequences, and follow him to the ocean. "At all events, I declared, in the most solemn manner," said Mackenzie on this occasion, "that I would not abandon my design of reaching the sea, if I made the attempt alone."

The return of the expedition up the river alarmed the natives, and a general panic seized the men, and again they demanded that the

<sup>25</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, pp. 255-6.

venture be abandoned and that they should return without delay to the Peace River. But with peremptory words, the explorer silenced their remonstrances.

The canoe, after its long and dangerous passage, had become so unseaworthy that it was determined to build another. Accordingly the party landed on an island not far below the point where the Quesnel River joins the Fraser. An additional supply of bark, watape, and gum were gathered in the woods, and in four days a strong canoe was constructed and ready for service.

The expedition reached the Blackwater River, or as Mackenzie called it, the West Road River, at ten on the morning of Wednesday, July 3, 1793, and proceeded up this stream in search of the Indian who had promised to guide the party overland to the ocean. The native kept his word and, at four in the afternoon, joined Mackenzie, who gave him a jacket, a pair of trousers and a handkerchief, "as a reward for his honourable conduct." On the following day, pemmican, wild rice, Indian corn, gunpowder and a bale of trading articles, were hidden in two caches, and the canoe placed bottom upward on a stage and shielded from the rays of the sun with branches of trees.

The expedition then started on the last stage of its adventurous journey. Each man carried a pack of ninety pounds and Mackenzie and Mackay seventy pounds each, besides their arms and ammunition. Mackenzie also carried his telescope, swung across his shoulders, which proved a troublesome addition to his burden. A native road, in places quite clearly defined, led to the upper reaches of the Blackwater, and thence westerly, through the Chilcotin country, to the Bella Coola River, called by Mackenzie the Salmon River.

It was not until July 17th that the eyes of the explorer were gladdened with the sight of an Indian village. Upon their arrival the chief treated the toil-worn men with every consideration, inviting them to his house, where he regaled them with salmon roe and other native delicacies. This place was on the Bella Coola River. From the natives Mackenzie procured two canoes, in which the party once more embarked. The Indians wielded their paddles so dexterously that Mackenzie was led to observe that he had always imagined Canadians to be the "most expert canoe-men in the world, but they are very inferior to these people," as his crew acknowledged.

Arriving at a larger village, the party was again most hospitably



received and entertained. Here the explorer learned that ten winters before, the chief had sailed towards the mid-day sun with forty of his people, in his great canoe, meeting on the ocean two large ships manned by white men, by whom he was kindly received. Mackenzie thought that these might be the vessels commanded by Captain Cook.

The natives of this region differed greatly from those to the eastward of the Rocky Mountains. The Indians of the great plains lived by hunting, and the bison or buffalo furnished them with the necessities of life, while the natives of the Pacific Coast region looked to the salmon to supply their wants. Their houses were made of thick cedar boards, so neatly joined that at first they seemed of one piece. "They were painted with hieroglyphics," records the journal, "and figures of different animals, and with a degree of correctness that was not to be expected from such an uncultivated people." It was evident that this tribe had traded with maritime adventurers, because wire, copper and trinkets were plentiful; collars of twisted iron, that weighed about twelve pounds, attracted particular attention. No doubt these collars were some of those made by the American, Ingraham, and traded by him with such advantage amongst the tribes of the Queen Charlotte Islands.<sup>26</sup>

At this village another canoe was obtained, and the voyage continued with native guides, who volunteered to accompany the expedition. Mackenzie was now within a short distance of the sea, and on the 19th of July he caught a glimpse of the narrow inlet into which the river emptied. On the following day, at an early hour in the morning, he passed the site of what is now Bella Coola and reached Bentinck Arm. At last Alexander Mackenzie had achieved his ambition. He had travelled from the Atlantic Ocean to the shores of the Pacific, and in so doing had explored a territory never before seen by civilized man.

Mackenzie, however, was not content to reach tidal water; he wished to view the ocean itself. He paddled down the long fiord, and then, taking a northwesterly course, reached the entrance of Cascade Canal. On his way thither, in passing King's Island, he met three canoes, manned by fifteen men, one of whom related that but a few weeks before boats had visited the bay, filled with white men, and that one of these, whom he called "Macubah," had fired on him, and

<sup>26</sup> Vide Ingraham's Journal, Ms. in Archives Department, Victoria.

another, "Bensins," had struck him on the back with the flat of his sword. Perhaps by these names the natives meant Vancouver and Menzies, for but a few weeks earlier the boats of the *Discovery* had explored this inlet, when Point Menzies, King Island, Bentinck Arm, Dean Canal, and Cascade Canal, had received their names. These indignities rankled in the mind of the Indian, who was only too willing to revenge himself upon Mackenzie's party. He became more and more troublesome, even forcing himself into Mackenzie's canoe, vociferously repeating the unpleasant intelligence that he had been ill-treated by white men.

Mackenzie, in order to escape the importunities of the natives, landed at a deserted village. But the party was followed by ten canoes, each containing from three to six men. The Indians informed Mackenzie that he was expected at the village near-by. Suspecting from their behaviour that some hostile design was meditated, the invitation was declined, and presently the natives took their departure, but not before they had succeeded in stealing several articles of value. Having taken possession of a rock which could be easily defended, the men prepared to spend the night. Presently another canoe arrived, manned by several Indians, who brought a sea-otter and a fine goat skin, offering to exchange the former for the explorer's hanger or sword, which offer, as might be supposed, was declined.

With only a fire to cheer them, the men passed the night on the rock, keeping watch by twos for fear that the Indians might take advantage of the darkness to steal upon them. Bright moonlight, however, befriended the party, and the dawn broke without any hostile attempt being made by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village. In the morning the camp was again visited by natives, who did not disguise their hostility. The young Indian guide, the son of the chief of the village on Salmon River, earnestly entreated Mackenzie to depart, as he had heard that a plot was on foot to kill the whole party. In his agitation he foamed at the mouth. The French Canadians, on hearing the news, became panic-stricken, and asked the explorer if it were his determination to remain there to be sacrificed. He replied, as on former occasions, that he would not retreat. But the natives were implacable and his men mutinous, and he was therefore forced to abandon his project and to return to the river he had quitted the day before.

Before leaving, the explorer mixed some vermilion in melted grease and inscribed in large letters on the southeast face of the rock this brief memorial—"Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three."

On that very day—the 22nd day of July, 1793—another great explorer was, comparatively speaking, but a short distance away. The journal of Captain George Vancouver reveals the fact that he was then in the neighbourhood of Point Maskelyne, surveying the channel which leads to Observatory Inlet and Portland Canal. If these two famous explorers, both of whom rendered the Empire signal service, could have met on the Pacific coast, that meeting would indeed have been memorable!

To add to the perplexities and dangers of the situation, the son of the chief of Friendly Village attempted to desert the party. He was promptly seized and forced to return to the shore, for it was thought better to incur his displeasure than to suffer him to expose himself to the ill-will of the natives, or to allow him to return to his father before the party. Mackenzie himself mounted guard over the frightened youth. The prow of the canoe was then headed for the mouth of the Bella Coola River and the homeward journey commenced. But another disappointment was in store for the explorer. The Indians who resided along the stream, instead of extending the hospitable welcome that had been accorded on the downward voyage, now seemed intent upon impeding the progress of the expedition. At the large village near the mouth of the river the natives were so importunate and troublesome that it was called Rascal's Village. The chief of the next village—the "Great Village"—was surly and little inclined to help the wayfarers; but presents of cloth, knives, and other articles, restored his good humour. Leaving the "Great Village," the party proceeded, single file, through the forest, momentarily expecting an attack, as the natives on their departure were excited and apparently resolved upon mischief.

On Friday, the twenty-sixth day of July, Mackenzie reached "Friendly Village." His reception at the place was in marked contrast to that accorded to him below. The chief, Soocomlick, conducted the men to his own house, and entertained them with the "most respectful hospitality." Mackenzie was touched by the kindness of

this untutored savage, and he entered in his journal that "he behaved to us with so much attention and kindness, that I did not withhold anything in my power to give which might afford him satisfaction. I presented him with two yards of blue cloth, an axe, knives, and various other articles."

The explorer then retraced his steps to the Blackwater River, arriving on August 4th at the place where the provisions and canoe had been cached. Everything was found as it had been left. Embarking on the Great River, also called by Mackenzie the "Tacoutche Tesse," as he considered that to be the Indian name of the stream, the expedition in the course of a few days, made Bad River. The Bad River was ascended, the "Height of Land" crossed, and the canoe launched upon the Parsnip. Gliding along with the current of that noble river, Mackenzie travelled in one day a distance which had taken him seven days to traverse on his outward journey. The river everywhere swarmed with beaver and wild fowl. Then descending the Peace River, which is formed by the junction of the Parsnip and Finlay Rivers, the explorer reached the beautiful rolling country which lies immediately to the eastward of the Rocky Mountains.

At length, on Saturday, August 24th, after an absence of three and a half months, Mackenzie reached Fork Fort, where he had spent the preceding winter. This account of the first overland journey to the Pacific may well close with the last entry in the great explorer's journal—"Here my voyages of discovery terminate. Their toils and their dangers, their solitudes and sufferings, have not been exaggerated in my description. On the contrary, in many instances, language has failed me in the attempt to describe them. I received, however, the reward of my labours, for they were crowned with success."

Alexander Mackenzie was the first European to find a pass through the Rocky Mountains; he was the first European to see the noble stream, which, from its source in the heart of that great Cordilleran range, flows into the Gulf of Georgia, after a devious course of some seven hundred miles; he was the first European to embark upon the river which was destined to be named fifteen years later in honour of another explorer, who also owed allegiance to the North West Company; and he was the first European to reach the Pacific Ocean overland. The achievement of Alexander Mac-

kenzie has given him enduring fame. No one explorer, in a few short months, accomplished more than did this imperturbable man, who linked together the known and the unknown—who gave the world its first glimpse of the interior of the Province of British Columbia.

Subsequently Mackenzie appears to have devoted himself to the furtrade and to have amassed considerable wealth. In 1801 he published the narrative of his explorations so frequently quoted in these pages. On February 10, 1802, Alexander Mackenzie was knighted by King George III., in recognition of his services in the cause of geographical science. In 1812 he married a Miss Mackenzie and settled at Avoch in Ross-shire. The great explorer died at Mulnain, near Dunkeld, March 11, 1820, after a long and honourable career.







SIMON FRASER OF THE NORTH-WEST COMPANY  
Explored Fraser river, Ft. George to mouth of North Arm, 1808



## CHAPTER X

SIMON FRASER

In periods like the present, when knowledge of our country is every day extending, even to the most distant parts of the world, it is no easy matter to throw ourselves mentally back into a time in which the territories, now comprised in the Province of British Columbia, first began to assume a definite political form and to arouse the commercial spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, one of the greatest propelling forces that the world has ever known. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the vast country beyond the Rocky Mountains was a virgin wilderness, as yet almost unknown and unpeopled, except by aboriginal tribes, whose chiefs held undisputed sway in their several jurisdictions. It is true that the western seaboard had been explored and tolerably well surveyed by Briton and Spaniard and its interior pierced by the furtrader; but these efforts had not as yet led to the occupation of the country; nor had any strong movement in that direction taken place. Great Britain, involved in war with France, which had broken out before Vancouver returned to Europe, found her energies and resources taxed to the utmost to continue the struggle against Napoleon; and therefore the settlement of distant lands was, for the time being, beyond the range of practical politics. Spain, now England's ally, had abandoned forever her enterprise in the North Pacific. Russia alone persevered in her efforts to extend her dominions beyond the sea discovered by Vitus Bering.

If the situation in Europe, precluded Great Britain from actively following up the discoveries of Vancouver and the settlement of the Nootka Affair, with a broad policy of expansion in the trans-continental region of the North Pacific, there was nothing to prevent the progress of the ambitious Canadian furtrader towards the western confines of North America, except physical obstacles similar to those which, from his childhood's days, he had been accustomed to face

and surmount. From the ashes of the heated controversies and bitter feuds of the traders, a new power had arisen, and one which was destined to win before long, signal triumphs in the west. The merging of the rival interests into the great North West Company, a purely Canadian organization, financed by the merchant princes of Montreal, marked an epoch in the history of the furtrade and of this land. Yet that coalition did not, as was fondly hoped, establish peace in the Indian territories. The Hudson's Bay Company looked with sullen eye upon the new association, and then, awaking to a realization of all that the movement portended to its own interests, prepared to follow the daring Nor'Westers into the wilds, and for the conflict that must inevitably ensue this reversal of its time-honoured policy. Then followed that disastrous war, for it was no less, between these two powerful organizations, which did not cease until their amalgamation in 1821, and from which sprang the invasion of the territory beyond the Rocky Mountains; or at least this conflict was one of the chief causes contributing to that movement.

It is by no means easy to decide exactly to what extent the two companies were responsible for the initiation of the explorations that had such far reaching consequences. It is likely enough that their zealous officers in the field had as much to do with the promotion of such enterprises, as the directors in London and Montreal. It may be safely assumed, however, that the men at the head of affairs desired to aid discovery and exploration, if for no other reason than that by so doing new and rich territories might be added to their respective spheres of influence. But trade was the grand objective. This was only natural. After all, the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies were commercial bodies, and dividends were their first concern. Yet, whatever may have been the mainspring of their actions, the fact remains that officers of both companies carried the British flag to the remotest corners of the northern part of the continent. And further, it is clear that had it not been for this agency, the British possessions in North America would not be so extensive as they are today. However, it should never be forgotten that it was the strong arm of England that held what the furtraders had won.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie's wonderful feat did not lead immediately to the occupation of the territory he had discovered. On the contrary, twelve years intervened between the time the land had

been spied out and that at which the "Lords of the Lakes and Forests" went out to possess it. This delay is inexplicable except by reference to the internal history of the North West Company. It has been already indicated that the houses of Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher and of Simon McTavish supplied the requisite cash and credit. The latter person soon dominated its councils and "Le Premier," or "Le Marquis," as he was called, became a veritable storm centre. In 1795, some of those who could no longer brook his overbearing conduct withdrew and joined the independent firm, Messrs. Forsyth, Richardson and Company. Mackenzie was induced at this time, much against his will to remain with the Nor'Westers.

A rivalry sprang up immediately between the two companies—a rivalry the more keen from mere kinship. The struggle between the two older companies paled into insignificance in comparison with this paternal feud. The new company was known for a time as the "New North West Company"; but, seeing the bales of trading goods belonging to their opponents marked "N. W.," they by a happy thought, fixed upon the subsequent letters X Y for themselves. These algebraic letters, signifying unknown quantities, were most apt, as there is little doubt that some members of the North West Company were really interested in this opposition, which was sneeringly called the "Little Company" or in French "*La Petite Compagnie*," shortened to "*Les Petits*," and anglicized into the "Potties."

By degrees the breach between Mackenzie and McTavish widened. As Masson has expressed it: "*Ces trois années furent une suite non interrompue d'ennuis, de froissement et de mécontentement entre lui, le plus populaire, le plus actif des Bourgeois, et M. Simon McTavish, le chef de la Compagnie et le plus puissant des agents.*" At the meeting at Grand Portage in 1799 Mackenzie informed the other partners that he had resolved to withdraw. Every effort to alter his determination was in vain; in vain the wintering partners declared their confidence in him and begged his reconsideration. Mackenzie was inexorable. He understood too well that he could no longer continue as the agent and associate of McTavish.

After a short residence in England, during which he prepared for publication the "round unvarnished tale" of his voyages, Mackenzie, having received knighthood, returned to Canada and entered with all his vigour into the work of the X Y Company, which soon became

known as "Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company." Keener, now, became the rivalry, bitterer the competition, more heated the struggle between the Canadian concerns. Cheating, robberies, free fights, the unstinted use of liquor, every device that could be conceived to gain an advantage—all these things mar this chapter of the furtrade. Yet the energy of the North West Company at the very climax of this struggle in opening fishing stations along the St. Lawrence and in fitting out vessels for trade into Hudson's Bay itself, must give cause for wonder and admiration. Just at this time, in July, 1804, Simon McTavish died. All difficulties vanished. The warring factions drew together, and in a short time were amalgamated, retaining the old name. The North West Company thus became for the first time a real unity, free from internal dissensions, prepared to do better with its competitors alike "beyond remotest smoke of hunter's camp" as in the marts of the world, and thus to stand, proudly claiming to be the most vigorous and successful trading concern operating in North America.

And thus it came about that another was to complete the work of our first explorer—Mackenzie had spied out the land, Fraser would possess it.

While the furtraders were fighting over the division of the spoils in the Indian territories of the north, the government at Washington was not blind to the advantages that would necessarily follow the westward expansion of the United States. President Jefferson, having purchased Louisiana from Napoleon in 1803, desired to extend the limits of his country to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Indeed the plan was forming itself in his mind even before that purchase was completed. As yet there had been no national movement towards that goal, that is to say, the people themselves evinced no interest in the trans-cordilleran region; nevertheless, the President was astute enough to realize that it would not be safe to defer fortifying the position of the United States in the far west. He therefore conceived the project of despatching an expedition under the auspices of his government to cross the Rocky Mountains and to follow the Columbia River from its head waters to its estuary, found by Captain Gray of the *Columbia* in 1792. But, as the route of the expedition lay in part through territories not yet directly assigned to any power, it was necessary to proceed with caution, so as not to excite

the fears or jealousies of other nations. The President therefore gave out that the expedition was purely scientific in its scope, and on that account it aroused no suspicion amongst the ambassadors accredited to Washington. In spite of these precautions, however, the project was nearly killed by Congress refusing to vote the small appropriation—\$2,500—required to give effect to the President's proposal. To the average senator and representative it appeared ridiculous that money should be spent in such a manner. But Jefferson, intent on creating an empire, was not to be thwarted. He submitted to Congress a secret message, in which he intimated that his real reason for advocating the despatch of the expedition, was that it might be ascertained whether or not it would be desirable to annex the land west of the Rocky Mountains. The plea was successful and the appropriation passed. In 1804, Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark began their memorable journey across the continent.

That expedition did not escape the observation of the vigilant partners of the North West Company, nor did it frighten them. If anything it incited them to give immediate effect to the long cherished plan to extend their chain of posts clear across the continent. Greenhow states that it was the expedition of Lewis and Clark that prompted the North West Company to annex the territory beyond the Rocky Mountains; on the other hand Bancroft asserts that there is no proof of Greenhow's explicit statement that it was the immediate object of the North West Company "to anticipate the Americans in the settlement of that portion of the Continent." At any rate, it was this time that the association undertook to occupy the country beyond the Rockies. The decision was reached early in 1805 in the council hall of the North West Company at Fort William, on Thunder Bay of Lake Superior—famous in literature from Washington Irving's admirable description of the feudal glory of the wassailing Nor'Wester. A young man, then only twenty-five years old and a bourgeois, or partner, of but three years' standing, Simon Fraser, was chosen to conduct the perilous enterprise.

Simon Fraser came of good stock. His grandfather was William Fraser of Culbochie or Kilbockie, and his grandmother, Margaret Macdonell of Glengarry. William Fraser had nine sons, six of whom wore His Majesty's military uniform. Of two others

William, the eldest, succeeded to his father's estates, and Simon the second, emigrated to America with his wife, settling near Bennington, in Vermont. This was in 1773, when the Colonies were already in a state of ferment and incipient rebellion. Here Simon, the explorer, was born in 1776. When the Revolutionary War broke out, Simon Fraser, the elder, espoused the Loyalists' cause, joined the loyal forces, and being captured, probably at the Battle of Bennington, he was thrown into prison, where according to one authority, he contracted a fever from which he died shortly after his release. It is said that Simon Fraser, the explorer, states in a diary, a fragment of which has been preserved, that his father died on board a vessel, which carried away the captured army, presumably of General Burgoyne. The accounts are conflicting and the end of the unfortunate father of the hero of this sketch is veiled in obscurity. He left his wife with nine children, four boys and five girls, to fight their own way in the world. After the declaration of peace, the widow, at that time in very straitened circumstances, moved to Canada, eventually settling at St. Andrews near the Ottawa River. It is not so specifically recorded, but it is not unlikely, that Mrs. Fraser and her young family came with the United Empire Loyalists, whose exodus gave bone and sinew to the British colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The Ottawa was the broad highway of the furtraders who passed to and from that great mysterious land which lay towards the setting sun. Here, no doubt, the lad Simon often watched the gay brigades of birch-bark canoes, with their dare-devil crews of French Canadians, as they swept up or down the river; and often listened to the rhythmic *chansons* of the light-hearted voyageurs, as they plied their glistening paddles. It is reasonable to suppose that these sights and sounds, did not fail to stir the heart of the boy, and to appeal to his Gaelic imagination. Thus in his youth, did he, in all probability become familiar with the incidents of the furtrader's life, and boyishly longed to take part in the exploits of the daring men who were then subjugating the wilderness. However this may be, after a term of schooling at Montreal, in 1792, at the age of sixteen, he became an articled clerk of the North West Company, possibly through the influence of his uncle John, who, after serving in Wolfe's army at the capture of Quebec, settled in Canada, and there attained

some eminence as one of the King's judges. It appears that the youth soon won his spurs, for in 1802 he became a bourgeois, or partner—a distinction only conferred upon men who had proved their worth in the field of enterprise. All the servants of the Company aspired to this distinction, and it was the hope of attaining it that wedded men to the North West Company, and its interests. The generous conduct of that association towards its officers and employees was repaid a thousandfold in devoted services and splendid loyalty. It was the unity of purpose and identity of interests established by this bold and generous policy, that gave the North West Company such tremendous force, and that enabled it to carry out so successfully its vast undertaking.

In August, 1805, Simon Fraser left Fort William and, following the usual route of the furtrade, he arrived at a point on Peace River, which he named Rocky Mountain Portage, at the eastern end of which he established a rude post named Rocky Mountain House—not far from the Hudson's Hope of modern maps. He had determined to follow Mackenzie's track through the Peace River Pass, to the country abounding in beaver beyond. In the autumn of the year, having established his base at Rocky Mountain Portage, he ascended the Peace and Parsnip Rivers to the point where the Pack River empties its waters into the latter. This river was not seen by Mackenzie in 1793; or if so, his journal does not record the fact. Simon Fraser followed the Pack to McLeod Lake, or as it was then called, Trout Lake, where he established the first post ever built in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains. This fort now known as Fort McLeod, was then sometimes called La Malice Fort. The building of this fort and Fraser's subsequent work makes the American cry of 1844—"Fifty-four forty or fight"—ridiculous in the extreme. It should be mentioned that McLeod Lake had been discovered earlier in the year by James McDougall, who had thence proceeded westward to Carrier Lake, or Lac Porteur. Leaving in charge of the new station a French Canadian, La Malice (fittingly so named from all accounts), Fraser returned to Rocky Mountain House, where he wintered in company with John Stuart, his able lieutenant and warm friend. Stuart was one of that noble Scots band which made history for us, as their forbears had made on the continent a century before. Fraser's connection with our history was meteoric; Stuart's, though

not so prominent, was of much longer duration. In his younger days John Stuart had been in the Royal Engineers. He appears to have been connected with the North West Company as early as 1799. For fifteen years thereafter he was connected with the operations of that Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, west of the Rockies. Not the least interesting fact concerning this man who so earnestly supported Fraser in his work of exploration and took such an outstanding place in the later development of New Caledonia is that he was an uncle of the late Lord Strathcona.

The journals of the two pioneers, accurately portray the hardships and privations suffered by them and their men in the winter of 1805-1806. For provisions, they were almost entirely dependent upon the resources of the country,—if the chase or the fishery failed, they were brought face to face with starvation. But it is not necessary to dilate upon their situation, which was taken as a matter of course by the men who faced it. The historian, in passing, can only marvel at their intrepidity and resourcefulness in times of danger and starvation.

In the following spring, Fraser prepared in earnest for a more extensive exploration. In May he gathered his small force together. First, he re-visited Fort McLeod which, during the previous winter, had been deserted by La Malice, just as James McDougall was at hand with succour. Leaving there the supplies he had brought for the post, he descended the Pack, and proceeded on his journey up the Parsnip, until he reached the Height of Land which divides the waters that flow into the Arctic Ocean from those that flow into the Pacific. Then, having crossed the portages and lakes discovered by Mackenzie, he embarked upon the Bad River. Following the tortuous and impeded course of that rapid stream, he reached, on July 10, 1806, the "Great River," called by the natives "Tacoutche Tesse." This was no other than the north fork of the Fraser River, but by both Mackenzie and Fraser it was thought to be the Columbia, or one of its chief tributaries. Launching his frail vessels, Simon Fraser voyaged with the stream to the mouth of the Nechaco, also missed or at least not mentioned, by Mackenzie, and ascended it to its confluence with the river that drains Stuart Lake. Here, the explorer met for the first time, men of the Carrier nation.

For a full account of the voyage up to this point one must turn



to the explorer's journal, a few quotations from which will serve to remind the present day and generation of the hardships endured and the difficulties overcome by the founders of New Caledonia. Only a fragment of that document is available: but that fragment is doubly precious since it contains much that is of interest touching the *lares et penates* of the wily natives, the geographical and physical aspect of the country as well as something of the furred denizens of the wild and the strenuous incidents of the daily march. Nor does Simon Fraser forget amid his cares and preoccupations to relieve the latent fires of his soul by a fling at Sir Alexander Mackenzie, as the following entries will show. Here for instance is a graphic description of a native hunting scene written under the date of Monday, May 26, 1806—"Previous to our arrival at the Indians we were greatly amused looking at some of them running after the wild sheep which they call *As-pah*. They were really expert indeed, running full speed among the perpendicular rocks which had not I ocular demonstration I could never believe to have been attained by any creature either of the human or brute creation; for the rocks appear to us, which perhaps might be exaggerated a little, from the distance to be as steep as a wall, and yet while in pursuit of the sheep they bounded from one to another with the swiftness of a Roe, and at last killed two in their snares, one of which we traded for ammunition merely for a rarity. They have great resemblance to the European sheep, the wool is almost as fine, perfectly white, and upwards of six inches long, and when fat the Indians represent the flesh as excellent eating, at present as it is meagre, it is rather tough, and has a strong musk taste and smell."

This is followed by another anecdote which shows very clearly the imminence of the danger, which, like the fabled sword of Damocles, perpetually shadowed the hardy wayfarers in one or another form—flood, famine, or misfortune, or all combined—and in view of which the guerdon of their quest might by comparison seem sometimes inadequate in degree, were it not for considerations on a higher plane than mere commercial interest—the great scientific and political interest to wit, which lay hidden behind these deeds and endeavours:

"Tuesday, 27th. Fine warm weather, the water rises very fast. Indeed it has risen upwards of three feet since we left the Portage,

and though the current is amazing strong it is exceedingly good going as yet. We came to and encamped at the last Rapid which is about two miles below the Fork's on Finlay's branch. La Malice who was before us attempted to ascend this rapid with the pole, but Mr. Stuart who was the nearest to him called to him to desist and I gave him a great set down for risking the property so much where it was unnecessary. It was really difficult to come up this rapid and we were obliged to take out the load and carry it over a rocky point of 400 yards, and the canoes were taken up light. Had the water been lower we could have gone up easily loaded, and had it been higher we could effect the same thing by a safe passage along the right shore that at present contains only water enough to take up the canoes light. La Malice who was first up left his canoe with only the bow of it on the shore and while he was busy at the lower end it went off and ran down the Rapid, it received, however, no injury and they went for it with another canoe. I was much displeased with La Malice on this occasion and as well as his attempting to go up with a full load and threatened him severely if he was not more careful in the future. It was after dark before everything was carried to the upper end of the Portage; of course the canoes could not be gummed which will make us go off late tomorrow."

Then follows a description of the Pack River, which is here referred to as "Trout Lake." The gentle flow of caustic satire at the expense of Sir Alexander Mackenzie adds a certain zest to this passage. "Thursday, 5th June. Trout Lake is a considerable large and navigable River in all seasons. It does not appear to have been noticed by Sir A. M. K. as he used to indulge himself sometimes with a little sleep. Likely he did not see it and I can account for many other omissions in no other manner than his being asleep at the time he pretends to have been very exact; but was I qualified to make observations and inclined to find fault with him, I could prove that he seldom or ever paid the attention he pretends to have done, and that many of his remarks were not made by himself but communicated by his men. It is certainly difficult to stem the current of the east branch during the high water, but not near so much as he makes it. There is scarcely a point in it but a canoe with six paddles would go up with ease."

The next excerpt treats of the arrival at Trout Lake, the neighbouring Carp Lake and the fish obtainable there.

"Saturday, 7th June. We arrived at the house between 10 and 11 A. M. Mr. McDougall has been anxiously waiting for us these several days. He informed us that several of the Carriers are daily expected here, and that all the Indians of this place are at the Carp Lake where there are immense numbers of fish of the Carp Kind and that there is no fish caught in this Lake excepting a very few carp on account of the water being too high, notwithstanding which we are determined to feed all hands with fish while we remain here making canoes, and for that purpose began immediately to prepare nets. Mr. Stuart being the most expert hand mending, he mended them all and Saucier and the others set six and the Indians set some also."

Not the least of Simon Fraser's difficulties arose from a recurrence of sickness among his men.

"We are really ill of," he writes on Saturday, 28th June, "in regard to the men, Saucier is sick, Gagnon complains of his side, Blais of having a pain and a lump upon his stomach, Gervais is not well and La Londe is not able to steer his canoe."

La Malice also seems to have caused a great deal of trouble—witness the entry of July the first:

"La Malice walked over both the Portages though we offered to carry him; he is very troublesome in his sickness and called Mr. Stuart to his tent to 'tell him his mind.' He enquired if either of us owed him a grudge. This he asked, he said, because while at the Portage we disregarded him and now considered him no more than a dog. Mr. Stuart told him that if either of us owed him a grudge, or had anything to say to him that we would not wait his being in his present weak condition to do it and that if he had been in better health, since he began the subject himself, he would perhaps tell him his opinion of himself and sickness. This assertion of his (La Malice), is entirely false; we have been attentive and kind to him. Nothing is more certain than that from the time he declared himself sick he was as well attended and taken care of as if it was one of ourselves and, notwithstanding his complaints, he used more than one-half of the medicine (God knows good or bad), we possessed and destroyed more flour and sugar than both of us did since we left the Portage;

and yet he threatens to remain upon the beach and not embark, alleging that by agreement he is not obliged to voyage in this part of the country and (is) not well taken care of. When we prepared to leave him here with a bag of Pemmican, exclusive of the other provisions we had, and a man to conduct him down to Trout Lake, not one of them would consent to remain unless absolutely compelled and, as he is brutish and appears as if inclined to commit suicide, we did not think it right to compel a man to remain with him, so we will be obliged to take him with us, and attend to him the best way we can; and yet, I must own that he is not very deserving, but it is a duty incumbent on one Christian to help another in distress and we will continue to take care of him, more for our own sake than his."

At this point an event of some importance is noted which, from the nature of the same, deserves a special prominence; and indeed one can well understand and almost re-echo the note of satisfaction which rings in the record when, on July the 10th, Simon Fraser beheld the Large River—the Fraser. "At 10 A. M.," writes the explorer, "we arrived at the Large River opposite an Island without encountering any other difficulty than cutting several trees that laid across the channel and we were most happy at having exempted the long and bad carrying place and seeing ourselves once more on the banks of a fine and navigable river." Fraser goes on to observe: "This is a fine river and not unlike the Athabaska, but not so large and the Indian we left at the height or point of land informed us that the upper end of it was the most ordinary residence of the *Saya-Thau-Dennehs* (Baucanne Indians), which corroborates what the Carriers tell us of these Indians as to their being enemies when they go a hunting in that quarter. I have seen one that was wounded last summer; and his brother was killed, which is likely the same that was mentioned by one of the Baucanne Indians last winter at Dunvegan as having been killed there. All accounts agree that large animals as well as those of the fur kind are in great abundance, particularly towards the upper end. Could this be relied upon and that the Baucanne Indians are really thereabouts, an establishment in my opinion would be well placed at the point of land. There is excellent fish in the three Lakes and in two of them Salmon abounds in its season and by all accounts animals are not far off; indeed of this we had ocular demonstration ourselves, so that people would live well

there—a no immaterial object in this quarter—and the Baucanne Indians would be much more easily got to come there than to any part of the Peace River, on account of their being afraid of the Beaver Indians, and the Big Men, though they seldom meet they live in amity.”

The preceding entry is followed by a graphic description of the Bad River together with a just tribute to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who gave it its appropriate name:

“Sir A. M. K. seems to have examined the bad river with attention, for, as far as he went down the Peace he describes it with great exactness. It is certainly well named and a most dangerous place, being much intersected with large stones, fallen trees and *embaras*, and the current run with such velocity that a canoe, though light, cannot be stopped with poles and it is with great difficulty it can be done by laying hold of the branches, and even that way we often drifted 100 and sometimes 200 yards from the time we began to hold the branches before we could bring to. Near its confluence it divides into three branches, all of which I suppose to be navigable, but the one to the right is the best route. We were anxiously looking for cedar and maple along the banks of the river but to no effect, I walked myself except in very few places from one end to the other, but saw no appearance of either, neither did any of the others.”

The succeeding extract refers to the South Fork, missed or at any rate not recorded by Mackenzie, at whom Simon Fraser has here another tilt on account of the importance of the omission:

“Friday, July 11th. Fine weather. We set off early and came on with great expedition and before we entered the great Fork passed several Rapids, but the current is slack in many places. The banks of the River are well stocked with wood and we saw Hemlock and cedar of a large size with some small plum. At sunset we got to the River. This River is not mentioned by Sir A. M. K. which surprises me not a little, it being full in sight and a fine large River and, in the state we saw it, equal in size to that of the Athabaska River and forms what Mr. McDougall in his journal of last spring calls the great Fork. It flows in from the right, and as far as I can judge about 10 or 12 miles above the first Portage. Sir A. M. K. appears to have been very inaccurate in the courses or there must have been a vast difference in the compass he made use of and the one we had which is old

and perhaps not very good. As for the distances I say nothing; it is difficult to determine by sight; but the course of the River is different and ought to agree, at least the distance that leads to the Carriers Lake where Mr. McDougall was last spring. And then formed our encampment on a sandy bank with no wood which, with the rain that fell towards the night and continued until the morning, rendered our situation not very pleasant. Mr. Stuart took the course of the River and made minute remarks on everything."

Simon Fraser thus refers to the Nechaco River:

"Sunday, July 13th. The banks of the river are beautiful, in many places resembling that of the River Lac La Pluie, and the *Liard* is the most stupendous I ever saw, as for any other wood or anything else remarkable we saw none that is not clearly mentioned."

By no means the least dangerous of the perils of the way arose in the shape of grizzly bears, which abounded in the Nechaco country, then, as now, as the following episode shows:

"Sunday, July 13th. About 4 P. M., as we were advancing inside of an Island we saw two cubs in a tree and immediately pulled ashore to fire upon them, but, before we could get to them they were off and La Garde and (Barbueller) who were the first on shore pursued them. The latter soon met the mother and fired upon her to no effect and she pursued him in her turn, but he, being near the water, jumped in and she after him, but soon left him and, as La Garde was advancing, another bear suddenly rushed upon him and tore him in a shocking manner. Had not the dogs passed there at that critical moment he would have been torn to pieces. The Bear left him to defend herself against the dogs and, during the interval, he ran off and jumped into the River and from thence it was with much difficulty he could walk to the canoe. He received nine or ten bad wounds and we encamped early to dress them. We are really unfortunate in regard to the men. One of the canoes will now be obliged to continue with three and no great help can be expected."

This, the last of these extracts, again illustrates in a forcible manner the many difficulties of that eventful journey:

"Friday, July 18th. Early in the morning the men cut a road of 300 yards in length, wide enough to carry the canoes which they brought, with all the baggage to the upper end. From thence they set off with only one canoe, on account of the current being strong

and several Rapids to pass which they could not ascend with less than six men, and continued for a mile and a half. In the above distance they carried the canoe and loading, over a point of about twice the length of the canoe, and, from the upper end of the Rapid, returned for the other canoe, which was effected at 1 P. M. From thence we continued up a strong and constant current where we made a small Portage and soon got to a high point of perpendicular rock where we had much trouble to pass and fix lines. Here all hands, excepting one man who was taking care of the other, were put to one canoe, but, as they were hauling it up the last cascade, it wheeled round and the foreman was obliged to cut the line and they went down to the foot of the Rapid before they could bring to. As this happened through the awkwardness of the people, I made them unload everything and bring it up a very steep hill rather than risk anything in the canoe. We made a pretty long portage rather than risk anything in the canoe. We encamped upon a beautiful hill, the canoes were left on the water all tied, it being too late to take them up the rapid and impossible to take them up the hill on account of the steepness. The Indians are ahead, but about sun-set the Montaigne de Butte came before us to get provisions for himself and family. Instead of feeding us, we have been obliged to provide for them; and as yet they have been of no manner of use to us and I am almost sorry for taking them."

The expedition then ascended Stuart River and on July 26th entered the Lake Na'kal of the Indians, named Stuart Lake by Fraser, in honour of his friend and companion John Stuart. Unfortunately the explorer's journal ends abruptly on July 18, 1806, and it is therefore impossible to give from Fraser's own words an account of the passage up Stuart River. Although the explorer's report is wanting, the painstaking and Reverend A. G. Morice, O. M. I., in his valuable work entitled "History of the Northwest Interior of British Columbia," has been able to supply the missing links in the chain of history. He has gathered together the traditions of the natives and examined with care the journals and letters of old Fort St. James, and, as a result of his labours, he presents a fascinating account of the reception accorded the discoverers by Chief Kwah's people who dwelt at the outlet of the lake. James McDougall, in the course of the excursion previously referred to, had visited this

sheet of water, and, having met the Indians of the neighbourhood, he presented to one of them a piece of red cloth as a token of friendship. When the natives beheld the canoes of the traders sweep down the lake, this man, donning his red cloth badge, fearlessly paddled forth to meet them, much to the dismay of his fellow tribesmen, who feared for his safety. Toeyen, for such was his name, was welcomed by Fraser, and given a seat in one of his canoes. As the explorers approached the shore, the Indian spoke to his people, assuring them that the strangers had come as friends. The Carriers, who had in the meantime, prepared to repel by force this invasion of their lands, being thus reassured, permitted the white men to disembark. Fraser, long accustomed to dealing with savages, adroitly won their confidence by the distribution of largesse, in the form of tobacco and soap. The former was tasted and thrown away, but the women promptly proceeded to eat the latter, mistaking it for fat, when to their astonishment the substance turned to foam in their mouths. Still more were the natives surprised when the voyageurs lit their pipes, and puffed smoke from their mouths. The strangers were taken for spirits in whom their crematory fires yet burned, not an altogether unnatural conclusion, seeing that these people burned their dead. These strange happenings, Father Morice records, filled the Indians with awe, but when the use of the different articles had been explained to them, their fear gave way to admiration. It will be seen presently how they impressed Simon Fraser.

Without delay, the explorer seized upon the most favourable location for a post, and began to erect buildings a short distance above the outlet of the lake. Thus was founded the celebrated Fort St. James, a place which has figured prominently in the history of New Caledonia, as Fraser christened the new domain of the North West Company.

Unfortunately, at this time the expedition began to run short of supplies; the salmon were late in reaching their spawning grounds and the situation soon became serious. In order to lessen the difficulty of feeding his men, Fraser divided his forces and despatched John Stuart to examine the country to the southwest. Before separating, the explorers agreed to meet later in the season at the confluence of the Stuart and Nechaco Rivers. Meanwhile, Fraser superintended the construction of the new post and explored the



adjacent region, gaining a knowledge of the country, not only by personal surveys, but also by gathering from the Indians all information that might assist him in his work.

In due course Fraser and Stuart met at the appointed rendezvous, the latter bringing with him such a glowing account of the region he had just left, that his superior decided to return thither forthwith to establish yet another trading post. Notwithstanding the lack of supplies and the inadequacy of their force, the heroic men proceeded to the sheet of water named Fraser Lake by John Stuart, after the leader of the expedition. Soon the salmon appeared, and the rivers and lakes yielded such an abundant harvest that the men were soon surfeited with a diet of fish.

Upon the conclusion of these operations, Blais, a voyageur, was placed in charge of the fort on Fraser Lake, and Fraser and his lieutenant retired for the winter to Nakazleh, the earliest name of Fort St. James.

In this wise were the first permanent posts established in the interior, long before the country in which they are situated received its present name, and long before any permanent settlements were formed on the coast. The Spanish settlement at Nootka, formed in 1789, was abandoned five years later. Nor were the efforts of the maritime furtraders, John Meares and John Kendrick, to establish posts more successful. Because the settlements on the coast, although not founded until a later period, grew more vigorously, and soon became important, their rise and progress have overshadowed these humble beginnings in the central interior in the early years of the nineteenth century. Yet it remains that the first British posts were established, not on the coast but in the interior, a fact that has been often overlooked. Humble as these beginnings were, they mark an epoch in our history, and Simon Fraser is justly entitled to the honour of being reckoned as one of the founders of British Columbia.

Fraser, it appears, did not stay at one place in his first winter in the new country. From the few surviving letters and diaries of that interesting period it is known that sometimes he was at "Nakasleh" (Fort St. James), and sometimes at "Natleh" (Fort Fraser). Not many of the explorer's letters have escaped the ravages of time, but the historian is fortunate in having access to a few blurred

pages written by him in New Caledonia. Perhaps these letters are not written in polished English; perhaps they exhibit more concern with the petty details of the furtrade than with stirring incidents; yet they are of surpassing interest, because they throw light upon that early formative period, and give reality to scenes and operations that have long been forgotten. In these letters, the explorer tells, in his own matter of fact words, the story of his hardships and privations, and explains the difficulties of his administration. He himself was not deceived as to their literary merit. Referring to one of them he says—"It is exceeding ill wrote, worse worded and not well spelt."

Just before Christmas, Fraser was at "Nakasleh," and on the 21st of the month, he writes to James McDougall, then in charge of the post at McLeod Lake:

"21st Dec. 1806.

"Nakazleh.

"Mr. James McDougall,

"I received yours of 30 of October on the 12th inst. at Natleh, and I arrived here on the 18th. Had it not been for the disappointment of the conveyance of letters, on account of the quantity of snow in the mountains, you would have received the news from us long before now. I certainly was highly disappointed and vexed that no canoes arrived to this quarter which is a considerable loss to the Company, and a severe blow to our discoveries. This is the first opportunity I had of sending you a man and powder but with this you will receive St. Pierre and 3 quarts of good powder. I think that it would be a very good plan to go inland to make the Indians work but then you cannot leave the house without some person to take care of it on account of the property. In regard to the Indians, settle with them according to your own best judgment. I have not the least doubt but what you will exert yourself to make them work Beaver until the beginning of February and after that to employ the best hunters to make provision. I am thoroughly convinced that your returns will fall far short of your expectations but that is a misfortune that cannot be helped, but then I intreat you to be particular in making the Indians dress their furs properly. The Little Head's br. in Law arrived at Natleh on the 12th conducted

by two men. I don't know as yet whether he will be of any service or not—the Montaigne de Butte behaves well with Mr. Stuart. Two men that Mr. S. sent to Forests for fish brought the news that three of the Big men were arrived there. Send back Gervis immediately with the news as we intend to send the news after his return to the Peace River. Should an opportunity offer forward the General letter to the P. River. Kunchuyse promises to be back in 6 nights. Should you see any Possibility of getting any goods brought up in course of the Summer, please write accordingly. Having nothing more to say upon this subject I must here wish you Joy, as I understand that you have entered upon the matrimonial state. I am Glad to hear that the children are well taken care of. I assure you that I am nowise concerned about them as they are under your Protection, the only thing I fear is that you are starving, but I hope it is the contrary with you, so I conclude my dr James,

“yours sincerely

“SIMON FRASER.”

Again, on the last day of January, 1807, he wrote to James McDougall, this time from Natleh, or Fraser Lake:

“Natleh, 31st Jany 1807.

“My dear McDougall

“Yours I received this afternoon per the two men from your quarter, whom to be sure took much time, this being their fifth day from Nakazleh, indeed they were not in a hurry as they had plenty provisions, one half of 22 salmon ought to have been enough for them as the voyage can easily be performed in 2 days, 3 at most, allowing the road to be bad. Regarding what you say about the woman that Bugné has, I am noways apprehensive that the company can put their resolve in execution—But then it was wrong of you to have given him leave to take her, you knew full well that she was taken from St. Pierre last spring, merely to give up the custom of taking any more women from the Indians, and that he was promised that no other Frenchman would get her. Your commerce between Blais and Lamalice last spring ought to have been a sufficient warning, not to meddle yourself any more about women.—Your conduct at T. Lake is highly blamable and your character as a Trader

much blasted which you can only recover, but by your future assiduity and attention to your business, which I would be most happy at & will befriend you as much as lays in my Power. I am pleased you own your fault and seem sorry for it, & promise to do better for the future. The Company probably will blame us both as they will be highly disappointed in their expectations regarding this Country. We are highly unfortunate—everything has been against us since Last Spring, & nothing was of so much detriment as the Canoes arriving so very late in the fall. We had such a severe spell of bad weather, that is to say it was so very cold for several days after my arrival here that I could not make the Indians of your place set off to return until the 25th, when the first band went away, & Q'ua and Le Gourmand, having been upon a visit to Steela the latter did not come back until of late, but both of them set off yesterday straight across by the winter Road, they said they would have gone round by the way of *Scycup* but that they were too ill clothed & would starve before they could get to where there are beaver, but they promised me that they will work well until the spring, but I put no faith in what they say.

“Those big men must be severely treated to break them of the Custom of coming to the Carriers. The Poudres band has behaved and worked pretty well. I heard that there were two Indians who never saw the Fort in that band; Mr. Stuart apprehends that Barbut and many others will not go to the Fort until *en canoe*—Maitres will answer as well as codline for a cordeau and Mr. S. can send you plenty hooks. I received the Play Book you sent, which will answer very well with the Plaything I brought before. The Tea Kettle I could have done without. Your Journal of last winter at the Portage & Trout Lake, as well as the one of last summer & this winter, you must get them brought over to copy, which must be sent to the Peace River by next opportunity, which I expect will be in the later end of March, as the Company require it. Saucier and Gagnon are to be the bearers of this, who start tomorrow morning to take each a Load of fish to Mr. Stuarts and in the mean time to get their equipments & they will bring back a load when they return. Those that came from there say that they lost their way in several places. If true those that go there must have a guide, and I have no doubt but what you can secure one of those Beggars that go over from here for that purpose. Expedition is required; the Season is pretty far advanced

and much to be done yet, I send my Journal over to Mr. S. to copy and it must be done in order to send it down by the next opportunity that it may go out to headquarters in the light Canoe. Besides I have another Plan in view, that is if it could be done with ease to get all the goods that will be required for going down the Columbia in the Spring as well as whatever will be necessary for your Post for the Summer Trade, brought over from T. Lake upon the snow, as I fear much time would be lost by going there by the New Road in the Spring. I don't know which would be most advantageous, to get the pieces brought over in the winter, or go for them in the Spring *en canoe*; at all events bark must be had, to make a Canoe at Nakazleh, as I expect Mr. McLeod will send us a canoe maker, & I have been informed that there is plenty good Bark very near your place—which is absolutely necessary you should ascertain as soon as possible. Here we know where there is wherewith to make a Canoe. I cannot think of anything else So I conclude My dear McDougall as usual

“Your well wisher

“SIMON FRASER.”

This letter is of peculiar interest because it vividly portrays the troubles that beset the founders of New Caledonia, and it is important because it shows that Fraser's work in the northern interior, was only preparatory for that which was to follow. His great undertaking was yet before him. The North West Company's occupation of New Caledonia had apparently a twofold object, the annexation of the territory abounding in beaver discovered by Mackenzie and the establishment of a base from which might be conducted the ambitious enterprise of conquering the coast region. The paragraph referring to the writer's determination to trace the course of the Great River, from its head waters to its mouth, clearly shows that Fraser knew very well what was expected of him in that particular. That the furtrader had not confined his attention alone to the river routes of the country, is shown by his reference to the “new road,” which was the trail, just cut, between Nakasleh and Fort McLeod, which, from this record, appears to have been the first highway, if such it may be termed, constructed in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains.

While Fraser was busily engaged in superintending the operations in the new district, John Stuart was not idle. He also moved from post to post. In February, 1807, he was at McLeod or Trout Lake—the “T. Lake” of Fraser. While there he received a letter from his superior, which throws a new light upon the character of Simon Fraser, who held Stuart in high esteem, and therefore writes more openly to him than to James McDougall. Fraser was then at “Natileh,” and, under the date of February 1st, he addressed the following letter to his friend and lieutenant:

“Natileh 1st February 1807.

“My d<sup>r</sup> friend

“Yours of the 12th Jany I received only yesterday, so you see they took much more time than they ought, so I am sure you will be getting out of Patience before you receive this. It is with the greatest pleasure that I always receive letters from you, they contain much useful information & instruction, tho’ the subject of your last cannot be agreeable it is satisfactory, knowing how matters stood at T. Lake upon your arrival there—which you have written in a copious & lively manner; notwithstanding your mind being obscured in thought you wrote with ease.

“I sympathize with you my friend under your Present affliction for the loss of Mr. R. Stuart, your Late Dearest of Brothers, and hope he has only left this world of Trouble and vexation to go to ever-lasting bliss. We cannot shun that Power which Rules our fate; therefore it should be our only consolation to be Prepared for our last and awful end.

“It is a true observation of yours that when the head fails the Body soon goes to wreck, which has been the decay of Trout Lake since last November. That business is so intricate that a person cannot easily see into it. However, it seems that Lamallice had an ascendancy over Mr. McD., but then I am sure that he can change both his ( ) and his manners to the will of his master & his interest. It seems then that the debt he was said to have made at the Portage was only put in effect at Trout Lake, while Mr. McD. was at the Indians.

“I imagine when you take account of the Dry goods that you will find they suffered less or more like the stores. Had Lamallice

behaved honestly he would have come to Nakazleh. It is not a good excuse that he was not ordered. It was our last directions to him when he started from Nakazleh in the summer that he was to come and winter there and if any person along the Road wished to detain him not to mind them unless absolutely kept. Mr. McD. owns that he gave Bugné leave to take the woman that St. Pierre had last winter. This was like the rest of his conduct—he knew full well that she was taken from St. Pierre merely to give up the Custom of taking any more women from the Indians and that St. Pierre was promised that no other Frenchman would get her. I received my order (the coat and Trowsers are amazing large), my Equip<sup>t</sup>. also, which is extremely bad and the Trousers so small that I cannot put them on much less make use of them, and tho' you were pleased to send me your Capot instead of mine it is also too small for me. I own the Eqt. to be (Chilipi), but then I should rather think that it is the fault of those who put it up at L. L. Pluie than the Companys. Upon the note you mention a pair of Corduroy Trousers which I did not receive & received a handk<sup>f</sup>. there is no mention of—I also received the small axes and 10 pounds sugar & some tea, with which I will content myself at present. A good net cannot be had for a small ax. I traded one of small meshes which appears very good for an half ax. I only got 50 salmon for a small axe today. I sent off Saucier and Gagnon with 200 salmon for you & 60 as provisions for themselves, but I am afraid they will take much time to go there on account of the road being stoped or filled up with snow between Nakazleh and your place. All the salmon that is here has been picked and the best sent over before, therefore, I beg of you not to complain of what I send now and indeed to be free with you dont expect you will have occasion to eat sal<sup>n</sup>. yourself. As you are a good Economist you will provide something better and hope your returns will prove better than you expect. The powder and Truiesies Lands will give you better than five packs, as I am informed they have made a pretty good hunt. . . . I expect to have the pleasure of seeing you before the embarkation, as you expressed a wish of coming to take the longitude of this Place, & if you can settle your Post in such a manner that it will not suffer by your absence I will expect you by the return of the Express from the Peace River—

"I now inform you of a plan I have in view for the summer expedition which is thus, to get all the goods required at least what he had brought over to Nakazleh as soon as possible upon the Ice by going round by the New Road, when the navigation is open would cause the loss of much time and I expect that the ice will break up in this river nearly a month before the Lakes of the Mountains. Probably a canoe would take more time than we think by that Route and Guides would be wanted as well as a canoe at Trout Lake, but by starting from Nak. the canoes that will be made in this western Division will both answer for going down; but then perhaps the one canoe that would go up would bring everything from Trout Lake to the confluence of this River, where the other canoe and any Provisions that may be Procured in this quarter will be left in cache. I leave it to your Judgment to determine which Plan would be the best. I think to get the goods over immediately would be the most expeditious. 10 pieces goods exclusive of Provisions will answer for going below, viz. 3 Bales,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Bale Kettles,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Case Guns, 1 cassette, 1 case Iron,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Roll Tobacco, 1 Keg Powder, 1 Bag Ball, 1 Bag Shot, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  Keg high wines, and I doubt if this same can be spared. Trout Lake must not be left destitute for the summer and something will be required for Nakazleh. I have not the list of what came there in the fall, nor do I know what is there now, but then if you think this a good Plan you know (what) would be necessary, and that can be spared for the 3 bales and the cassette. The sooner it would be sent over the better before any other work is begun. Besides the above articles a supply will be wanted for Nakazleh, this can be done and to that end every man that can be mustered ought to be sent over with a load—all could be brought over in one Trip each man. Can Provisions be had and what quantity? Perhaps it would be more easy and sure getting Provisions by going there in a Canoe, supposing a few furs would be had at the Lower houses they cannot go out this year. I will send over the few furs that are here immediately with fish to Nak. to be in readiness to send over all the furs that are there and to bring across any goods that we may want. With this I send you over my Journal since the 5th April except from the time we arrived at Nakazleh until the 20th Aug<sup>t</sup> which I expect you will be able to bring up. It is exceeding ill wrote worse worded & not well spelt. But then I know you can make a good Journal of it,



if you expunge some parts and add to others, and make it out in the manner you think most Proper, it will make away with a good deal of your time and Paper but I think it necessary to send it to headquarters in the light Canoe, as it will give our Gentlemen a good deal of information about this Country. You will also receive the two letters you sent me by Blais, I would keep them to copy but I heard you say that you could make up a good Journal from your letters, but then you will send them back in the spring. Your last letter I will copy and send it over another time. With this I enclose what I have of the men's acct<sup>s</sup>.

"Please send over Mr. McD. Journals of last winter at the Portage and Trout Lake &<sup>c</sup>, of last summer, this winter, to be copied by himself. There are some of them I did not see as yet & it would be necessary for you to look over them and point out anything that is not necessary to be in them. All this will be giving you much trouble and work, but then it will be of service to the Company & some credit to ourselves, to have the Journals in better order; was I possessed of your abilities I would willingly undertake doing all myself. I will send over more of my Journal by next conveyance. I have succeeded in sending back Qua, le Gourmand & several others of the Indians of Nakazleh, and many of the stragglers that were here dispersed as they have ate up all the salmon those of this place had. They now go to trade to Steela, so I apprehend not being able to procure any for the summer—had I men here I would go and trade there also. As I cannot think of any thing more at Present I conclude my Dear Stuart

"Your friend & serv<sup>t</sup>

"whilst

"SIMON FRASER."

"Mr. John Stuart

"P. S. I will be in want of a few small kettles at this place, therefore, you can send one half bale which will serve for both these places—& some Common Cloth & ( ) if any will remain after the men have all their Equipments. We have found Birch here but tho' the bark is not very good we can get enough to make a canoe.

"I will send you herbs by next opportunity. I have none now

Dried but then you ought to have sent me a token of Tobacco first, as for a calumet, you have Power to make one.

"Yours sincerely S. F.

"I will depend upon you for cords to tye our Salmon, Leather Babiche &c.

"if you send people with pieces they will return from Nakazleh. Mr McD hunters do nothing—he had no person to send to the Powders band this Trip. I send over 100 Beaver. It is bad weather continually snowing which will cause the people to take much time to perform any voyage. I am Positively informed that the Nas-cudences have horses that they got from the East. Many of the Natlians are in mourning for the Deaths of some of their Eminent men. We have had some broils with them—nothing spoils Indians so much as the men having intercourse with them.

"Yours etc. S. F."

On February 10th, 1807, Fraser indites another letter to McDougall, which is noteworthy for its emphatic expression of the writer's opinion of the Indians of the country. It reads:

"Natileh 10th Feby. 1807

"D<sup>r</sup> McDougall

"I received your favour yesterday forenoon, and indeed it was high time for the bearers to return their 9th day; the voyage might easily be performed in 5 days. Waka and Minard started in the morning at about a couple hours sun, with a few furs and the other two men will be off in the afternoon with each a load of salmon for the purpose of conducting the furs to Trout Lake as soon as possible, but the people that I send over at present must all return that I may go & trade salmon at Steela, after which they will be employed to convey the furs to Trout Lake. Should any person arrive from M. Stu<sup>ts</sup> before that time, you can send them back with a Pack each. Particular care must be taken that the furs be well enveloped & that the rats or mice do not cut them in the store. It is very Proper that the men should be prevented from Trading with the Indians, and dont allow any of them to trade without permission.

"The Gourmand that says that I give the goods for so very little in return, ask him what he got from me. The day before he went

away he asked me for something of every article I was possessed of, but I refused him everything—they are sweet mouths, thieves, lyers and in short have every bad quality; therefore you have no occasion to believe them. It matters very little wheather a person is hated or beloved by them, as they are a lazy set of vagabonds. Qua owes 8 skins from this place, Le Traiteur 3 do, & his Big brother 6 d° & La Vielle Naschoes mother 5½.

“Almost all the Natlians are gone over to Steela to a Grand feast to Burn and ( ) a couple of Chiefs that died of late. When they return from there they will go to the Mountains to kill Carribou. . . . .

“I will expect the men back on the 16th early

“I am D<sup>r</sup> McDougall

“Yours Sincerely

“SIMON FRASER.

“Mr. J. McDougall.”

No apology is offered for presenting these letters, because they recall more vividly than could be done in any other way, the events and happenings that go to make up the earliest history of the northern interior. The writers were far too much engrossed in the work of the hour, to find time to give polished descriptions of events and things which to them were of no great significance. Indeed the fur-traders, with few exceptions, failed to realize that they were making history. Perhaps it is this very unconsciousness, that invests their diaries and letters with such deep interest. They did not write for publication, nor for any other purpose than to give a bare account of their transactions and exploits.

It is evident that Fraser intended to follow the course of the Great River in 1807, but he could not carry out the plans outlined in his letters to James McDougall and John Stuart, as the expected supplies and reinforcements did not arrive in time. The remoteness of the new posts, and the tedious and difficult route by which they were approached, made it no easy task to keep them adequately supplied with merchandise. All the articles required for the trade of the district had to be brought across the continent from Fort William on Lake Superior and nearly a year would be consumed in carrying the articles to their destination. It was quite impossible

to establish new posts, or to explore new territories, without an additional force of men. As a matter of fact, the position of Simon Fraser at this time was one fraught with embarrassment. But in the face of obstacles which would have disheartened a man of less determination, he doggedly persevered. In 1807 he journeyed to and fro in New Caledonia, gathering furs, and establishing friendly relations with the "sweetmouths, thieves, and lyers," as he described the surrounding Indians.

In the autumn of 1807, however, Jules Maurice Quesnel and Hugh Faries arrived with two canoes, laden with supplies. They also carried a despatch from headquarters, instructing Fraser without loss of time to explore the "Great River." With the aid of these reinforcements, the furtrader planted another post, which he called Fort George, at the confluence of the Nechaco and Fraser Rivers. Apparently this fort was built as a base for the expedition which was to descend the river in the following spring, as well as to serve the surrounding district.

It is a fair deduction that the North West Company wished to forestall the Americans on the lower Columbia. Lewis and Clark had completed their memorable journey to the shores of the Pacific, and, after many perilous adventures, had returned to St. Louis in safety. It was this news, no doubt, that induced the North West Company to hurry instructions across the continent to the partner in New Caledonia to act without delay. It should be borne in mind that the "Great River," discovered by Mackenzie, was generally

The news brought by Faries and Quesnel gave a fillip to Fraser's to determine that it was not the Columbia, but another river, which debouched many miles to the northward of Cape Disappointment.

The news brought by Fairies and Quesnel gave a fillip to Fraser's preparations. In May, 1808, he gathered his men at Fort George, whence the little force was to proceed into the unknown territory to the south westward. Fraser of course followed the practice of the furtrader and carefully recorded from day to day the experiences of that memorable excursion and fortunately his diary—or rather a report based upon his diary—has been preserved. Several years ago it was published by the late Senator L. R. Masson in his valuable work "*Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.*" Senator Masson's document is evidently a report prepared after the

return of the explorer—in other words it is a “fair copy” made from the original notes in more than one handwriting. In the Academy of Pacific Coast History of the University of California there is a transcript of part of Fraser’s Journal (covering the period May 30th to June 10th, 1808), which in style corresponds to the letters already quoted. This is seemingly a true copy of the original. In substance these two journals are the same, although in the fragment preserved in the Academy of Pacific Coast History certain particulars as to the courses of the river are given which do not appear in the Masson version. There is no reason to question the authenticity of the Masson document which is one of the cherished possessions of the Toronto Public Library. For the purposes of this narrative the Journal as printed by Masson has been followed, because it covers the whole journey, and because, as already stated, there is no reason to doubt its validity.

Before proceeding with the narrative, it is necessary to allude to a curious thing in connection with the Journal. It commences on Saturday, May 22nd, but the next entry bears the date of Sunday, May 29th. As this is not a misprint, it is hard to account for the days between the 22nd and the 29th of the month. It is certain that from the time of the departure of the expedition from Fort George until May 29th no more than a day’s journey was accomplished. Without further evidence, which is scarcely likely to be forthcoming, it would be useless to attempt to solve the problem.

“Having made every necessary preparation for a long voyage, we embarked at 5 o’clock A. M. in four canoes at Fraser’s River. Our crew consisted of nineteen men, two Indians, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Quesnel, and myself, in all twenty-four.”

This is the simple and unaffected introduction to the narrative of one of the most remarkable of all those heroic enterprises which are the warp and woof of the early history of the western frontier of the North American Continent. Thus was launched the expedition which was destined to accomplish for the Fraser River what Lewis and Clark had accomplished for the Columbia but three years before.

Sweeping down with the current, the canoes passed safely through Fort George Canyon and reached Cottonwood Canyon, where the river contracts into a narrow channel between high rocky banks.

Here, one of the canoes was nearly wrecked. On the second day the explorer reached a beautiful country, of which he observed:—"This scenery has a very fine aspect, consisting of extensive plains, and, behind these, hills rising over hills." And again:—"this country interspersed with meadows, hills, dales, and high rocks, has on the whole a romantic and pleasant appearance." It is not an easy matter to fix upon Fraser's position from day to day, but it is likely that these remarks refer to the country between Quesnel and Alexandria. However, the little vessels, running with the stream, soon reached a region of wild and forbidding grandeur.

The land was populous, for many Indian dwellings and villages were noticed. On Monday, the 30th of May, Fraser landed before a large house, probably in the vicinity of Linden Creek, and here he conversed with the natives, from whom he learned that it would be dangerous to proceed—"before his intention was publicly known throughout the country." He therefore decided to remain at the house for the rest of the day. Mounted couriers were despatched to the tribe below with the news that white strangers were about to pass through their territories. In the course of the day Fraser's journal records, "Tahowtans" and "Atnaughs" rode into the village. "They seemed peacefully inclined, and happy to see us"—"and observed that having heard from their neighbours that white people were to visit their country, had remained to meet us." When asked to describe the river below, they said it was but a succession of falls and cascades, and urged Fraser to discontinue his voyage and to remain with them. Firearms were unknown among these people, and when the voyageurs discharged their muskets they "dropped off their legs with fright." Upon recovering from their surprise they were invited to examine the effect of the shot, and, as Fraser says, they "appeared quite uneasy on seeing the marks on the trees, and observed that the Indians in that quarter were good and peaceable, and would never make use of their arms to annoy white people. Yet, they remarked, we ought to take great care on approaching villages, for should we surprise the natives, they might take us as enemies, and, through fear, attack us."

This sage advice was sedulously followed. Fraser never failed to induce the chiefs of the successive tribes he visited to introduce him to their immediate neighbours beyond.

Day by day, as he proceeded, dangers and difficulties increased. It was frequently necessary to seek information from the Indians respecting the river and now and again a native artist would be asked to sketch its course thence onward to the sea. But invariably Fraser received the same reply, that the river below was a series of unnavigable canyons, flanked on either side by impassable mountains of sheer rock. At various points during their passage, bales of dried salmon were cached, in case they should be needed on the homeward way. During the greater part of the voyage the men lived upon the land, that is to say, they were dependent upon the Indians for their supply of provisions.

Salmon, dried and fresh, berries, nuts, wild onions, and other viands were sometimes abundant; but often the men were in sore straits for food. The voyageurs, like the Carthaginians of old, were fond of dog's flesh, and, whenever they lodged at a village or encampment of friendly natives, they feasted upon this delicacy.

Now floating peacefully with the tide, now dashing wildly down terrific rapids, the canoes went swiftly forward. Quite frequently, however, the baggage and even the canoes themselves had to be carried over long and difficult portages, where deep ravines, steep hills, and yawning chasms appeared to offer insuperable obstacles. The men suffered greatly; and often their path was rough with jagged stones, so that their moccasins were frequently and quickly in disrepair as, footsore and weary, they carried their heavy packs from point to point where they might again launch their frail vessels upon the turbulent stream, then in high flood. It was not long before the accounts of the natives were verified; soon the expedition reached that part of the river which is but a succession of canyons and rapids.

At one place for two miles, the river foamed and boiled between "high banks which contracted the channel in many places to forty or fifty yards." The journal continues:—"This immense body of water passing through this narrow space in a turbulent manner, formed numerous gulfs and cascades, and making a tremendous noise, had an awful and forbidding appearance. Nevertheless, since it was considered as next to impossible to carry the canoes across the land, on account of the height and steepness of the hills, it was resolved to venture down the dangerous pass." Five of the most experienced men were ordered into a canoe, and in a moment it was

under way. "After passing the first cascade," Fraser continues, "she lost her course and was drawn into the eddy where she was swirled about for a considerable time, seemingly in suspense whether to sink or swim, the men having no power over her. However, she took a favourable turn and by degrees was led from this dangerous vortex again into the stream. In this manner she continued, flying from one cascade to another until the last but one, where, in spite of every effort, the whirlpools forced her against a low, projecting rock. Upon this, the men debarked, saving their own lives, and contrived to save the property, but the greatest difficulty was still ahead, and to continue by water would be the way to certain destruction."

The journal then proceeds:—"During this distressing scene we were on shore looking on and anxiously concerned. Seeing our poor fellows once more safe afforded us much satisfaction but their situation rendered our approach perilous and difficult. The bank was extremely high and steep and we had to plunge our daggers at intervals into the ground, to check our speed as otherwise we were disposed to slide into the river. We cut steps into the declivity, fastened a line into the front of the canoe with which one of the men ascended, in order to haul it up, while the others supported it upon their arms. In this manner our situation was most precarious, our lives hung as it were upon a thread, as the failure of the line or a false step of one of the men, might have hurled the whole of us into eternity. However, we fortunately cleared the bank before dark."

Again the party proceeded, and arrived at the Great Canyon, near the point where Kelly Creek enters the river. At this place the men donned their best clothes, and the two Indians being clothed only in skins, were each given a blanket and cape, so that the party might appear to good advantage to the new tribe that dwelt on the banks of the river below. The rapid was soon reached, and Fraser's description of it runs thus:—"Here, the channel contracts to about 40 yards, and is enclosed by two precipices of immense height, which, bending towards each other, make it narrower above than below. The water which rolls down this extraordinary passage in tumultuous waves and with great velocity, had a frightful appearance. However, it being absolutely impossible to carry the canoes by land, all hands without hesitation embarked as it were a '*corps perdu*' upon the



mercy of this awful tide. Once launched, the die was cast, our great difficulty consisted in keeping the canoes within the medium, or, *fil d'eau*, that is, clear of the precipice on the one side, and from the gulfs formed by the waves on the other. Thus skimming along as fast as lightning, the crews cool and determined, following each other in awful silence, and when we arrived at the end, we stood gazing at each other in silent congratulations at our narrow escape from total destruction."

Having arrived at the Indian camp below the canyon, the river was reported by the natives "as a dreadful chain of apparently insurmountable difficulties" and it was asserted that it would be impossible for strangers to proceed either by land or water, owing to the rapids and the mountainous nature of the country through which the river forced its way. Nevertheless the undaunted leader having prevailed upon an Indian to accompany him as pilot continued his journey.

Of the country through which he passed that 9th of June, 1808, Fraser remarks:—"I scarcely saw anything so dreary and dangerous in any country, and at present, while writing this, whatever way I turn my eyes, mountains upon mountains, whose summits are covered with eternal snows close the gloomy scene."

On the following day it was borne in upon Fraser that it was impossible to proceed by water, and it was therefore decided to continue the journey by land along the banks of the river. Accordingly, near Pavilion Creek, a scaffolding was erected upon which the canoes were placed, covered by branches of trees to protect them from the sun. Such articles as could not be carried were buried in the ground, some openly before the Indians, but others in a secret cache, as it was deemed inadvisable to place implicit trust in their expressions of good will. The vessels used up to this point were the ordinary birch bark canoes of the Canadian furtrader. The canoes of the Indians of the Fraser are of a totally different type, being dug-outs, of the form so familiar even in the present day. On the upper reaches of the river, the natives make their canoes from the trunk of the cottonwood tree, but on the lower reaches, as on the coast, the canoes are made from cedar. The cottonwood canoes are not nearly so symmetrical or so well finished as those made from cedar. Cottonwood warps rather easily, whereas cedar will retain its shape indefinitely.

The explorer had now entered the territory of the Lillooets, or as he termed them, the "Askettih nation." These natives treated the strangers with great kindness and regaled them with "roots, wild onion syrup, dried salmon and berries." Here Fraser learned that the sea was distant about "ten nights" from the village. A garrulous old man claimed that he had been to the "Stinking Lake" where he had seen great caves, and he gave a pantomimic exhibition of the behaviour of the white men he had met at the coast, strutting up and down he exclaimed "this is the way they go."

An idea of the care with which it was necessary to proceed may be gathered from an entry in the journal under the date of 14th June. "Last night (it is recorded), some of the natives, having remarked that we were not white men but enemies in disguise, gave offence to our old chief and a serious altercation took place in consequence. They stated that his tribe were their natural enemies and that some of his young men had made war upon them in the Spring. This he readily admitted, but observed that these were foolish young men who escaped without his knowledge. Seeing that the debate was growing warm, we interposed and the argument ended amicably. Then the Old Chief sent couriers ahead to inform the Natives that we were not enemies; not to be alarmed at our appearance and to meet us without arms, at the same time he strongly recommended us to be on our guard."

On the 14th, Fraser reached "the Forks," in all probability the junction of the Bridge and Fraser rivers. As it was deemed important that the Lillooets should be duly impressed with the mission, the men shaved and dressed in their best apparel before resuming the march. Soon the ambassadors of the "Askettihs" appeared, "dressed in their coats of mail," as the explorer termed the leather jackets of these people. With all due ceremony a palaver was held with the ambassadors, who "looked manly and had really the appearance of warriors." The chiefs spoke with a certain rude grace and fluency, and their oratory had a great effect upon the native retinue. The explorer seized the occasion to speak of the advantages that would accrue to the Indians if friendly relations should be established with the white men. It will be recalled that he had been instructed to prepare the way for the establishment of trading stations near the mouth of the river.

For several days three friendly Indians had accompanied the party, an old chief, a guide and an interpreter. These had volunteered to introduce the explorer to the different tribes whose territories lay in his path. So far they had faithfully kept their word, and had materially assisted in preparing the way for a friendly reception from chiefs who, otherwise, might have been hostile to the strangers. However, on the morning following the palaver with the Lillooet chiefs, Fraser, to his mortification, found that these men had disappeared in the night. Evidently, like all the natives of the upper reaches, they feared the tribes that dwelt near the mouth of the river, especially the fierce warriors of the Cowichan nation, whose forays kept the clans of the lower river in a perpetual state of alarm. This untoward incident gave the explorer pause for anxious thought. "Here we are," he states in his journal after relating the disappearance of the guides, "in a strange country surrounded with danger and numberless tribes of savages who have never seen the face of a white man; however, we shall endeavor to make the best of it."

Pursuing his journey the furtrader and his little following reached Lillooet on the 15th of June. "The village (says Fraser) is a fortification of 100 feet by 24 surrounded by (a) pallisade eighteen feet high, slanting inward and lined with a shorter row which supports a shade, covering, with bark, constituting the dwellings." At the "Metropolis" of the Askettih tribe, Fraser, after much haggling and bargaining obtained a canoe for a file and a kettle; but the natives would not part with their provisions. By dint of much persuasion, however, thirty dried salmon were procured. The wares of the trader had already found their way to this country. A new copper tea kettle and a large gun, of Russian make, were seen in the village.

In passing from Soda Creek to Lillooet no less than fifteen days were consumed. Soda Creek was left behind on May 31st and Lillooet reached on June 15th; but Fraser was often obliged to stop by the way to placate the Indians, and in these friendly overtures much time was lost.

Four days after leaving Lillooet, the expedition passed into the territory of the Thompson Indians, whom Fraser calls "Hacamaugh." The men were handsomely dressed in leather, and they possessed many horses, with which they helped him at a carrying

place near by. The explorer was greatly impressed with this fine tribe. He thus alludes to one of its encampments, not far from Lytton: "The Indians of this village were about four hundred souls, and some of them appeared very old. They live among mountains, and enjoy pure air, are cleanly inclined, and make use of wholesome food. We observed several European articles among them, viz: a copper tea kettle, a brass camp kettle, a strip from a common blanket and clothing such as the Cree women wear. These things we supposed, were brought from our settlements beyond the mountains; indeed the Indians make us understand as much."<sup>1</sup>

Of all the villages visited on this occasion, scarcely any were without articles of European manufacture, which shows that inter-tribal commerce flourished among the primitive peoples of the transmontane region. As a matter of fact, Simon Fraser was at this time on the most frequented of the few great trade routes, or lines of intercourse, which, in pre-historic times, connected the littoral with the interior. Other lines of communication followed,—the Nass River, the Skeena River, and the Bella Coola River (the route followed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1793). From time immemorial the native merchants of the coast and of the interior had met on the banks of these rivers to exchange the commodities of their respective territories. An interchange of culture probably followed those avenues of communication and trade; but the anthropologist or the ethnologist is more concerned with that phase of the subject than the historian—therefore it will not be discussed here. Of all these lines of social and commercial intercourse, north of the Columbia River, the one following the Fraser was perhaps the most important. The wares of the maritime furtrader were passed from tribe to tribe along this ancient highway of the native races, and so reached the remotest parts of the northern interior.

On the same day (June 19th) Fraser visited the great village at the confluence of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. "Camchin," as the natives called this place, is beautifully situated on a high terrace on the left bank of the Fraser, just below the point where the clear waters of the Thompson join the larger stream. It was at that time an important centre of the Thompson Indians—perhaps the most cultured and enlightened of all the aborigines of British Columbia.

<sup>1</sup> Simon Fraser's Journal, Masson, p. 181.

The town of Lytton, founded in the year of the great gold rush, now stands on, or near, the site of the populous Indian village first described by Simon Fraser more than a century ago. He was given an impressive welcome, which is thus recorded in his Journal:

"After having remained some time in the village, the principal chief invited us over the river and received us at the water side, where, assisted by several others, he took me by the arm and conducted me in a moment up the hill to the camp. Here his people were sitting in rows to the number of twelve hundred, and I had to shake hands with the whole. Then the Great Chief made a long harangue, in the course of which he pointed to the Sun, to the four quarters of the World and then to us; he afterwards introduced his father who was old and blind and carried by another man, who also made a harangue of some length. The old blind man was placed near us, and he often stretched out both his hands, through curiosity, in order to feel ours.

"The Hacamaugh nation are different, both in language and manners, from their neighbours, the Askettihs; they have many chiefs and great men and appear to be good orators, their manner of delivery is extremely handsome. We had every reason to be thankful for our reception at this place. The Indians showed us every possible attention, and supplied our wants as much as they could. We had salmon, berries, oil and roots in abundance, and our men had six dogs.<sup>2</sup> Although our tent was pitched near the camp, we enjoyed entire peace and security during our stay. The Indians sang and danced all night; some of our men who went to see them were much amused."

The explorer, however, was evidently not convinced that his new allies were altogether sincere in their expressions of friendship. "However kind savages may appear," he observed, "I know that it is not in their nature to be sincere in their professions to strangers; the respect and attention we generally experience proceed from an idea that we are superior beings who are not to be overcome; at any rate, it is certain that the less familiar we are with them, the better for us." It is pleasant to recall that, on this occasion at least, the furtrader's distrust of the savage was without foundation: The chief of the Thompson Indians, called by Fraser the "Great Chief," kept

<sup>2</sup> Simon Fraser's Journal, Masson, pp. 181-2.

his word and even went out of his way to befriend the little party of white men.

Before leaving this quarter, Fraser named the river, which enters the Fraser just above Lytton, in honour of David Thompson, astronomer, surveyor, path-finder, explorer, fort-builder and furtrader, also of the North West Company. David Thompson was then engaged in exploring the passes of the Rocky Mountains leading into East Kootenay. "These Forks," says the Journal of the expedition, "the Indians call Camchin, and are formed by a large river, which is the same spoken of so often by our friend the Old Chief. From an idea that our friends of the *Fort des Prairies* department are established upon the source of it, among the mountains, we gave it the name of Thompson River."

This statement clearly shows how little was known at that time of the geography of the interior of Northwestern America. Simon Fraser's mistake has been a fruitful source of error, in that it has led some writers to attribute to David Thompson the discovery of the Fraser's most important tributary, apparently for no other reason than that it was named after that indomitable explorer. As a matter of fact David Thompson never saw the Thompson River; nor does it appear that Thompson even knew that this stream had been named after him. In his "Map of the Northwest Territory of the Province of Canada from Actual Survey during the years 1792 to 1812,"<sup>3</sup> made in 1813 and 1814, some five or six years after Fraser's memorable excursion, the Thompson is called "Sheewap River." It is strange that such should be the case because the intrepid astronomer and surveyor of the North West Company acknowledges that he obtained his information respecting the Fraser River from John Stuart, who accompanied Simon Fraser in 1808. Perhaps John Stuart did not mention that the stream had been named Thompson River; or perhaps the famous map maker was too modest to give his name to a river he had not discovered, or even seen.

The morning after the memorable reception at Camchin, the party again embarked, having obtained two canoes from the Thompson Indians. The "Great Chief" and a guide, nicknamed in the explorer's Journal the "Little Fellow," accompanied Fraser in order to introduce him to the tribes below, which, as usual, were repre-

<sup>3</sup> Published with Elliott Coues' *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, New York, 1897.

sented as being a ferocious and warlike people. The men had suffered great hardships in their traverse of the river to this point, notably in the canyons between Soda Creek and Lillooet; but they now entered upon perhaps the most arduous part of their journey. Between Lytton and Yale the Fraser forces its way through a series of deep chasms, the rocky walls of which in many places tower high above the water. The great river, swollen with melted snows, surged magnificently through the canyons. On every side rugged snow-crowned mountains, like grim sentinels, stood guard over the foaming cataracts; the banks were so steep that they could only be scaled at imminent risk. Such was the Fraser River between Lytton and Yale in floodtime, in the old days before the railway. The track of the explorer lay directly through this region of wild grandeur and Titanic upheaval.

It was soon found impossible to follow the river. At Jackass Mountain, so named by the goldseekers of a later generation, the men were forced to carry everything, including their canoes, over that steep hill. The ascent was dangerous in the extreme, as the loose stones which covered the mountain continually gave way under the feet of the men as they toiled with their heavy loads. A false step meant certain destruction as a precipice yawned immediately below, at the foot of which the river ran in a series of turbulent rapids. The Indians told the explorer that several years before several of their tribe in traversing the hill had lost their balance, and, falling headlong into the river, had perished. The miners of 1858 and 1859 were sorely tried at this same spot.

In the face of these appalling obstacles the expedition worked its way downstream, sometimes by land and sometimes by water. Neither the remonstrances of his men, nor the warnings of the natives, had any effect on Fraser, who at all costs was determined to carry out his instructions to reach the sea by following the unknown river to its mouth. He pushed on with that dogged determination which distinguished all his undertakings.

From time immemorial, here, as at the Dalles and other places on the Columbia River, the Indians had foregathered to catch and dry the salmon, which was the staple article of diet of the natives of that quarter. Judging from Fraser's remarks, the Indian population

must have been large, for he visited many encampments. The natives had erected stages on the ledges overhanging the river, and from these they used their dip nets with remarkable dexterity. Either because the run had not commenced, or because it was a poor year, salmon seemed to have been rather scarce. More than once the explorer observed that the natives were without food. At other places, he was feasted with roasted salmon, wild fruits and nuts, wild onion syrup, and other viands esteemed by the Indians.

On Sunday, June 25th, the Chief of the Camchin or Thompson Indians left the expedition to return to his people. The parting is thus recorded: "This man is the greatest Chief we have seen, he behaved uncommonly well towards us, and in return I made him a present of a large silver brooch which he immediately fixed on his head, and seemed exceedingly well pleased with our attentions." Tradition had it that this silver brooch was buried with the chief as one of his most cherished possessions.

Although it was Sunday, the party pushed on, embarking at the early hour of five. It was a memorable day in the history of the expedition. The Journal vividly portrays the difficulties encountered on this forced march. In writing of the road through one of the canyons, probably that now known as the Black Canyon, Fraser could not restrain his eloquence: "Here," he observed, "we were obliged to carry among loose stones in the face of a steep hill between two precipices. Near the top, where the ascent was perfectly perpendicular, one of the Indians climbed to the summit and by means of a long rope drew us up one after the other. This work took three hours, and then we continued our course up and down hills and along the steep declivities of mountains where hanging rocks and projecting cliffs, at the edge of the bank of the river, made the passage so small as to render it, at times, difficult even for one person to pass sideways. Many of the natives from the last camp who accompanied us were of the greatest use on this intricate occasion. They went on boldly with heavy loads in places where we were obliged to hand our guns from one to another, and where the greatest precaution was required in order to pass even singly and free from encumbrance."

The party encamped at six in the evening, at the head of another rapid or canyon. On the following morning, John Stuart, who had



been sent ahead to examine the river, reported that "navigation was absolutely impracticable." The men, therefore, had no other recourse but to follow their agile guides along the treacherous pathways which had served successive generations of native travellers. The stupendous character of this rugged country is well portrayed by Fraser: "As for the road by land," he wrote, "we could scarcely make our way with even only our guns. I have been for a long period in the Rocky Mountains, but have never seen anything like this country. It is so wild that I cannot find words to describe our situation at times. We had to pass where no human beings should venture; yet in those places there is a regular footpath impressed, or rather indented upon the very rocks by frequent travelling. Besides this, steps which are formed like a ladder or the shrouds of a ship, by poles hanging to one another and crossed at certain distances with twigs, the whole suspended from the top to the foot of deep precipices and fastened to both extremities to stones and trees, furnish a safe and convenient passage to the Natives; but we, who had not had the advantage of their education and experience, were often in imminent danger when obliged to follow their example." The ladders here described were in use long after the explorer's day. Indeed, some of them still existed in a state of good repair at the time of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, although the Yale-Cariboo Wagon Road had for several years superseded them. The engineers of the Canadian Pacific Railway called this place Jacob's Ladder Bluff. It is some five or six miles below Boston Bar, on the railway side of the river.

At Spuzzum, which was reached on June 27th, the party was "hospitably entertained with fresh salmon, boiled green and dried berries, oil and onions." The burial ground across the river from the Indian encampment attracted Fraser's attention and he obtained permission to visit it. He thus records his impressions of the native sepulchres at this place: "These tombs are superior to anything of the kind I saw among savages; they are about fifteen feet long and of the form of a chest of drawers. Upon the boards and posts, are beasts and birds carved in a curious but rude manner, yet pretty well proportioned. These monuments must have cost the workmen much time and labour, as they must have been destitute of proper

tools for their execution; around the tombs was deposited all the property of the deceased."

The expedition had now reached another tribal territory. Spuzum was situated on "the boundary between the Hacamaugh and Achinrow nations." It was observed that the members of the latter clan differed in speech and manners from the tribes hitherto met with. These natives were distinguished for their fine blankets, woven from the hair of the wild goat, or from that of a white dog bred for this purpose. Their blankets were "as good as the wool rugs found in Canada," and were spun with a primitive spindle and distaff. It was noticed that the dogs had been lately shorn.<sup>4</sup>

At last the little party emerged from the great canyon. At four p. m. on Wednesday, June 28th, the expedition arrived at an Indian camp of about one hundred and fifty inhabitants; apparently at, or near the place where, in after years, the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort Yale. No less than eight days had been consumed in passing from Lytton to this spot. The Indians were armed with bows and arrows, spears and clubs. Like those of Camchin, they had many ornaments—"shells of different kinds, shell beads, brass made into pipes hanging from the neck or across the shoulders, bracelets of large brass wire, and some of horn." It was observed that their hats, made of wattap, and some of "cedar bark painted in different colours, resembling ribbon." Both sexes were stoutly built and some of the men handsome, "but," wrote Fraser, "I cannot say so much of the women, who seem to be their husbands' slaves, for, in the course of their dances, I remarked that the men were in the habit of pillaging them from one another. Our Little Fellow was presented with another man's wife."

The natives of this place said that white men "had come from below to the Bad Rock, where the rapid terminates, at a little distance from the village, and they showed us marks in the rocks which they had made, but, which, by the bye, seemed to us to be nothing but natural marks."

Having with some difficulty obtained canoes, Fraser marshalled his little force and again embarked. As the expedition advanced the river became broader and the country assumed a different aspect,

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Caulfield Anderson describes these dogs and dogs' hair blankets in "Notes on the Indian Tribes of North America."

although the snowclad summits of the Coast Range were still in full view. From Yale to the Gulf of Georgia, the Fraser is a broad highway. No difficulty was experienced in the beautiful reaches of the lower river. So far as it is known, this was the first time that a European had beheld this magnificent country. Noble forests stood on either bank, except where great meadows stretched far back from the river. As the river was in flood, the low-lying lands must have been covered with water; near Chilliwack it "expanded into a lake." In this neighbourhood the explorer sighted a "large round mountain," called by the natives "Stremotch." No doubt this was Sumas Mountain, a well-known geographical feature of the Chilliwack district. In 1828, Sir George Simpson, in passing this same stretch of the river, refers to a high mountain which he called "Sugar Loaf Mountain." Perhaps, the "Stremotch" of Fraser and the "Sugar Loaf" Mountain of Simpson, refer to one and the same striking feature of the landscape.

Seals were now seen in the river, a sure indication that the passage to the sea was unobstructed, for these animals do not attempt to ascend rapids. At sunset, camp was pitched near a grove of "remarkably large cedars five fathoms in circumference." The Journal adds that "mosquitos were in clouds."

In that day the natives were numerous. Their villages and fishing camps were found at every favourable situation. The explorer concluded that they had seen white people before, because "they evinced no kind of surprise or curiosity at seeing us, nor were they afraid of our arms." One of their large communal dwellings is thus described:

"Their houses are built of cedar planks and, in shape, similar to the one already described; the whole range, which is six hundred and forty feet long by sixty broad, is under one roof; the front is eighteen feet high and the covering is slanting: all the apartments, which are separated by partitions, are square, except the chief's, which is ninety feet long. In this room, the posts or pillars are nearly three feet diameter at the base and diminish gradually to the top. In one of these posts is an oval opening answering the purpose of a door through which one man may crawl in or out. Above, on the outside, are carved a human figure as large as life, with other figures in imitation of beasts and birds. These buildings have no flooring, the

fires are in the center and the smoke goes out by an opening at the top." <sup>5</sup>

Sweeping past low-wooded banks, fat delta lands and fertile benches, now, a century later, the home of prosperous and progressive communities, Fraser entered that beautiful stretch of river known as Queen's Reach. On the 2nd of July, he passed the pine-clad hill later selected by Lieutenant Colonel Moody, of the Royal Engineers, as the site of the capital of the Crown Colony of British Columbia. At that time a dense virgin forest covered the hill where now stands the city of New Westminster. Finding that the river at this point divided into several channels, the explorer followed the North Arm, and was at last rewarded with a view of the Gulf of Georgia, so named by Vancouver in 1792, but first discovered by the Spaniard Eliza in 1791, and called by him in the musical language of his country "El Gran Canal de Nuestra Senora del Rosario."

But the passage of the explorer was not without incident. Shortly after leaving the broad expanse of water above Lulu Island, a canoe came alongside and one of the natives embarked with the explorer; for the purpose, it was thought, of piloting the expedition through the right channel. It was soon remarked, however, that other Indians, "armed with bows and arrows, spears, clubs, were pursuing us in their canoes, singing war songs, beating time with their paddles on the sides of the canoe, and making signs and gestures highly inimicable. The one who had embarked with us became also very unruly, singing, dancing and kicking up a great dust: we threatened him and he mended his manners and became quiet."

"This was an alarming crisis," continues the Journal, "but we were not discouraged; confident upon our own superiority, at least on the water, we continued and at last we came in sight of a gulf or bay of the sea; this, the Indians called Pas-hil-roe. It runs in a south-west and north-east direction. In this bay are several high and rocky islands, whose summits are covered with snow. On the right shore we noticed a village called by the natives Misquiamé: we directed our course towards it. Our turbulent passenger conducted us up a small winding river to a small lake near which the village stood: there we landed, but only found a few old men and women, the others having fled into the woods on our approach. The fort is

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<sup>5</sup> Simon Fraser's Journal, Masson, p. 197.

1,500 feet in length and 90 feet in breadth. The houses, which are constructed as those mentioned in other places, are in rows; one of the natives, after conducting us through all the apartments, desired us to go away, as, otherwise, the Indians would be apt to attack us. About this time those that had followed us from above, arrived.”<sup>6</sup>

The explorer and his men spent an hour in examining the place. Upon returning to the canoe it was found high and dry on the beach, the tide having ebbed. While the men were engaged in dragging the little vessel to the water, the natives made their appearance from all directions, armed cap à pie, and “howling like so many wolves and brandishing their war clubs.” The canoe was quickly launched, however, and the party escaped from an awkward predicament.

It is evident that Fraser actually reached the Gulf of Georgia. Several writers have asserted that he turned back at the point where the city of New Westminster now stands; but if this had been the case the journey would have ended at the place “where the river divides into several places,”—which description can only refer to the reaches immediately below the Royal City. Fraser’s particular description of Musquiam, however, leaves no doubt upon the point. That village is situated exactly at the mouth of the northern outlet of the north arm of the Fraser River on the shore of the Gulf of Georgia. If further proof should be required, it is found in David Thompson’s great map of North Western America, which bears the following legend, opposite the words “Musquiam Village,” “Mr. Simon Fraser and party returned from the Sortie of the River.”

As to the small winding river and small lake, it will suffice to point out that a little rivulet, now as in Fraser’s time, flows past Musquiam; the lake was no doubt formed by the flooding of the lowland between the village and the river. This land is now dyked and therefore not subject to overflow. It should be borne in mind that the river was at its highest stage when Fraser descended it in 1808.

Much as Simon Fraser desired to reach the Pacific, he was at this point compelled to turn back. The hostility of the natives and lack of supplies made further progress impossible. In this respect he was no more fortunate than Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1793. Neither of the explorers sighted the main ocean. Neverthe-

<sup>6</sup> Simon Fraser’s Journal, Masson, p. 199.

less Simon Fraser had accomplished his purpose. He had reached the sea, not, however, by the Columbia, but by another river that henceforth was to bear his name. That he did not view the Pacific Ocean was a bitter disappointment to the explorer. "Here again," he wrote in his Journal of July 3, 1808, "I must again acknowledge my great disappointment in not seeing the *main Ocean*, having gone so near it as to be almost within view; we besides wished very much to settle the situation by an observation for the longitude. The latitude is  $49^{\circ}$  nearly, while that of the entrance to the Columbia is  $46^{\circ} 20'$ . This river therefore is not the Columbia."

Having accomplished his purpose Fraser started on his long return journey to the northern interior. His difficulties were by no means over. He was continually harassed by the natives, who followed him with the set purpose of annihilating the whole expedition. It was only by proceeding with the utmost caution that he was able to frustrate the designs of the Indians who had before been loud in their expressions of friendship. Day and night it was necessary to be continually on guard. At an encampment above Chilliwack all the warriors were waiting to attack the white men. It was soon discovered that "they were not assembled for any good purpose, and when we came opposite to them the whole were in motion. Some were in canoes, others lined the shore and all were inclining our way; at last it was with difficulty we could prevent them with the muzzle of our guns from seizing upon the canoe; they, however, managed to give us such a push with the intention of upsetting us, that our canoe became engaged in a strong current which, in spite of all our efforts, carried us down the rapid. We however gained the shore at the foot of a high hill where we tied the canoe to a tree. Here I ordered Mr. Stuart with some of the men to debark and ascend the hill in order to keep the Indians in awe; they, perceiving our preparation for defence, retired, but still kept ahead."

The continual strain so worked upon the overwrought nerves of the voyageurs, that on the 6th of July they mutinied and threatened to desert in a body. Simon Fraser rose to the occasion. "Considering this scheme as a desperate undertaking," he wrote in his Journal after the trouble was over, "I debarked and endeavoured to persuade the delinquents of their infatuation; but two of them declared in their own names and in the names of the others that their plan was

fixed, and that they saw no other way by which they could save themselves from immediate destruction than by flying out of the way of danger; for, said they, continuing by water, surrounded by hostile nations, who watched every opportunity to attack and torment them, created in their mind a state of suspicion worse than death. I remonstrated and threatened by turns, the other gentlemen joined me in my endeavours to expose the folly of their undertaking, and the advantages that would accrue to us all by remaining, as we had hitherto done, in perfect union for our common safety. After much debate on both sides, they yielded and we all shook hands, resolved not to separate during the voyage, which resolution was immediately confirmed by the following oath taken on the spot by each of the party: 'I solemnly swear before Almighty God that I shall sooner perish than forsake in distress any of our crew during the present voyage.' "

The ascent of the river was scarcely less difficult than the downward journey, but at last the expedition reached the territory of more friendly natives, who expressed surprise at the reappearance of the white men. Evidently they had expected that the Indians of the lower river, or the warlike Cowichans, would kill the travellers.

While thirty-five days were consumed in descending the river, the ascent was accomplished in thirty-four days. In going to the sea Quesnel was reached May 30th; Lytton on June 20th; Spuzzum on June 27th; Yale on June 30th; New Westminster on July 2nd, and Musquam on the same day. In returning, the Thompson River was passed July 14th; Lillooet on the 22nd; Chilcotin River on the 25th; Soda Creek on the 28th; and on August 6th the journey ended at Fort George, the place of departure.

Such was the nature of Simon Fraser's achievement; such is the story that has almost been forgotten. Surely this rugged man is worthy of all honour and respect. His expedition was the third to reach the shores of the Pacific overland. He was the first European to establish posts in the interior of the great territory lying to the west of the Rocky Mountains. These posts have existed from that time to this. The country in which they are situated is now, more than one hundred years later, about to be developed on a remarkable scale. The name of Simon Fraser, the stalwart pioneer and founder, should not be forgotten in this day. As the Reverend A. G. Morice

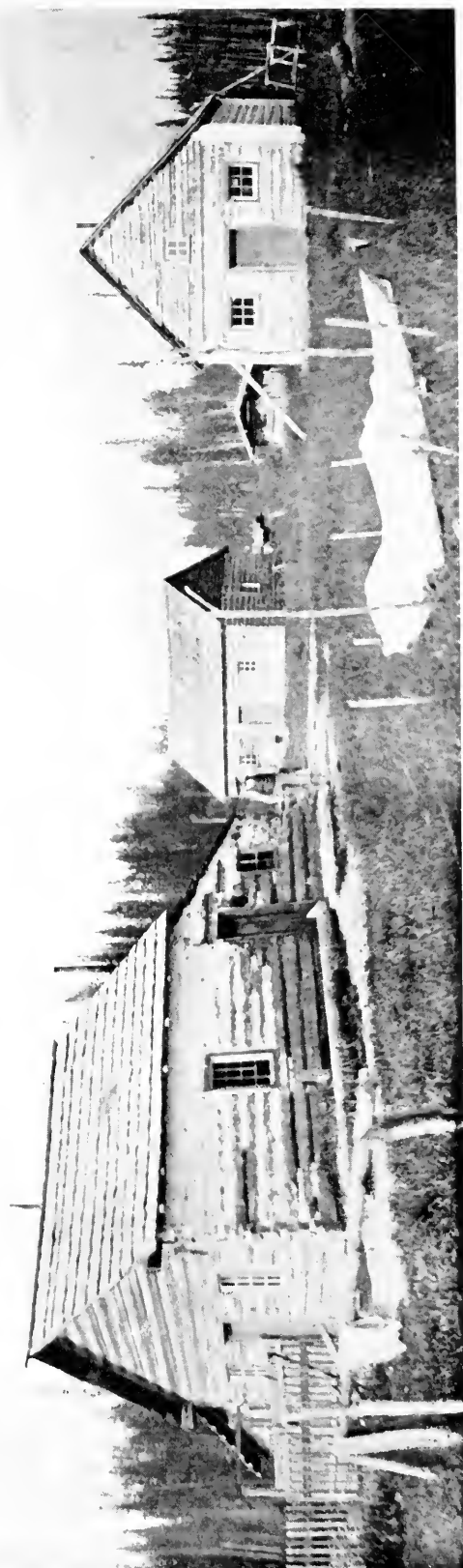
has justly observed—"Less brilliant services would entitle him to the respect of every Canadian."

Simon Fraser did not long remain in New Caledonia after his exploration of the "Great River" discovered by Sir Alexander Mackenzie. He was given charge of a district in Athabasca as a reward for his services beyond the Rocky Mountains. In 1811 he was at Red River, and two years later on the Mackenzie. In 1816, he was at Fort William when that post was taken by the Earl of Selkirk, against whom the North West Company had waged relentless war.

It has been said that Simon Fraser refused the order of knighthood, offered in recognition of his achievement. The probable explanation of the matter is simply this: That he declined the honour because his means were not in keeping with the proffered title, nor sufficient for the purpose of maintaining the position with proper dignity.



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FORT GRAHAME, HUDSON'S BAY CO. POST ON FINLAY RIVER

## CHAPTER XI

### NEW CALEDONIA

When Simon Fraser retired from New Caledonia it fell to the lot of John Stuart to guide the destinies of that isolated district for several years. Stuart assumed charge in 1809 and he did not relinquish his post until 1824. He spent much of his time at Fort McLeod, although he visited Lake Stuart, Lake Fraser, and Fort George regularly. It does not appear that Stuart was particularly enamoured of his new position, for in 1810 Daniel Williams Harmon, a pious but shrewd American from Connecticut, in the service of the North West Company, was instructed to relieve him, or, if he (Harmon) should prefer it to accompany Stuart as second in command.<sup>1</sup> Harmon had met Stuart the year before at Dunvegan, on the Peace River, and had formed a high opinion of that eccentric but able officer. His journal of July 19, 1809, records that—"A few days since, Mr. John Stuart and company, came here, from New Caledonia, for goods; and today they set out on their return home. During the few days which that gentleman passed here, I derived much satisfaction from his society. We rambled about the plains, conversing as we went, and now and then stopping, to eat a few berries, which are every-where to be found. He has evidently read and reflected much. How happy should I be to have such a companion, during the whole summer."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the modest author of these lines had equally impressed his guest, and that may be the reason that Harmon was ordered to New Caledonia in the following year. Harmon, however, was not overanxious to take upon himself the management of the western marches of the North West Company, "especially in view of the late unfavourable reports from that country in regard to means of subsistence."<sup>3</sup> He therefore joined

<sup>1</sup> Harmon, Journal, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Harmon, Journal, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Harmon, Journal, p. 186.

Stuart as first lieutenant. The two men—although very different in character—soon became fast friends, as their letters and journals amply testify. Fraser's successor apparently was not always the most cheerful of companions—it has been said that he was querulous and exacting, if not pedantic—but his relations with his subordinates seem to have been cordial. Stuart's character was summed up rather tersely by a contemporary, John M. McLeod, who said—"Upon the whole he is a good man but a person would require to be possessed of the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon to agree with him on all subjects."<sup>4</sup> But whatever may be said of John Stuart's temperament, it cannot be denied that he was an able administrator, a faithful officer and a loyal friend. His letters, which are characteristic of the man, show that he held in high esteem the men with whom he was associated. Therein he unconsciously reveals much of his own character and disposition, as is proved by the following passage:—"I can retire when I please—and I have met with so much of ups and downs and disappointments and what is still worse of ingratitude that I ought to have done it long since and nothing but the hopes I had formed that my constant attendance at the Council might benefit equally the Company and individuals for whom I have long since formed a regard and personal attachment. Mine was no mercenary nor menial vote and as regarded myself I have nothing to gain that could compensate for the turmoil and vexation to which the life of an Indian trader is ever subject. Though neither young nor rich I was perfectly disencumbered and not altogether dependent. I could have lived in contented retirement in the land of my fathers and now that I am removed from the Council to a distant post (Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River), as regarded my friends, I may be considered as one who has ceased to exist. I can be of no use either to them or to myself and I will soon be forgotten."<sup>5</sup> In spite of their somewhat querulous ring, these words reveal that Stuart was imbued with a high sense of duty. He divided with Simon Fraser the honour of founding New Caledonia.

Harmon left Dunvegan—where he had been stationed for two years—for New Caledonia in the Autumn of 1810. He joined John

<sup>4</sup> John M. McLeod to John McLeod, senior, Letter dated Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River. Ms. in Archives Department. March 16th, 1833.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to John McLeod, Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River, 8th March, 1833. Ms. in Archives Department.

Stuart's ingoing brigade and they travelled together as far as Fort McLeod, arriving at that wild spot on November 1st. Stuart had resolved to spend the winter at his favourite post, so here the two men parted. Harmon, with thirteen men, pursued his way to Stuart Lake to assume charge of the fort there. He reached his destination on November 7th,<sup>6</sup> having taken four days to cross over from McLeod Lake, a distance of about ninety miles—a fact which gives an idea of the roughness of that pioneer road, for the furtraders were not accustomed to dawdle by the way.

This new trader, who now appears for the first time upon the stage of New Caledonia, was a remarkable man. A keen and intelligent observer, pious and humane, modest but firm, he was it may be judged, somewhat different from his contemporaries, although there were not wanting even in that crude age and in this rough employment strong Christian men—of whom David Thompson was a striking example. Harmon and Thompson would possibly have had much in common had they been thrown together, but their fields of endeavour lay far apart. Harmon's name, like many another of the founders and builders of the Northwest, has almost been forgotten, and would scarcely now be remembered were it not that he kept a private journal, wherein he jotted down from day to day and year to year the happenings of his post and his impressions of men and things. Fortunately this journal was published shortly after the author retired from New Caledonia. By means of this rare volume those who care to do so may look back upon that distant period and see the furtrader at work, and in so doing appreciate the better his difficulties and privations. The author's accounts of the Western Dene Indians, whose manners and customs he intelligently records, render the Journal of exceptional interest, not only to the historian but also to the anthropologist—both of whom are indebted to Harmon for his trustworthy narrative. It is in such rare books, in the fragmentary journals of the trading posts, and in the letters of the explorers that the historian may gather the materials wherewith to bridge the gulf which divides the present from the past.

In the year 1812 John Stuart, the Bourgeois in command of the

<sup>6</sup> Harmon's Journal gives the date as November 17th, but this is evidently a misprint for the next entry was written on November 12th.

district, was generally to be found at Fort McLeod, which was under James McDougall, the man who had been so severely rebuked by Simon Fraser a year or two before. McDougall seems to have fully retrieved his reputation. Harmon always speaks highly of him and Stuart himself acknowledges that he was an "excellent trader" and a "real Christian." Harmon was stationed at Stuart Lake, and J. M. Quesnel at Fraser Lake, whither he had been sent with ten servants to re-establish the post which had recently been destroyed by fire. Two clerks, Faries and McLeod, were also attached to the district, but the extant records do not specifically define their field of operations. Faries may still have been in charge of Fort George. Harmon, however, does not refer at this time to the post at the mouth of the Nechaco River, and it may be that it had been temporarily abandoned. As Stuart had received reinforcements, the forts were, comparatively speaking, well manned. In November, 1812, the garrison of Fort St. James consisted of "twenty-one labouring men, one interpreter, and five women, besides children."<sup>7</sup> So even in that early day the establishment at Stuart Lake had assumed respectable proportions.

These, then, were the men who were engaged in conducting the business of the North West Company in New Caledonia. The monotony of their existence in this remote and inaccessible country, far beyond the ken of their fellows, was relieved by the excitements incidental to the hazardous enterprise in which they were engaged. Now they are threatened with an Indian conspiracy and swift destruction, for the Carriers have not yet become altogether reconciled to the ways of the strangers in their midst, although they were generally "pleased to see us, and treated us with hospitality."<sup>8</sup> Now it is starvation staring them in the face, for when the salmon fails to appear in the rivers and lakes, the diet of the men is reduced to berries and roots. And then the long journeys to and fro, from one post to another, and excursions into new territory, sorely try the patience of the pioneers, who were so ill-equipped for such adventures in everything but dogged determination and physical endurance. Notwithstanding these difficulties they succeeded in subjugating the savages and the wilderness. In a few years the highways

<sup>7</sup> Harmon, Journal, p. 225.

<sup>8</sup> Harmon, Journal, p. 220.



FORT McLEOD, HUDSON'S BAY CO. POST, McLEOD LAKE, FOUNDED 1865; FIRST POST BUILT WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS









HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S POST, NEAR FRASER LAKE, FOUNDED 1806

and byways of rugged New Caledonia became as familiar to the fur-trader stationed in that district as the oft-travelled roads of the more accessible provinces in the East.

Harmon lived nine years in New Caledonia—1810 to 1819—and like Samuel Pepys of another time and place he confided to his diary his innermost thoughts; even the religious doubts and fears that beset his mind are duly recorded therein. The general consensus of opinion regarding the furtrader is that he was a blunt hard-living man—a creature of the extraordinary conditions which had called him into being—a man wedded to hardship and danger and perhaps rather given to trickery and licentiousness. But here is one who upsets all such conclusions. What is to be said of a fur-trader who sets apart the first day of each month for prayer and meditation? This, strange to say, was one of the pious rules of Daniel Williams Harmon, who in the second decade of the nineteenth century, made his home at Fort St. James. As might be expected, this honest man's narrative throws a strong light on the customs in vogue at the frontier forts and the practice of the savages who frequented these embryonic outposts of empire. Because the observations of a trustworthy contemporary, especially when they deal with historic events of no small significance, cannot fail to arouse deep interest, or at least to excite legitimate curiosity, the pages of Harmon's Journal will be freely used to illumine that early period of our history.

Shortly after his arrival at Fort St. James—which by the way, was not so named until many years later—Harmon visited the post at Fraser Lake, and here he spent the first day of the New Year (1811). His entry of that date throws a side-light on one of the social conventions of the age. On special occasions—for instance after a long and difficult journey, or upon a recognized holiday—the servants of the Company were treated to what was commonly called a "regale," which was neither more nor less than a plentiful supply of ardent spirits, generally in the form of rum. New Year's Day was the day above all others set apart for relaxation and mirth. Drinking and dancing and, it must be added, fighting—for such convivial gatherings frequently ended in a general melee—were the favourite amusements of the light-hearted "engagé," who for the time being threw care to the winds and drowned the memory of his

hardships in heroic libations. The journals and letters of the fur-traders contain many references to such orgies, which were taken as a matter of course and of custom. On January 1, 1793, at Fort Fork on Peace River, the men of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's overland expedition saluted their chief with a volley from their muskets, and they were rewarded with copious rations of rum, with which they made merry. At Fort Fraser, on January 1, 1811, the time-honoured festivities are duly observed. Harmon relates:

"This being the first day of another year, our people have passed it, according to the custom of the Canadians, in drinking and fighting. Some of the principal Indians of this place desired us to allow them to remain at the fort, that they might see our people drink. As soon as they began to be a little intoxicated, and to quarrel among themselves, the natives began to be apprehensive, that something unpleasant might befall them, also. They therefore hid themselves under beds, and elsewhere, saying, that they thought the white people had run mad, for they appeared not to know what they were about. They perceived that those who were the most beastly in the early part of the day, became the most quiet in the latter part, in view of which, they exclaimed, 'the senses of the white people have returned to them again,' and they appeared not a little surprised at the change; for it was the first time, they had ever seen a person intoxicated."<sup>9</sup>

There is a sequel to this story. New Year's Day, 1812, was observed with the usual honours at Fort St. James. This time the Indians were admitted to the feast; but, judging from Harmon's account of their behaviour, they had profited by their experience at Fraser Lake the year before. Harmon and James McDougall of McLeod Lake, who was spending the holiday with his friend, dined with all the people of the establishment in the common hall. After the banquet the host "invited several of the Sicaú (Sekanais) and Carrier chiefs, and most respectable men, to partake of the provisions which we had left; and I was surprised to see them behave with much decency, while eating, and while drinking a flagon or two of spirits. After they had finished their repast, they smoked their pipes, and conversed rationally, on the great difference which there is between the manners and customs of civilized people, and

<sup>9</sup> Harmon, *Journal*, pp. 196-197.

those of the savages. They readily conceded, that ours are superior to theirs."

By means of such passages as these just quoted, one may catch a glimpse of the furtrader at play. His feastings and merry-makings, however, were few and far between. His days were generally spent in toil. Life at the frontier posts was often arduous and not without danger. The first duty of the bourgeois, or officer, in charge of a district was the gathering of furs. His usefulness was judged by the measure of his bales of peltries, and his promotion depended entirely upon his ability to induce the native hunter to bring in beaver. If the old records are to be believed the Carriers were not too fond of work. Fraser inveighed against them as an "indolent, thievish set of vagabonds," who would not hunt regularly although "amazing fond of goods." The explorer attributed this failing to the fact that they obtained their supplies from neighbouring tribes, who in turn traded with "the natives of the seacoast," where articles were procured from the ships of adventurers. In spite of the difficulty experienced by the pioneer traders in getting the Carriers to hunt, the returns from New Caledonia were large. As the years went by the natives became more tractable and that district one of the richest provinces of the North West Company.

Perhaps in no department of all the vast country that the North West Company had brought under its sway were the amenities of civilization less in evidence than in the New Caledonia of that formative period. Nearly all of the men who were stationed there spoke in no measured terms of the privations they were forced to endure, and the monotony of their existence. The fare was always a source of bitter complaint. On the great plains bison, game and wild fowl were abundant. But in inaccessible New Caledonia the posts were dependent upon the salmon which spawns in the tributary streams of the lakes of the northern interior. Fresh salmon in the summer and dried salmon in all other seasons formed the New Caledonian staff of life. Simon Fraser called dried salmon "poor stuff," and succeeding generations of traders have confirmed his judgment. Occasionally the diet would be varied with venison, bear meat, or perhaps sturgeon. The capture of a sturgeon was an event of no small importance and it was always duly recorded. "This morning," wrote Harmon on Tuesday, May 23, 1812, "the natives caught a sturgeon that

would weigh about two hundred and fifty pounds. We frequently see in this lake those which are much larger, which we cannot take, for the want of nets, sufficiently strong to hold them." It will be recalled that Stuart Lake was first known as Sturgeon Lake.

As the month of August approached the rivers would be anxiously scanned by both white man and Indian, for often life or death hung upon the appearance of salmon. "As soon as one is caught," writes Harmon, "the Natives always make a feast, to express their joy at the arrival of these fish. The person who first sees a salmon in the river, exclaims, Ta-loe nas-lay! Ta-loe nas-lay! In English, Salmon have arrived! Salmon have arrived! and the exclamation is caught with joy and uttered with animation by every person in the village."

How important a part the salmon played in the domestic economy of the establishments is shown by the surviving diaries and letters of that day. Thus Harmon's entry bearing date of August 2nd, 1811, is pregnant with meaning: "Our whole stock of provisions in the fort, for ten persons, consists of five salmon only. It is impossible, at this season, to take fish out of this lake or river. Unless the salmon from the sea soon make their appearance, our condition will be deplorable." A week later Harmon and his people must have been in great distress for lack of food, for the journal of August 10th contains the following significant passage—"Sent all our people, consisting of men, women and children, to gather berries at Pinchy (Pinche)"—a village about fourteen miles distant from Fort St. James. The next entry announces that "one of the natives has caught a salmon, which is joyful intelligence to us all; for we hope and expect that, in a few days, we shall have them in abundance." Then the anxiety of the little settlement is suddenly relieved by the appearance of shoals of fish, according to their wont in full years. The journal of September 2 (1811) records—"We now have the common salmon in abundance. They weigh from five to seven pounds. There are also a few of the larger kind, which will weigh sixty or seventy pounds. Both of them are very good, when just taken out of the water. But when dried, as they are by the Indians here, by the heat of the sun, or in the smoke of a fire, they are not very palatable. When salted, they are excellent." Before the end of October twenty-five thousand salmon were placed in the store-house at Fort St. James,

so the wants of the establishment were amply provided for. The usual ration was four dried fish a day to each man.<sup>10</sup> Besides the salmon, many thousands of white fish were taken at the different fishing stations—one of which was at Stella, on Lake Stuart. "Our fishermen have returned to the fort," writes the faithful historian of New Caledonia on November 16, 1811, "and inform me that they have taken seven thousand white fish. These fish, which, singly, will weigh from three to four pounds, were taken in nine nets, of sixty fathoms each."

These entries are interesting if for no other reason than that they illustrate in a striking manner the precarious position of the early furtrader in New Caledonia. All went well when the salmon were running, but when the fish failed to reach the spawning ground in large numbers—which usually happened in two years out of four—the situation wore a different aspect. Then it was a difficult matter to find provisions for the posts.

All the establishments were held to be self-supporting, that is to say no supplies other than the goods needed for the trade came in from the outside, with the exception of small allowances of such simple luxuries as tea, sugar, salt, pepper, and perhaps a little flour. Ardent spirits, of course, both for the men and the trade, were also supplied. The inaccessibility of New Caledonia and the tedious and dangerous route by which it was reached prohibited the ingoing brigades from carrying anything but bare necessities. All the supplies came from Montreal and a year might be consumed in transporting them across the continent. At Montreal the outfits for the posts of the western frontier were made up into suitable packages and addressed—each being marked for its particular destination—thence the heavy brigades carried them to Fort William, where stood the great council chamber of the mighty Northwesters—"the lords of the ascendant," as Washington Irving called them in his matchless description of the glory that was Fort William's in the early years of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> At Fort William bales and packages were again assorted and distributed among the light brigades destined for the farthestmost parts of the wild countries of the north and west. The assortment of wares and supplies

<sup>10</sup> Harmon, *Journal*, p. 213.

<sup>11</sup> Washington Irving, *Astoria*, Chapter I.

assigned to New Caledonia was taken to Fort Chipewyan, on lordly Lake Athabasca. To this point came the bourgeois or superintendent of the district with his bales of furs—the product of his season's bartering—there to exchange them for his meagre supplies. It is hard to say what was allotted to New Caledonia in the days of the North West Company, as the records are not now available, but the Minutes of the Council held at Norway House in June, 1825, show the outfit for that year to have been "108 ps. in 6 canoes wh 32 men, guide included."<sup>12</sup> If this was the allowance for the department in 1825, when its bounds extended far beyond those of the time when Harmon was stationed at Fort St. James, it is reasonable to suppose that the outfit of earlier years was small indeed.

The route to New Caledonia followed the Peace River, Parnip River, and Pack River to McLeod Lake, often called Trout Lake in the earliest records of the district. Thence a rough trail, about ninety miles in length, followed an old Indian path to Fort St. James, which in after years became the busy capital of New Caledonia. For a time there was no other route to and from the posts west of the Rocky Mountains. It was not long, however, before the road by the Yellowhead Pass, Tête Jaune Cache and the main fork of the Fraser was discovered and more or less frequently used, especially by the expeditions despatched for leather, which article, not being produced in sufficient quantities in New Caledonia, had to be brought in from outside. Tête Jaune Cache, as the term itself implies, was named after a yellow-haired trapper who plied his calling in that neighbourhood and hid his furs and supplies at the head of the navigable part of the main branch of the Fraser River which finds its source in Cowdung Lake. This point—Tête Jaune Cache—is now assuming some importance from the fact that the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company have established there a great depot for supplies. The dressed leather and rawhide carried to Fort St. James by this roundabout way was used for moccasins, snow-shoes, thongs for baling furs and other necessary articles.<sup>13</sup>

Each autumn John Stuart would collect his furs at Lake McLeod—packs from Stuart Lake, Fraser Lake and Fort George at the mouth of the Nechaco River swelled the returns of that post. The

<sup>12</sup> Minutes of Council, 1825. Certified transcript of original Ms. in Provincial Archives Department.

<sup>13</sup> Written in 1912.



peltries were made up in convenient bales, of which there might be a hundred or more, each weighing ninety pounds and each containing from fifty to sixty beaver, or a lesser number of large pelts. Then the head of the district would marshal his little brigade, and, with his precious bales, set off on his long and arduous journey to Fort Chipewyan, where he would spend a few days before embarking upon his homeward voyage with his supplies for the following years. Gathering stores of dried salmon, exchanging blankets, axes, gewgaws and such simple things for fur, foiling the machinations of the natives, preserving a semblance of law and order, taking out the returns and bringing in supplies—this was the order of the year's work in New Caledonia, as in all other places where the daring Nor'wester had planted his flag.

The furbearing animals of New Caledonia were then, as now, bears, black, brown and grizzly; foxes, red, cross, and silver; the wolverine, otter, fisher, lynx, martin, musquash, mink, ermine and—best known of all—the beaver.

The beaver skin was the current coin of the lawless realm of the furtrader. By the beaver skin the trader measured all things and for it he gave up all to pass his days in the wilderness, amidst savage and treacherous tribes. Strange as it may seem, the Indian trader often became deeply attached to his mode of life, which was wild and free enough to suit the taste of the most unconventional. He would take to wife, either temporarily or permanently, a Metis<sup>14</sup> or full blooded Indian and settle down to the enjoyment of domestic felicity on the frontier. Apparently nearly all of the furtraders high and low, had wives or mistresses of Indian extraction. Harmon, himself, in his youthful days, had married—that is according to the custom of the frontier—a beautiful Metis girl, who bore him fourteen children, and then, so says an old record, was as straight as an arrow. The historian of early New Caledonia was devotedly attached to his consort and determined to marry her upon his return to civilization, and no doubt he did so for he was a man of exemplary character.

This is a rather remarkable example of loyalty to a conjugal relationship which did not carry with it at that time an enduring obligation. While some of the traders remained loyal to their mistresses,

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<sup>14</sup> Metis—a name given to those of French Canadian Indian extraction.

there were others who looked lightly upon the marriage *à la mode* of the fur countries and left their women and children upon retiring to eastern Canada. It was not until long after Harmon's day that the courts of Upper Canada decided that a marriage according to the custom of the Indian country, where few priests or churches were to be found, was valid and binding. A somewhat celebrated case settled the question. A highly respected officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, well known in New Caledonia, had taken to wife an Indian woman, with whom he lived for many years and by whom he had several children. In course of time he retired to Montreal, where he met and married a lady of good family. Upon his death it was found that he had left his fortune to his relict, whereupon one of the sons by his Indian spouse sued in the courts for a portion of his father's estate, on the ground that the marriage with his mother, although not performed by church or state, was valid because it had been solemnized according to the custom of his mother's people. The court held that the first marriage was of full force and effect and declared the second null and void.<sup>15</sup> This just decision acted as a wholesome deterrent. Thereafter desertion of Indian wives and families became less frequent.

Because the tedious and difficult approach to New Caledonia offered almost insuperable obstacles to the exploitation of a promising district, it soon became apparent that the demands of the western territory would have to be met from another and more accessible quarter. By this time—1812-1813—the mighty labyrinth of the Columbia River had already become famous in the Indian Territories through the exertions of the Nor'westers and John Jacob Astor's agents—whose exploits and manoeuverings will be more fully related presently. That noble river, it was hoped, would solve the problem with regard to the maintenance of the New Caledonian posts. If only a direct road to the Columbia could be discovered, then it would be an easy matter to carry supplies to, and to move furs from, Fort St. James on Stuart Lake. Then as now the problem of transportation was the one that most insistently pressed for consideration. Should a feasible route be found, a depot was to be established at the mouth of Western America's greatest fluvial artery.

In view of the urgency of the matter from a local point of view,

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<sup>15</sup> Connolly versus Connolly, Upper Canada Law Reports.

and in pursuance of the avowed policy of the North West Company to open a transcontinental communication to the shore of the Pacific Ocean, Stuart was instructed to find an outlet for his district to the southwestward. It is unfortunate that very little information respecting this important expedition is now available. Stuart's journal has either been lost or it is hidden amongst the North West Company's archives, wherever they may be. From other sources much may be gathered concerning his sojourn at Fort George—the name given by the British to the Astorian stronghold near the mouth of the Columbia—but of his journey to that quarter little is known. If it were not for the reference in Harmon's Journal and a few other records it would be quite out of the question to say anything at all about this reconnaissance. With the help of New Caledonia's first historian—so frequently quoted in this narrative—it is possible to lay down, if only approximately, the route followed by Stuart in the year 1813.

Apparently Stuart received instructions to carry out this undertaking when he was at Fort Chipewyan in the Autumn of 1812, for on November 6th of that year Harmon records that he was at Fort McLeod, where he found his chief who had returned only the day before from the fort beyond the Rocky Mountains. Then follows the very interesting statement—"His men are on their way to the Columbia River, down which they will proceed under Mr. J. G. McTavish. The coming winter they will pass near the source of that river. At the Pacific Ocean, it is expected that they will meet Donald McTavish, Esq., and company, who were to sail from England, last October, and proceed round Cape Horn to the mouth of the Columbia River." The men referred to were evidently those who had brought in Stuart's supplies from Fort Chipewyan.

Stuart and Harmon passed the winter at Stuart Lake and Fraser Lake. At the latter place they came near to being killed by the Indians. Harmon does not explain the cause of the trouble, although it appears that a woman was at the bottom of it. He merely records in the matter of fact way of a man inured to such incidents, that "While at Fraser's Lake, Mr. Stuart, an interpreter and myself came near being massacred by the Indians of that place, on account of the interpreter's wife, who is a native of that village. Eighty or ninety of the Indians armed themselves, some with guns, some with bows and

arrows, and others with axes and clubs, for the purpose of attacking us." The catastrophe was averted, however, by the adoption of mild measures, "which" (says Harmon) "I have generally found to be the best, in the management of the Indians." He adds: "We succeeded in appeasing their anger, so that we suffered no injury: and we finally separated to appearance, as good friends, as if nothing unpleasant had occurred. Those who are acquainted with the disposition of the Indians, and who are a little respected by them, may by humouring their feelings, generally control them, almost as they please."<sup>16</sup> The Carriers were subject to sudden gusts of ungovernable passion, in which state they often committed horrible crimes. It speaks much for both Stuart and Harmon that they were able to control the aborigines on this occasion.

In the course of the winter Harmon visited "Rocky Mountain Portage Fort" (where W. R. McLeod lived and ruled) and his old station Fort Dunvegan. Leaving Dunvegan on March 16, 1813, he reached Lake Stuart on April 4th, having taken twenty days to make the journey. Here he found his superior preparing to leave for the Columbia, so it is known that John Stuart's starting place was Stuart Lake. In his journal of Thursday, May 13 (1813) Harmon announces that—"In the early part of the day, Mr. J. Stuart accompanied by six Canadians and two of the natives, embarked on board two canoes, taking with him a small assortment of goods, as a kind of pocket money, and provisions sufficient for a month and a half." He then adds rather vaguely—"They are going to join Mr. J. G. McTavish and his company, at some place on the Columbia River; and to proceed with them to the ocean." The object of the expedition is set forth in the statement—"Should Mr. Stuart be so successful as to discover a water communication, between this and the Columbia, we shall, for the future, obtain our yearly supply of goods by that route and send our returns out that way, to be shipped directly for China, in vessels the Company, in that case, assign to build on the Northwest Coast."<sup>17</sup>

This statement shows that large projects were on foot, by means of which the North West Company hoped to secure a large share, if not the monopoly of, the trade of the coast. How that energetic

<sup>16</sup> Harmon, Journal, p. 225.

<sup>17</sup> Harmon, Journal, p. 228.

corporation attained its ambition will be related in a subsequent chapter.

It would be a difficult matter to follow Stuart, did not Harmon's Journal afford a clue as to his line of march. On September 25th an Indian arrived at Lake Stuart with three letters from the explorer, one of which was written at Okanagan Lake. "Mr. Stuart writes," says Harmon in speaking of this letter, "that he met with every kindness and assistance from the natives, on his way to that place; that after descending this river, during light days, he was under the necessity of leaving his canoes, and of taking his property on horses, more than one hundred and fifty miles, to the above mentioned lake. From that place, he states, that they go all the way by water, to the Ocean, by making a few portages; and he hopes to reach the Pacific Ocean, in twelve or fifteen days at farthest."

The passage just quoted is ambiguous, but it indicates that Stuart descended the Fraser River, possibly to a point in the vicinity of Alexandria or Soda Creek, and then journeyed overland to Okanagan Lake. It is not recorded that Stuart visited the posts established at the confluence of the North and South Thompson in 1812 by Laroque and David Stuart. If he did, Harmon does not say anything about it, which might be taken as evidence against the supposition because it is scarcely likely that that painstaking diarist would have failed to chronicle such important news. Alexander Ross, the historian of the first post at the fork of the North and South Thompson Rivers, is also silent upon the point.

In any event, Stuart reached the lower Columbia in time to take part in the stirring events leading up to the surrender of Astoria by John Jacob Astor's agents to the representatives of the North West Company. He seems to have stayed on the Columbia River for about two years.

The journals of the Columbian adventurers of that period frequently refer to his travels and negotiations in that quarter. With the other officials of the North West Company—McTavish and the rest—he exercised for the time being the authority of the partners at Montreal. From the fact that he spent so many months on the coast, it may be gathered that the finding of a route from New Caledonia to the Columbia was not the only reason for leaving his northern post. Perhaps upon his arrival at Astoria

he found affairs in such a state as to render his presence there necessary—as a matter of fact, what with the rivalries and machinations of the two companies, matters were in a chaotic condition.

Yet Stuart apparently discovered the route so long followed by the Columbia River Brigade—that is, that part of it lying between the South Fork of the Thompson and Alexandria. It has been stated that Stuart's exertions in this particular availed nothing; but Harmon records the fact that on Tuesday, October 18, 1814, Laroque arrived at Stuart Lake from the mouth of the Columbia River (p. 242). "This afternoon," he states, "I was agreeably surprised by the arrival of Mr. Joseph La Roque and company, in two canoes, laden with goods, from Fort George, at the mouth of the Columbia River, which place they left the latter part of last August." The little brigade here referred to was evidently the first to reach New Caledonia by way of the Thompson River, Lac la Hache and the Fraser River. It is likely that Laroque received instructions from Stuart as to what road to follow. It was this officer who carried to New Caledonia the melancholy intelligence of the death of Dugald McTavish and Alexander Henry. Both of these able men were drowned on the 22nd of May, 1813, through the upsetting of a small boat on the Columbia River.

Joseph Laroque was afterwards in charge of the post at Fraser's Lake, where he was visited by Harmon in the beginning of November, for Harmon states: "Here we arrived this afternoon (November 3) and found Mr. La Roque and his people, busily employed in bartering with the natives, for furs and salmon, and in constructing houses." His next entry affords an insight into the character of La Roque—the man who built the North West Company's post at the forks of the Thompson. "With this gentleman, I have spent a pleasant evening; and I am happy to find that, from having been thoughtless and dissolute, he now appears to be the reverse of this. It is manifest, that he has recently reflected much on the vanity of this world, and on the important concerns of Eternity; and he now appears determined, by the aid of God's Holy Spirit, on a thorough reformation." This quotation is typical of Harmon's observations with regard to his fellow workers. With him, they had all just reformed or were upon the eve of reformation. Just how far they

carried their good intentions is not known, but it is likely that they fell short of Harmon's expectations.

Before leaving the pious Daniel Williams Harmon, it is worth recording that he was the first farmer in the territory now known as the Province of British Columbia, as well as the earliest historian of the northern interior. On this account his entry of Wednesday, May 22, 1811, is worth recording: "As the frost is now out of the ground," says Harmon, "we have planted our potatoes, and sowed barley, turnips, etc., which are the first that we ever sowed on this west side of the mountain." There are several references to the gardens on Stuart Lake and Fraser Lake—for instance, it is recorded at Fraser Lake (May 10, 1815) that "We have surrounded a piece of ground with palisades, for a garden, in which we have planted a few potatoes, and sowed onion, carrot, beet, parsnip seeds, and a little barley. I have, also, planted a very little Indian corn, without the expectation that it will come to maturity. The nights in this region are too cold and the summers are too short to admit of its ripening." It is added that "The soil in many places in New Caledonia is tolerably good."

So much for the seed time. As for the harvest, Harmon relates on October 3, 1816, that "We have taken our vegetables out of the ground. We have forty-one bushels of potatoes, the produce of one bushel planted the last spring. Our turnips, barley, etc., have produced well."

Then there is this last reference to agricultural operations (February 18, 1818): "A few days since, we cut down and reaped our barley. The five quarts which I sowed on the first of May have yielded as many bushels. One acre of ground, producing in the same proportion that this has done, would yield eighty-four bushels. This is sufficient proof that the soil in many places in this quarter is favourable to agriculture." The diarist's next observation in this connection was prophetic, for it is only now—a whole century later—that this district is assuming importance because of its agricultural possibilities. "It will probably be long, however," Harmon remarks, "before it will exhibit the fruits of cultivation. The Indians, though they often suffer for the want of food, are too lazy to cultivate the ground. I have frequently tried to prevail on some of them to hoe and prepare a piece of ground, promising them that I would give

them potatoes and turnips with which to plant it; but I have not succeeded. Having been from their infancy trained up to privation, the fear of want is a much less powerful stimulus to excite them to industry than it is to those who have always been accustomed to the comforts of civilized life."

Besides giving a record of the routine of the frontier posts in New Caledonia, Harmon's Journal contains racy accounts of the manners and customs of the natives of that remote district and of the servants of the North West Company—the French Canadian voyageur, famed in Canadian song and story. Harmon's lively description of the voyageur is worth repeating, if for no other reason than that it does not altogether agree with the orthodox idea of the Canadian boatmen. He says "Like their ancestors the French, the Canadian Voyageurs possess lively and fickle dispositions; and they are rarely subject to depression of spirits, of long continuance, even when in circumstances the most adverse. Although what they consider good eating and drinking constitutes their chief good, yet, when necessity compels them to it, they submit to great privation and hardship, not only without complaining but even with cheerfulness and gaiety. They are very talkative, and extremely thoughtless, and make many resolutions, which are almost as soon broken as formed. They never think of providing for future wants; and seldom lay up any part of their earnings, to serve them in a day of sickness or in the decline of life. Trifling provocations will often throw them into a rage; but they are easily appeased when in anger, and they never harbour a revengeful purpose against those, by whom they conceive that they have been injured. They are not brave; but when they apprehend little danger, they will often, as they say, play the man. They are very deceitful, are exceedingly smooth and polite, and are even gross flatterers to the face of a person, whom they will basely slander, behind his back. They pay little regard to veracity or to honesty. Their word is not to be trusted; and they are much addicted to pilfering, and will even steal articles of considerable value, when a favourable opportunity offers. A secret they cannot keep. They rarely feel gratitude, though they are often generous. They are obedient, but not faithful servants. By flattering their vanity, of which they have not a little, they may be persuaded to undertake the most difficult enterprises provided their lives are not



endangered. Although they are generally unable to read, yet they acquire considerable knowledge of human nature, and some general information, in regard to the state of this country. As they leave Canada while they are young, they have but little knowledge of the principles of the religion, which their Priests profess to follow, and before they have been long in the Indian country, they pay little more attention to the Sabbath, or the worship of God, or any other Divine institution, than the savages themselves."

As for the aborigines of New Caledonia, the author of this journal speaks very bluntly and openly, as the following excerpt from his journal shows: "The Natives of New Caledonia, we denominate Carriers; but they call themselves Tâ-cullies, which signifies people who go upon water. This name originated from the fact that they generally go from one village to another, in canoes. They are of the middle stature, and the men are well proportioned; but the women are generally short and thick, and their lower limbs are disproportionately large. Both sexes are remarkably negligent and slovenly, in regard to their persons; and they are filthy in their cookery. Their dispositions are lively and quiet; and they appear to be happy, or at least contented, in their wretched situation. They are indolent; but apparently more from habit than by nature; and probably this trait in their character, originates from the circumstance, that they procure a livelihood, with but little labour. Whenever we employ any of them, either to work about the fort or in voyaging, they are sufficiently laborious and active; and they appear to be pleased, when we thus furnish them with employment. They are not in the habit of stealing articles of great value; but they are the sliest pilferers, perhaps, upon the face of the earth. They will not only pilfer from us, but, when favourable opportunities offer, they are guilty of the same low vice among their friends and relations. They are remarkably fond of the white people. They seldom begin a quarrel with any of us, though they are naturally brave. When any of our people, however, treat them ill, they defend themselves with courage, and with considerable dexterity; and some of them will fight a tolerable Canadian battle.

"Their language is very similar to that of the Chipewyans, and has a great affinity to the tongues, spoken by the Beaver Indians and the Sicaunies. Between all the different villages of the Carriers,

there prevails a difference of dialect, to such an extent, that they often give different names to the most common utensils. Every village has its particular name, and its inhabitants are called after the name of the village, in the same manner as people in the civilized world receive a name, from the city or country which they inhabit.

"Their clothing consists of a covering made of the skins of the beaver, badger, muskrat, cat or hare. The last they cut into strips, about one inch broad, and then weave or lace them together, until they become of a sufficient size to cover their bodies, and to reach to their knees. This garment they put over their shoulders, and tie about their waists. Instead of the above named skins, when they can obtain them from us, they greatly prefer, and make use of blankets, capots, or Canadian coats, cloth or moose and red deer skin. They seldom use either leggins or shoes, in the summer. At this season the men often go naked, without any thing to cover even that part of the body which civilized people think it necessary to conceal. Indeed they manifest as little sense of shame in regard to this subject, as the very brute creation. The women, however, in addition to the robe of beaver or dressed moose skins, wear an apron, twelve or eighteen inches broad, which reaches nearly down to their knees. These aprons are made of a piece of deer skin, or of salmon skins, sewed together. Of the skin of this fish, they sometimes make leggins, shoes, bags, &c. but they are not durable; and therefore they prefer deer skins and cloth, which are more pliable and soft. The roughness of salmon skins, renders them particularly unpleasant for aprons.

"A few of the male Carriers recently make use of the breech-cloth, made of cloth which they procure from us; but as evidence that no great sense of delicacy has induced them to wear it, you will see it one day at its proper place, the next, probably about their heads, and the third around their necks; and so on, repeatedly shifted from one place to another.

"Both sexes perforate their noses; and from them, the men often suspend an ornament, consisting of a piece of an oyster shell, or a small piece of brass or copper. The women, particularly those who are young, run a wooden pin through their noses, upon each end of which they fix a kind of shell bead, which is about an inch and a half long, and nearly the size of the stem of a common clay pipe.

These beads, they obtain from their neighbours, the At-e-nâs, who purchase them from another tribe, that is said to take them on the sea shore, where they are reported to be found in plenty.

"All the Indians in this part of the country, are remarkably fond of these beads; and in their dealings with each other, they constitute a kind of circulating medium, like the money of civilized countries. Twenty of these beads, they consider as equal in value to a beaver's skin. The elderly people neglect to ornament their heads, in the same manner as they do the rest of their persons, and generally wear their hair short. But the younger people of both sexes, who feel more solicitous to make themselves agreeable to each other, wash and paint their faces, and let their hair grow long. The paint which they make use of, consists of vermilion, which they occasionally obtain from us; or more commonly, of a red stone, pounded fine, of which there are two kinds. The powder of one kind of these stones, mixed with grease, and rubbed upon their faces, gives them a glittering appearance.

"The young women and girls wear a parcel of European beads, strung together, and tied to a lock of hair, directly behind each ear. The men have a sort of collar of the shell beads already mentioned, which they wind about their heads, or throw around their necks. In the summer season, both sexes bathe often, and this is the only time, when the married people wash themselves. One of their customs is sufficient to evince their extreme filthiness, and that is, whenever they blow their noses, they rub the mucus between both hands, until they become dry.

"Among the Carriers, it is customary for the girls, from the age of eight to eleven years, to wear a kind of veil or fringe over their eyes, made either of strung beads, or of narrow strips of deer skin, garnished with porcupine quills. While of this age, they are not allowed to eat any thing, excepting the driest food; and especially they may not eat the head of any animal. If they should, their relations, as they imagine, would soon languish and die. The women, also, during their pregnancy, and for some time after they are delivered, are restricted to the same kind of food.

"The lads, as soon as they come to the age of puberty, tie cords, wound with swan's down, around each leg, a little below the knee,

which they wear during one year, and then, they are considered as men.

"The Carriers are usually talkative; and when fifteen or twenty of them get into a house, they make an intolerable noise. Men, women and children, keep their tongues constantly in motion; and in controversy, he who has the strongest and clearest voice, is of course heard the most easily, and, consequently succeeds best in his argument. They take a great delight, also, in singing, or humming, or whistling a dull air. In short, whether at home or abroad, they can hardly be contented with their mouths shut. It was a long time before we could keep them still, when they came to our forts. And even yet, when they visit us, which is almost every day, during the whole year, they will often inadvertently, break out into a song. But as soon as we check them, or they recollect of themselves what they are about, they stop short; for they are desirous of pleasing. The above trait in their character, certainly evinces much contentment with their condition, and cheerfulness of spirit.

"Both sexes, of almost every age, are much addicted to play, or rather gambling. They pass the greater part of their time, especially in the winter season, and both days and nights, in some kind of game; and the men will often lose the last rag of clothes, which they have about them. But so far from being dejected by such ill fortune, they often appear to be proud of having lost their all; and will even boastingly say, that they are as naked as a dog, having not a rag with which to cover themselves. Should they, in such circumstances, meet with a friend, who should lend them something to wrap around their bodies, it is highly probable, that they would immediately go and play away the borrowed garment. Or if the borrower belonged to another village, he would be likely to run off with it, and the owner would never hear of him afterward; for I never knew a Carrier to be grateful for a favour bestowed upon him. At play they often lose a part of a garment, as the sleeves of a coat, which some of them now purchase from us, a whole, or the half of a leggin, which they will tear off, and deliver to the winner. They have been known to cut off a foot or more of their guns, when lost at play; for, like more gentlemanly gamblers, they consider such debts, as debts of honour."

Speaking of the marital customs of the Carriers, this shrewd

observer goes on to say that "The Carriers are remarkably fond of their wives, and a few of them have three or four; but polygamy is not general among them. The men do the most of the drudgery about the house, such as cutting and drawing fire wood, and bringing water. In the winter months, they drink but little water; but to quench their thirst, they eat half melted snow, which they generally keep on top of a stick, stuck in the ground, before the fire.

"As the Carriers are fond of their wives, they are, as naturally might be supposed, very jealous of them; but to their daughters, they allow every liberty for the purpose, as they say, of keeping the young men from intercourse with the married women. As the young women may thus bestow their favours on whom, and as often as they please, without the least censure from their parents or reproach to their character, it might naturally be expected that they would be, as I am informed they actually are, very free with their persons."

As for the native's opinion of the white man, it is given in the following words:—"The Carriers are so very credulous, and have so exalted an opinion of us, that they firmly believe, though I have often assured them of the contrary, that any of the Traders or Chiefs, as they call us, can, at pleasure, make it fair or foul weather. And even yet when they are preparing to set out on an excursion, they will come and offer to pay us, provided we will make or allow it to be fair weather, during their absence from their homes. They often inquire of us whether salmon, that year, will be in plenty in their rivers. They also think, that by merely looking into our books, we can cause a sick person to recover, let the distance which he may be from us be ever so great. In short, they look upon those who can read and write, as supernatural beings, who know all that is past, and who can see into futurity.

"For a considerable time after we had been among them, they were fully of the opinion, that the white people had neither fathers nor mothers; but came into the world in a supernatural way, or were placed on the earth by the sun or moon."

Such were the people—according to Daniel Williams Harmon—amongst whom the lot of the pioneer furtrader of New Caledonia was cast. A later historian of the district—John M'Lean—corroborates the account given by the first historian of the district. In his work entitled "Notes of a 'Twenty-Five Years' Service in the

Hudson's Bay Territory,"<sup>18</sup> M'Lean goes so far as to asseverate that "The lewdness of the Carrier women cannot possibly be carried to a greater excess. They are addicted to the most abominable practices; abandoning themselves in early youth to free indulgence of their passions, they soon become debilitated and infirm; and there can be no doubt that to this monstrous depravity the depopulation of the country, may, in part, be ascribed.

"They never marry until satiated with indulgence; and if the women then should be dissatisfied with the restraint of the conjugal yoke, the union, by mutual consent, is dissolved for a time; both then betake themselves to former courses. The women, nevertheless, dare not, according to law, take another husband during this temporary separation. Whoever infringes this law, forfeits his life to the aggrieved party, if he choose, or dare to take it.

"Polygamy is allowed, but only one of the women is considered as the wife. The most perfect harmony seems to subsist among them. When the favourite happens to be supplanted by a rival, she resigns her place without a murmur, well pleased if she can only enjoy the countenance of her lord in a subordinate situation. Yet a rupture does sometimes occur, when the repudiated party not unfrequently destroys herself. Suicides were frequent among the females in the neighbourhood of Fort Alexandria."

It is only just to observe that since these observations were written a remarkable change has come over the Carrier people, through the efforts of the able and pious missionaries who have laboured in the vineyard of New Caledonia.<sup>19</sup>

It is now time to bid farewell to Daniel Williams Harmon—one of the earliest pioneers and founders of the great district known in early days as New Caledonia. His journal of Sunday, February 8, 1819, states that "Mr. George McDougall has arrived here from Fraser's Lake, to remain, as I am going to McLeod's Lake, to prepare for a departure to Head Quarters; and my intention is, during the next summer, to visit my native land. I design, also, to take my family with me, and leave them there, that they may be educated in a civilized and Christian manner."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Vol. II, London, 1849, pp. 300-301.

<sup>19</sup> Vide Morice—Northern Interior and History of Catholic Church in Western Canada.

<sup>20</sup> Harmon, Journal, p. 269.

In May our worthy author left the scene of his trials and triumphs, and journeyed to Fort William—the headquarters of the North West Company—on Lake Superior. One of the last entries in his journal is so truly characteristic of the man, and throws so much light on the social condition of that age in this—as it was then—out of the way corner of the British Empire, that it may well close this chapter. In speaking of his departure, he observes—“The mother of my children will accompany me; and, if she shall be satisfied to remain in that part of the world, I design to make her regularly my wife by a formal marriage. It will be seen by this remark, that my intentions have materially changed, since the time that I at first took her to live with me; and as my conduct in this respect is different from that which has generally been pursued by the gentlemen of the North West Company, it will be proper to state some of the reasons which have governed my decision, in regard to this weighty affair. It has been made with the most serious deliberation; and, I hope, under a solemn sense of my accountability to God.

“Having lived with this woman as my wife, though we were never formally contracted to each other, during life, and having children by her, I consider that I am under a moral obligation not to dissolve the connexion, if she is willing to continue it. The union which has been formed between us, in the providence of God, has not only been cemented by a long and mutual performance of kind offices, but also, by a more sacred consideration. Ever since my own mind was turned effectually to the subject of religion, I have taken pains to instruct her in the great doctrines and duties of Christianity. My exertions have not been in vain. Through the merciful agency of the Holy Spirit, I trust that she has become a partaker with me, in the consolations and hopes of the gospel. I consider it to be my duty to take her to a Christian land, where she may enjoy Divine ordinances, grow in grace, and ripen for glory.—We have wept together over the early departure of several children, and especially, over the death of a beloved son. We have children still living, who are equally dear to us both. How could I spend my days in the civilized world, and leave my beloved children in the wilderness? The thought has in it the bitterness of death. How could I tear them from a mother’s love, and leave her to mourn over their absence, to

the day of her death? Possessing only the common feelings of humanity, how could I think of her, in such circumstances, without anguish? On the whole, I consider the course which I design to pursue, as the only one which religion and humanity would justify.”<sup>21</sup>

While Simon Fraser, John Stuart and Daniel Williams Harmon were consolidating the interests of the North West Company in the territory immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, David Thompson, whose name is inseparably associated with the discovery and exploration of the Far West, was making his way through the Rocky Mountains into East Kootenay. This restless, indefatigable man forced his way to the head waters of the Columbia River. He was the first white man to pierce southeastern British Columbia, and to stand at the source of the great fluvial artery which, rising in British Columbia, flows in devious course to the Pacific Ocean under the 46th parallel. Simon Fraser was a furtrader pure and simple, and such were John Stuart and most of the Nor'westers. But there were brilliant exceptions. Sir Alexander Mackenzie was an explorer of high repute, and David Thompson—the first trained surveyor and map-maker of the West—was first of all an explorer, although he did not despise the furtrade. David Thompson stands head and shoulders above the men of his day engaged in the furtrade in the wild Indian territories. It is strange, seeing that the man accomplished so much, that his name has not been emblazoned in letters of gold on the page of history. Few men have performed more heroic feats and few men have been so completely forgotten. It fell to the lot of David Thompson to explore unknown territories and to map them, with some degree of accuracy, for the first time. He left minute accounts of his journeys to and fro throughout the vast wilderness which stretched from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean; yet the Canadian of today knows little of the man and less of his work. It is strange that while the American historian delights to honour the pioneer who blazed historic trails across the continent, the Canadian historian has scarcely thought it worth while to record the great victories, won by the men whose efforts made possible, in after years, the establishment of the Dominion of Canada from ocean to ocean. No man has been less honoured, perhaps, in this country, than David Thompson, who died, old, worn-out and broken in

<sup>21</sup> Harmon, Journal, 269-271.



health, spirit and purse, at Longueuil, February 16, 1857, in his eighty-seventh year.<sup>22</sup>

David Thompson, like Sir George Simpson, was renowned for his rapid journeys from one end of the continent to the other. As a youth he had entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, but, wishing for more active employment, he made overtures to the North West Company, and the partners, keenly alive to the necessity of having the position of their posts clearly defined, gladly availed themselves of his proffered services. This, then, was the man who was to pierce the mighty Rockies. So far, only the Peace River and Howse Passes were known to the furtrader. It was left to Thompson to explore the maze of rivers, lakes and mountains of East Kootenay. In the autumn of 1806 he was in the neighbourhood of Laggan, Field, Golden and Donald, and reached the Blaeberry River, on the banks of which he constructed a rough log raft, and started on his perilous voyage down this rapid stream. The Blaeberry carried him to a great river which—though he did not at first recognize it as such—is the northern or main branch of the Columbia. He reached the river between Donald and Moberly.

In his journal of June 22, 1807, he entered the pious ejaculation—"May God in His mercy give me to see where the waters of this river flow to the western ocean." Not far from the place where Windermere stands today, he built a fort which he named Upper Kootenay House—long since destroyed, although the site of it is still known. Continuing his explorations, he discovered the Kootenay River and followed it into Idaho and Montana. However, he could not pursue his investigation further at that time, as winter was approaching and he yet had to journey across the continent to Fort William to report his discoveries. He manned his new post and left it for the winter, returning by Howse Pass, down the Saskatchewan, and thence to Lake Superior.

In 1808 Thompson wintered at Kootenay House, and, in the following spring, established posts on the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Lakes, leaving Finan Macdonald in command of the newly organized district, with McMillan and a dozen or more traders. In June, 1810, he was back at Edmonton, on his way east. Upon

<sup>22</sup> Coues. *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*. New York, 1897. Vol. I, p. XXIII.

his arrival at Fort William, he was astounded to hear that John Jacob Astor, the indefatigable American furtrader, who had hoped to promote an organization as powerful in the United States as were the Hudson's Bay and the North West Companies in the North, had determined to occupy the western territory, for which purpose he had promoted the Pacific Fur Company. With this intent, the founder of the Astor fortune had called to his aid some well-known Nor'westers—John Clarke, Duncan McDougall, Alexander Mackay (who had accompanied Mackenzie to the Pacific in 1793), Donald Mackenzie (a relative of Sir Alexander Mackenzie), and David and Robert Stuart, relatives of the John Stuart who had accompanied Simon Fraser on his memorable excursion to the sea in 1808. With these men went a number of French-Canadian voyageurs, than whom no better canoe-men (with the possible exception of some of the native tribes), could be found in all North America; no men were better able to withstand the hardships incidental to the exploration of new territories and the establishment of posts therein. Astor divided his forces into two expeditions, one of which took the overland route to the mouth of the Columbia River—there to establish a post, under the American flag for the conduct of the furtrade in that region—and the other voyaged thither around Cape Horn and up the west coast of South and North America to its destination.

The partners of the North West Company did not contemplate with equanimity the proposed invasion of their domain beyond the Rocky Mountains. The grand object of all their efforts and endeavours, since Fraser had founded Fort McLeod in 1805, had been the establishment of a fort at the mouth of the Columbia River. To that end had been all the heavy expenditure involved in the annexing of New Caledonia; to that end Simon Fraser had explored the great river discovered by Sir Alexander Mackenzie; to that end David Thompson had bent all his efforts in the last two years. In fact, from 1805 until 1810 all the efforts of the North West Company in the transmontane region had been wholly and solely with the object of planting its banner on the shores of the Pacific. It will be easily understood, therefore, that the news of the despatch of John Jacob Astor's expedition caused heated discussions in the inner circles of the partners. Nor did the fact that some of their own men had gone over to the enemy tend to allay their fears. If only Sir

Alexander Mackenzie or Simon Fraser had discovered and followed to its mouth the River of the West, all would have been well. But these men had followed another river—a river which was not wanted at that time. And that, perhaps, is why Simon Fraser's exploration has never received the attention it deserves at the hands of the historian. If he had discovered and followed the Columbia, it is certain that his exploits would have been heralded far and wide. Unfortunately, however, instead of discovering that river, he wasted two years and more in preparing for an excursion that was barren of result, that is to say, as far as the immediate object of the furtraders was concerned. The North West Company was disappointed at the result of Fraser's expedition; therefore that memorable journey did not attract the attention it deserved until many years after Fraser's day and generation. Comparatively speaking, it was not until recent years that the history of the great waterway of British Columbia was deemed of sufficient importance to deserve attention.

Now commenced one of the most memorable struggles that has ever taken place between powerful interests. The goal—the mouth of the Columbia River; and the prize—the control of its great watershed. The question was, who shall reach the mouth of the Columbia first—the emissaries of the American Fur Company, or those of the North West Company? The struggle resolved itself into a mighty effort by each of the rival concerns to reach the coveted ground before the other. Astor's agent and personal representative, Wilson Price Hunt, led the overland expedition, while that irascible martinet, Jonathan Thorne, a lieutenant in the United States Navy on leave of absence, commanded the ship *Tonquin*, which was to follow the course of the Boston traders to the mouth of the Columbia. To David Thompson the North West Company entrusted the task of forestalling the Americans. The year 1811, then, was remarkable for a race, such as the world had never witnessed before nor will ever witness again. The course was continental in extent, and the goal an almost unknown point on the fringe of the western frontier.

Captain Thorne won the race. He crossed the dangerous bar off Cape Disappointment on March 25, 1811. A site for a post was selected at once and all hands were employed in building Fort Astoria, as the establishment was named in honour of John Jacob

Astor. So the country at the mouth of the Columbia was first occupied by the Americans, and that occupation, together with the expedition of Lewis and Clark and the discovery of the estuary of the Columbia by Captain Gray, may be taken as the genesis of the Oregon Boundary Question.

After a hasty survey of the river, it was decided that the establishment should be built on Point George, so named by Lieutenant Broughton of Vancouver's expedition. An eye-witness thus describes this building of Astoria, destined to become famous in the annals of the Oregon Territory: " . . . as the captain wished to take advantage of the fine season to pursue his traffic with the natives along the N. W. coast, it was resolved to establish ourselves on Point George situated on the south bank, about fourteen or fifteen miles from our present anchorage. Accordingly we embarked on the 12th, in the long-boat, to the number of twelve, furnished with tools, and with provisions for a week. We landed at the bottom of a small bay, where we formed a sort of encampment.

"The spring, usually so tardy in this latitude, was already far advanced; the foliage was budding, and the earth was clothing itself with verdure; the weather was superb, and all nature smiled. We imagined ourselves in the garden of Eden; the wild forests seemed to us delightful groves, and the leaves transformed to brilliant flowers. No doubt, the pleasure of finding ourselves at the end of our voyage, and liberated from the ship, made things appear to us a great deal more beautiful than they really were. Be that as it may, we set ourselves to work with enthusiasm, and cleared, in a few days, a point of land of its underbrush, and of the huge trunks of pine-trees that covered it, which we rolled, half-burnt, down the bank. The vessel came to moor near our encampment, and the trade went on. The natives visited us constantly and in great numbers; some to trade, others to gratify their curiosity, or to purloin some little articles if they found an opportunity. We landed the frame timbers which we had brought, ready cut for the purpose, in the vessel; and by the end of April, with the aid of the ship-carpenters, John Weeks and Johann Koaster, we had laid the keel of a coasting-schooner of about thirty tons."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*; Redfield, 1854. This work was first published in French at Montreal in the year 1819. It is perhaps the most reliable of all the accounts of the Astorians.

The erection of a warehouse, sixty-two feet by twenty, a dwelling and a powder magazine, kept the men busy until the first week in June. The buildings were constructed of hewn logs and, in the absence of boards, were tightly roofed with cedar-bark. While these operations were in progress, the natives of both sexes frequently visited the scene and a brisk trade was carried on. As soon as the fort was completed, Captain Thorne sailed northward on a trading venture, according to his instructions. The Astorians, in the meantime, anxiously awaited the arrival of the overland party.

The *Tonquin* sailed on the 5th of June. Of her subsequent history all that is known is that she reached Clayoquot Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, where by maladroit diplomacy Thorne so incensed the Indians that they seized the vessel and murdered the whole crew. Gabriel Franchère relates that months afterwards the interpreter of the expedition arrived at Fort Astoria with the sad intelligence, he alone having escaped. The interpreter reported that the murder of the white men had been avenged, for as the Indians, to the number of two or three hundred, were looting the vessel, the powder in the magazine was ignited, and a terrible explosion ensued. As the vessel sank the murderous natives were hurled into the air.

Meanwhile the men at Astoria were not idle. In spite of the fact that they were obliged to husband their resources, expeditions were sent out to explore the adjacent country and to establish friendly relations with the natives. It was at this time that David Thompson came sweeping down the Lower Columbia in his birch bark canoe, with his crew of lusty French Canadian voyageurs.

Franchère relates that on the 15th of July, "toward midday, we saw a large canoe, with a flag displayed at her stern, rounding the point which we called Tongue Point. We knew not who it could be; for we did not so soon expect our own party, who (as the reader will remember) were to cross the continent, by the route which Captains Lewis and Clark had followed, in 1805, and to winter for that purpose somewhere on the Missouri. We were soon relieved of our uncertainty by the arrival of the canoe, which touched shore at a little wharf that we had built to facilitate the landing of goods from the vessel. The flag she bore was the British, and her crew was composed of eight Canadian boatmen or voyageurs. A well-dressed

man, who appeared to be the commander, was the first to leap ashore, and addressing us without ceremony, said that his name was David Thompson, and that he was one of the partners of the North West Company. We invited him to our quarters, which were at one end of the warehouse, the dwelling-house not being yet completed. After the usual civilities had been extended to our visitor, Mr. Thompson said that he had crossed the continent during the preceding season; but that the desertion of a portion of his men had compelled him to winter at the base of the Rocky Mountains, at the head waters of the Columbia. In the spring he had built a canoe, the materials for which he had brought with him across the mountains, and had come down the river to our establishment. He added that the wintering partners had resolved to abandon all their trading posts west of the mountains, not to enter into competition with us, provided our company would engage not to encroach upon their commerce on the east side: and to support what he said, produced a letter to that effect, addressed by the wintering partners to the chief of their house in Canada, the Hon. William M'Gillivray."

Franchère adds "Mr. Thompson kept a regular journal, and travelled, I thought, more like a geographer than a fur-trader. He was provided with a sextant, chronometer and barometer, and during a week's sojourn which he made at our place, had an opportunity to make several astronomical observations."

Such was the denouement of the great struggle of the rival British and American traders for the control of the Columbia River. David Thompson was too late. Unfortunately, the warlike Piegans had opposed his march and beleaguered his small force in the Rocky Mountains. Otherwise that mighty race would undoubtedly have had a different ending.

Thompson reached Kettle Falls at the end of June, and there built a canoe for his voyage to the sea. By July 2nd he was ready to proceed and on the following day started down the Columbia with seven voyageurs "on that first journey of a white man from Ilthkoy-ape, as the Indians called these Falls, to the Ocean." A learned and conscientious student of early western affairs gives the following summary of Thompson's movements from the date of his departure from Kettle Falls in July to his return to Athabasca in October:<sup>24</sup> "The night of the 5th found them encamped some dis-

<sup>24</sup> T. C. Elliott, *David Thompson, Pathfinder, Kettle Falls, 1911*, pp. 2-3.

tance below the mouth of the Okanagan river, on the 9th they were a little way above the mouth of the Snake or Lewis River, and on the 14th or 16th arrived at Fort Astoria, there to be greeted by Duncan McDougall, and other former associates of Mr. Thompson in the Northwest Company, but then partners and managers in the Pacific Fur Company of John Jacob Astor. These people had arrived in the Columbia by sea during the month of April, preceding.

"You ask how did David Thompson arrive at Kettle Falls in June, 1811, and whether by chance or design. He came on horseback from Spokane House, a trading post or fort then already established, erected the previous year at the junction of the little Spokane with the main Spokane river by one of his men, presumably Finan Macdonald. This seems a little early to find the name Spokane in written form, but so it appears; 'Skeetshoo' was the designation given by David Thompson to the Spokane river and to the lake later known as the Coeur d'Alene.

"He had reached Spokane House by the 'Skeetshoo road' or trail from the Kullyspell (Pend d'Oreille) river and tribe. The Kullyspell (or Saleesh) river and lake were already familiar to him through several months spent in exploring and trading there during 1809-10 and the establishment of two trading posts, one near to the Thompson Falls, Montana, of the present day. To the Saleesh he had come by the 'Kullyspell Lake Indian Road' from the Kootenay river, where he left the canoes used in descending the Kootenay from a point in British Columbia opposite to the waters of the Upper Columbia Lake and distant from that lake not more than three miles across the low divide since known as Canal Flat but to him as McGillivray's Portage. This portage he had reached by canoes up the Columbia from Canoe River at the extreme bend of the river in British Columbia, so named by himself because of his enforced encampment there from January until April of this same year 1811 in preparation for his 'sortie' to the mouth of the Columbia. The occasion for this 'sortie' was the permission given to him and the instructions received from his partners of the Northwest Company at their annual meeting at Fort William on Lake Superior in the summer of 1810, for the Northwesters had declined to join with Mr. Astor in the enterprise to occupy the mouth of the Colum-

bia and expected to develop the Indian trade there on their own account, as they afterward did."

But, let me revert to David Thompson's own records. He was at Astoria on the 15th of July and from there visited Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the river, but at once started up river again, for his journal reads: "August 8th, 1811, Chapaton River, at noon, latitude 48 degrees 36 minutes 26 seconds north, longitude 112 degrees 22 minutes 15 seconds west. Laid up our canoe." The Chapaton (Shahaptin) was the Snake River and this entry shows him to have been at the mouth of the Palouse river, a well known camping place for the Nez Perces Indians; from whence the party took to the hurricane decks of as many Nez Perces horses and followed the well established Indian trail to the Spokane (Aug. 18th) and thence to Kettle Falls again (Aug. 23rd). By the third of September he was again prepared with canoe and provisions and proceeded up the Columbia, through the Arrow Lakes and the Dalles des Morts to Boat Encampment on Canoe River, and from there crossed the Rocky Mountains again to the Athabasca in October.

The Astorians lost no time in extending their sphere of influence. After the departure of the *Tonquin* on its ill-fated voyage to the northward, parties were despatched up the river to explore the country and to select sites for other posts. One of these expeditions deserves notice because it led to the occupation of the country in the vicinity of Kamloops. On September 16, 1811, David Stuart and three of his men left Fort Okanagan, near the junction of the Okanagan and Columbia Rivers, for the interior. The adventurers crossed the beautiful plateau that stretches from Okanagan Lake to Thompson River, and, not far from the point where now stands the city of Kamloops, settled upon the site of a post for the trade of that district. At the same time, the North West Company had decided to occupy the Thompson country, and the clerk, Joseph Laroque, was charged with the mission. Neither Stuart nor Laroque knew of the intentions of the other. The Pacific Fur Company was first in the field, but the North West Company was not far behind.

Stuart's mission proved in every way a success, and upon his return to Astoria in February, 1812, his report led the partners of the Pacific Fur Company at Astoria to pass the following resolution: "That Mr. David Stuart proceed to his post at Oakinacken,



explore the country northward to it, and establish a post between that and New Caledonia.”<sup>25</sup>

During Stuart's absence, Alexander Ross—who bequeathed to posterity two excellent books on the operations of the Pacific Fur Company on the Columbia River<sup>26</sup>—was in charge of Fort Okanagan. Before leaving that post to attend the annual council at Astoria, David Stuart had instructed him to proceed to Kamloops—or “Cumcloups,” as Ross called it—to carry on the trade with the Thompson Indians. On May 16, 1812, Ross reached Kamloops “And,” to quote his own words, “there encamped at a place called by the Indians ‘Cumcloups,’ near the entrance of the north branch. From this station I sent messages to the different tribes around, who soon assembled, bringing with them their furs. Here we stayed for ten days. The number of Indians collected on the occasion could not have been less than 2,000. Not expecting to see so many, I had taken but a small quantity of goods with me; nevertheless, we loaded all our horses, so anxious were they to trade, and so fond of leaf tobacco that one morning before breakfast I obtained 110 beavers for leaf tobacco at the rate of five leaves per skin, and at last, when I had but one yard of white cotton remaining, one of the chiefs gave me twenty prime beaver skins for it.”<sup>27</sup> Ross then returned to Fort Okanagan, from which he had been absent only a few weeks. The success of this excursion certainly justified Stuart's description of the Sushwaps and their country. He had reported that the natives were “well disposed” and “the country throughout abounds in beavers and all other kinds of fur.” Sir Alexander Mackenzie, it will be recalled, had described from hearsay these same natives as a “malignant race, who lived in large subterranean recesses”—a reference to the “Keek-willee” or underground houses of the interior.

In order to carry into effect the decision of his colleagues, David Stuart left his post at Okanagan on August 25 (1812) for Kamloops, where he built a hut—for it was little more—which ultimately became the celebrated Fort Thompson or Kamloops. Stuart had not arrived a moment too soon, for Joseph Laroque followed hard upon

<sup>25</sup> Alexander Ross. *Adventures on the Oregon or Columbia River*.

<sup>26</sup> Alexander Ross. *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* (London, 1844) and *The Fur Hunters of the Far West* (London, 1855). See also Ross Cox, *the Columbia River* (London, 1831).

<sup>27</sup> Ross, *Fur Hunters*.

his heels and within a short distance of the Pacific Fur Company's establishment built a rival post for the Nor'westers. Thus, in the summer of 1812, two forts, if such they may be called, were erected near the junction of the North and South Thompson Rivers. These were respectively the sixth and seventh establishments to be built in the interior of what is now British Columbia. When Alexander Ross visited his chief at Kamloops at the end of the year, he found, to his great surprise, the North West Company established there.

It is not known—at least the extant records of that period are silent upon the point—by what route Laroque came, or under whose instructions he acted. Harmon does not mention anything about an expedition being fitted out in New Caledonia for the southern country, and it may be taken for granted, therefore, that he was despatched by one of David Thompson's parties in the Rocky Mountains, unless he came by the Yellowhead Pass and Tête Jaune Cache. While the agents of the Pacific Fur Company were founding their posts in the Far West David Thompson was not idle. He had already annexed the Pointed Heart and Spokane Country, and placed Mr. McMillan in charge thereof. The noted surveyor and furtrader had also established a post amongst the Flatheads and another for the conduct of trade with the Kootenais. To these three places also came the Astorians, and there pitted their wits against the North-westers. Towards the end of 1812 Alexander Ross paid a visit to John Clarke at Fort Spokane and his account of his three-day sojourn there throws an interesting sidelight on the furtrade as it was conducted in those early days. Ross wrote: "During the three days I remained with him I had frequent opportunities of observing the sly and underhand dealings of the competing parties, for the opposition posts of the Northwest Company and Mr. Clarke were built contiguous to each other. When the two parties happened to meet they made the amplest protestations of friendship and kindness, and a stranger, unacquainted with the politics of Indian trade, would have pronounced them sincere, but the moment their backs were turned they tore each other to pieces. Each party had its manoeuvring scouts in all directions, watching the motions of the Indians, and laying plots and plans to entrap or foil each other. He that got most skins, never minding the cost or the crime, was the cleverest fellow; and under such tutors the Indians were apt disciples."

At Kamloops, however, a better spirit prevailed, for there the rival traders "were open and candid and on friendly terms. The field before them was wide enough for both parties, and, what is more, they thought it so, consequently, they followed a fair and straightforward course of trade." David Stuart also bears willing testimony to the happy state of affairs on the Thompson River. Upon his return to Fort Okanagan in the spring of 1813, he informed Alexander Ross that "I have passed a Winter nowise unpleasant; the opposition, it is true, gave me a good deal of anxiety when it first arrived, but we agreed very well, and made as much, perhaps more, than if we had been enemies. I sent out parties in all directions, north as far as Fraser's River, and for two hundred miles up the south branch." As for the prospects of the new station, Stuart voiced the opinion that it would become "one of the best beaver posts in the country."

In this manner and by these men—exactly a century ago—the foundation of the city of Kamloops was laid in a rude trading post.

For the first time, the North West Company had a competitor in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains. But that competition did not last long. From beginning to end fortune frowned upon the American Fur Company. Its ships were wrecked; its overland expedition suffered losses and hardships; its affairs were mis-managed, and jealousies and bickerings marked its councils; then war broke out between Great Britain and America, and H. M. S. *Raccoon* was despatched to take Fort Astoria. The officers of the warship looked forward to winning much prize-money, as the post was said to be well-stocked with furs. However, when the *Raccoon* anchored off the Fort towards the end of 1812 it was already in possession of the British. Without supplies, and without an adequate force to defend the place, Donald McDougall, who in Hunt's absence was in command of the place, had disposed of the fort and all it contained to the North West Company, whose agents had found their way to the Columbia.

Upon his return from a tour of the Russian settlements and the Sandwich Islands, Wilson Price Hunt found that the fort and all the supplies and stores that it contained had been transferred to J. G. McTavish and John Stuart, the representatives of the North West Company. He was not, perhaps, altogether in favour of this disposi-

tion of the property; nevertheless, he acquiesced at the time, as is clearly shown by his assuming responsibility for Duncan McDougall's arrangement with Astor's rivals.<sup>28</sup> Thus all the efforts and expenditure of John Jacob Astor, who had aspired to be supreme in the new region, went for naught and his British rivals acquired sole control of the whole field.

No sooner had the North West Company acquired Astoria than it energetically proceeded to occupy the rich territories lying between the Fraser and the Columbia Rivers. Fort George, formerly Astoria, became the capital of the Oregon Territory, and all supplies for the transmontane region were shipped to that place round the Horn, or through the Strait of Magellan. Fort George soon became a Fort William in miniature. Fields were cultivated, several large buildings erected, and the pallisades and bastions strengthened. The Nor'westers were noted for their hospitality and bonhomie. The banqueting hall was often the scene of the revelries of as jovial a set as ever gathered together.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless the officers were jealous of each other and life at Fort George was not always as depicted by Commodore Wilkes, the author of this picture.

Heretofore the supplies for New Caledonia have been carried across the continent from Fort William to the Rocky Mountains, and by the Peace River Pass to Fort St. James. Now, with the Company in control of the Columbia River, the supplies for New Caledonia were taken in boats or canoes to the Okanagan River, and thence to the post at the fork of the North and South Thompson Rivers, the goods being carried by horse brigade on the last stage of the journey. According to John Stuart this route was opened in 1813 and used for the transport of supplies in 1814, and regularly since that year.<sup>30</sup>

From Kamloops the brigade proceeded to Fort Alexandria, on the Fraser River, where the packages were transferred to canoes and carried to Fort George, and thence to Fort St. James. This route, long and difficult as it was, proved far superior to that through the passes in the Rocky Mountains.

The North West Company, during the seven years it was in control of the Oregon Territory, from 1814 to 1821, accomplished much. It

<sup>28</sup> House Doc. 45, 17th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 49-64.

<sup>29</sup> Wilkes, A. B., *Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1845, p. 320.

<sup>30</sup> Autograph notes by the late John Stuart attached to A. C. Anderson's *History of the N. W. Coast*. In Provincial Archives Dept.

adopted a vigorous policy, and established new posts and entered into friendly relations with all the tribes that its agents could reach. The Company, however, was from the beginning, handicapped in its Western venture by the bickerings of its own officers and by its feud with the Hudson's Bay Company, which caused its resources in men and supplies to be employed along its threatened line of communication, in the territories now embraced in the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. In 1816 the struggle reached its culminating point. In that year a force of Nor'westers marched on the Earl of Selkirk's settlement on Red River, and, in the battle that ensued, Governor Semple of the Hudson's Bay Company was shot. The unfortunate Governor—a humane and conscientious man—expired shortly after. The Earl of Selkirk retaliated by capturing Fort William, where Simon Fraser happened to be at the time. Fraser and other Nor'westers were sent to Montreal as prisoners. Then followed a series of charges and counter-charges, many of which were aired in the courts of Canada. Naturally enough, the lawless reprisals of the contending parties attracted the attention of the Imperial and Canadian authorities, and aroused public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic, but so influential were the great protagonists that at first they were left to conduct their warfare as best pleased them.

The murder of Governor Semple, however, could not pass unnoticed. While both parties declared themselves innocent of the crimes attributed to them in the Indian Territories, and placed the blame for the unfortunate state of affairs on each other, it soon became apparent that the government would have to intervene. Rumours of parliamentary enquiries and law suits reached the ears of the officers of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies. No doubt both sides realized that they had acted injudiciously and that their indiscretions might result in the revocation of the charter of the one and the disbanding of the other. The North West Company, it is scarcely necessary to relate, had never been able to obtain a royal charter, although it had made an effort to do so.

The condition of the Indian Territories at this time, that is, where the two companies had openly fought for control, was deplorable. Whole districts had been depleted of fur-bearing animals and the Indians had been debauched with rum, for no other article com-

manded such prices in the Indian Territory and no other article would be taken by the natives in exchange for their furs if that were at all procurable. Fearful of the facts which an enquiry would bring to light, an effort was made by the companies to extricate themselves from their embarrassing position. There were men on both sides only too eager to continue the struggle; but, fortunately, at this critical juncture wiser councils prevailed. The nabobs of the fur trade came together. They realized at once that the only way to forestall an enquiry was to pool their interests. In 1821, therefore, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company joined hands, and in name the historic corporation, of which Prince Rupert was the first Governor succeeded to the control of the vast territories which the officers of both organizations had discovered and explored. Henceforth the adventurers of England were to be supreme from Labrador to Oregon—from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Thus disappeared the great North West Company, which in the thirty brilliant years of its existence had added a new chapter to the history of British achievement in the field of geographical discovery. Under its auspices, expeditions had crossed the continent for the first time, and opened to view a new and rich territory. The daring trader had penetrated the country in all directions—north, south, east and west. In his wanderings he planted his banner on the dreary arctic shore and on the rock-girt coast of the Pacific, on the great prairie and in the wild passes of the Rocky Mountains. In truth the North West Company had won an empire for the British Crown.

The North West Company is now but a memory. In the days of its glory it was a great power in this land. Who can read Washington Irving's description of the old Nor'westers without a feeling akin to reverence for these men who were truly great in their own way and calling. The brilliant historian of Astoria closes his account of the rise and fall of the North West Company with this masterpiece of rhetoric:—

"To behold the North West Company in all its state and grandeur, however, it was necessary to witness an annual gathering at the great interior place of conference established at Fort William, near what is called the Grand Portage, on Lake Superior. Here two or three of the leading partners from the various trading posts of the wilder-

ness, met to discuss the affairs of the company during the preceding year, and to arrange plans for the future.

"On these occasions might be seen the change since the uncere-  
monious times of the old French traders; now the aristocratical char-  
acter of the Briton shone forth magnificently, or rather the feudal  
spirit of the Highlander. Every partner who had charge of an in-  
terior post, and a score of retainers at his command, felt like the chief-  
tain of a Highland clan, and was almost as important in the eyes of  
his dependants as of himself. To him a visit to the grand conference  
at Fort William was a most important event, and he repaired there  
as to a meeting of parliament.

"The partners from Montreal, however, were the Lords of the  
ascendant; coming from the midst of luxuries and ostentatious life,  
they quite eclipsed their compeers from the woods, whose forms and  
faces had been battered and hardened by hard living and hard serv-  
ice, and whose garments and equipments were all the worse for wear.  
Indeed, the partners from below considered the whole dignity of the  
company as represented in their persons, and conducted themselves  
in suitable style. They ascended the rivers in great state, like sover-  
eigns making a progress; or rather like Highland chieftains navi-  
gating their subject lakes. They were wrapped in rich furs, their  
huge canoes freighted with every convenience and luxury, and  
manned by Canadian voyageurs, as obedient as Highland clansmen.  
They carried up with them cooks and bakers, together with deli-  
cacies of every kind, and abundance of choice wines for the banquets  
which attended this great convocation. Happy were they, too, if  
they could meet with some distinguished stranger; above all, some  
titled member of the British nobility, to accompany them on this  
stately occasion, and grace their high solemnities.

"Fort William, the scene of this important annual meeting, was  
a considerable village on the banks of Lake Superior. Here, in an  
immense wooden building, was the great council hall, as also the ban-  
queting chamber, decorated with Indian arms and accoutrements,  
and the trophies of the fur trade. The house swarmed at this time  
with traders and voyageurs, some from Montreal, bound to the in-  
terior posts; some from the interior posts, bound to Montreal. The  
councils were held in great state, for every member felt as if sitting  
in parliament, and every retainer and dependant looked up to the

assemblage with awe, as to the House of Lords. There was a vast deal of solemn deliberation, and hard Scottish reasoning, with an occasional swell of pompous declamation.

"These grave and weighty councils were alternated by huge feasts and revels described in Highland castles. The tables in the banqueting room groaned under the weight of game of all kinds; of venison from the woods, and fish from the lakes, with hunters' delicacies, such as buffaloes' tongues and beavers' tails, and luxuries from Montreal, all served up by experienced cooks brought for the purpose. There was no stint of generous wine, for it was a hard-drinking period, a time of loyal toasts, and bacchanalian songs, and brimming bumpers.

"While the chiefs thus revelled in hall, and made the rafters resound with bursts of loyalty and old Scottish songs, chanted in voices cracked and sharpened by the northern blast, their merriment was echoed and prolonged by a mongrel legion of retainers, Canadian voyageurs, half-breeds, Indian hunters and vagabond hangers-on who feasted sumptuously without on the crumbs that fell from their table, and made the welkin ring with old French ditties, mingled with Indian yelps and yellings.

"Such was the North West Company in its powerful and prosperous days, when it held a kind of feudal sway over a vast domain of lake and forest."

In view of the disastrous consequences to the natives and of the fierce rivalry between the Hudson's and the North West Companies, the Imperial authorities deemed it advisable to provide against a return to such a deplorable state of affairs, in so far as it was possible to do so by legal enactment and royal charter. It was recognized that just as long as competition should be allowed in the fur-producing districts, abuses must exist. Such was the passion of the natives for alcohol that no trader could hope to compete with one peddling that meretricious article, except by adopting similar tactics. Therefore, a benignant despotism was aimed at. Only a monopoly could control the lawless Indian tribes and regulate the furtrade. No sooner had the announcement been made that the rival forces had coalesced than George IV. granted to the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, as amalgamated, a royal license for "the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in North



America," under the restrictions and upon the terms and conditions specified in "An Act for regulating the fur-trade, and for establishing the criminal and civil jurisdiction within certain parts of North America." 1 and 2, Geo. IV., Chap. LXVI. A. D. 1821. The exclusive privilege, of course, covered only the countries to the northward and westward of the countries belonging to the United States and such as did not form part of any of the Canadian provinces. The proclamation was dated the fifth day of December, 1821.<sup>31</sup> This royal license was the outward and visible sign, of the coalition and it marked the close of the long drawn-out drama of the rivalry of the blue-coated Adventurer and the grey-coated Nor'wester. The amalgamation of the opposing forces profoundly affected the Far West. Astor's ill-starred venture after all had but paved the way for the North West Company. The reign of the McGillivrays and their associates, however, was short-lived, lasting only from the date of the purchase of Fort Astoria from Duncan McDougall, to the amalgamation of 1821. Then the combined forces, under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, became supreme, and for a quarter of a century they controlled the territory west of the Rocky Mountains.

The infusion of new blood into the Hudson's Bay Company led to the adoption of an energetic policy of expansion. No chapter in its history is more fascinating than the one which deals with the consolidation of its interests in the great region that stretches from California to Alaska. Not only did the Company secure the trade of this rich country, but it also extended its sphere of influence as far southward as San Francisco,—where Yerba Buena was established on the site of the city of San Francisco—and across the Pacific, to the Sandwich Islands where another post was maintained. Moreover, the Company entered into commercial relations with the Russians of Alaska, and at the same time drove from the North Pacific the American traders who, since the day of the surrender of Nootka in 1794, had plied their avocation on the Northwest coast of North America, with unhappy results to the natives of that region.

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<sup>31</sup> Hudson's Bay Co., Return to Parliament, 1842, pp. 2-23.

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## CHAPTER XII

### THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

In following, for the purpose of this narrative, the wide and varied current of events which circle, closely or remotely, around the early history of British Columbia, the familiar name of the famous Hudson's Bay Company claims for itself by insistent occurrence the pre-eminence which, by right of achievement, is indubitably its due.

The present is therefore deemed a fitting juncture at which to convey to the reader, in some detail, an adequate idea of the magnitude and importance of that Great Chartered Monopoly because of its influence in the West.

The Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated in the year 1670, during the reign of Charles II. and the corporate body thus formed, composed as it was of the noblemen and gentlemen of England with Prince Rupert at their head, was officially designated as "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." The Company was granted certain territories in North America, together with exclusive privileges of trade and commerce and the region of its activities, in the royal charter defined, was named "Rupert's Land."

As to the charter itself, it is perhaps one of the finest feats of incorporate activity and business acumen that has ever been given to the world; albeit that the power of the Sovereign to sanction the same has subsequently been questioned and pronounced in certain quarters to have been *ultra vires* on the part of His Majesty without the advice and consent of Parliament. Be this as it may, it is amply apparent, from the rescript of the famous deed, that it is a masterpiece of finesse in its tensest cohesive form; and, for the purpose of placing it clearly before the reader, within suitable limits, it has been judged expedient to touch freely upon certain phases of the docu-

ment, shorn merely, to some extent of ancient verbiage and repetition, a course which has the further effect of bringing into strong relief the salient features of this wonderful state paper, published in the form of a return to the House of Commons, dated 25th July, 1842: and cited fully elsewhere:

"CHARLES THE SECOND, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.: TO ALL to whom these presents shall come greeting:

"WHEREAS our dear and entirely beloved Cousin, Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria and Cumberland, &c.; Christopher Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, Henry Lord Arlington, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir John Robinson, and Sir Robert Vyner, Knights and Baronets; Sir Peter Colleton, Baronet; Sir Edward Hungerford, Knight of the Bath; Sir Paul Neele, Knight; Sir John Griffith and Sir Philip Carteret, Knights; James Hayes, John Kirke, Francis Millington, William Prettyman, John Fenn, Esquires; and John Portman, Citizen and Goldsmith of London; have, at their own great cost and charges, undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay, in the north-west part of America, for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding some trade for furs, minerals and other considerable commodities, and by such their undertaking have already made such discoveries as do encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of their said design, by means whereof there may probably arise very great advantage to us and our kingdom: AND WHEREAS the said Undertakers, for their further encouragement in the said design, have humbly besought us to incorporate them, and grant unto them and their successors the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands, countries and territories upon the coast and confines of the seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State: NOW KNOW YE, that we, being desirous to promote all endeavours tending to the public good of our people, and to encourage the said undertaking, HAVE, of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, given, granted, ratified and confirmed, and by these presents, for us,

our heirs and successors, DO give, grant, ratify and confirm, unto our said Cousin, Prince Rupert, Christopher Duke of Albemarle (and grantees aforesaid), that they, and such others as shall be admitted into the said society as is hereafter expressed, shall be one body corporate and politic in deed and in name, by the name of 'The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay,' . . . and that by the same name of Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, they shall have perpetual succession, and that they and their successors . . . shall be, personable and capable in law to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy and retain lands, rents, privileges, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises and hereditaments, of what kind, nature or quality soever they be, to them and their successors; and also to give, grant, demise, alien, assign and dispose lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and to do and execute all and singular other things by the same name that to them shall or may appertain to do; . . ."

As regards the election of a Governor and the governing committee, it is decreed as follows: "WE DO ordain, that there shall be from henceforth one of the same Company to be elected and appointed in such form as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which shall be called the Governor of the said Company; and that the said Governor and Company shall or may elect seven of their number, in such form as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which shall be called the Committee of the said Company, which Committee of seven, or any three of them, together with the Governor or Deputy Governor of the said Company for the time being, shall have the direction of the voyages of and for the said Company, and the provision of the shipping and merchandizes thereunto belonging, and also the sale of all merchandizes, goods and other things returned, in all or any the voyages or ships of or for the said Company, and the managing and handling of all other business, . . ."

Touching the first Governorship and Committee of the corporation the nominations are thus autocratically dictated: "WE DO ASSIGN, nominate, constitute and make our said Cousin, PRINCE RUPERT, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company and to continue in the said office from the date of these presents until the 10th November then next following, if he, the said Prince Rupert, shall so long live, and so until a new Governor be chosen by the said Com-

pany in form hereafter expressed: AND ALSO WE HAVE assigned, nominated, and appointed, and by these presents, . . . , WE DO assign, nominate and constitute the said Sir John Robinson, Sir Robert Vyner, Sir Peter Colleton, James Hayes, John Kirke, Francis Millington and John Portman to be the seven first and present Committees of the said Company, . . . .”

The power to elect a deputy Governor, oaths to be administered and the course to be pursued in the election of future Governors and Committees and so forth, are equally defined with the minutest precision, as well as the broader issues such as the trading, territorial, mineral and fishing rights and the naming of the territory, all of which are fully set forth in this passage:

“And to the end the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson’s Bay may be encouraged to undertake and effectually to prosecute the said design, . . . , WE HAVE given, granted, and confirmed, . . . , the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson’s Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all other royal fishes in the seas, bays, inlets and rivers within the premises, and the fish therein taken, together with the royalty of the sea upon the coasts within the limits aforesaid, and all mines royal, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gems, and precious stones, to be found or discovered within the territories, limits and places aforesaid, and that the said land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations or colonies in America, called “Rupert’s Land:” AND FURTHER WE DO, . . . , make, create and constitute the said Governor and Company for the time being, and their successors, the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the same territory, limits and places aforesaid, and of all other premises, SAVING ALWAYS the faith, allegiance and sovereign dominion due to us, our heirs and successors, for the same, TO HAVE, HOLD, possess and enjoy the said territory, . . . , with their and every of their rights, members, jurisdictions,

prerogatives, royalties and appurtenances whatsoever, to them the said Governor and Company, and their successors for ever, TO BE HOLDEN of us, our heirs and successors, as of our manor of East Greenwich, in our county of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not in capite or by knight's service; YIELDING AND PAYING yearly to us, our heirs and successors, for the same, two elks and two black beavers, whensoever and as often as we, our heirs and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, territories and regions hereby granted: . . . ."

It is further stipulated in the Charter that it shall be lawful for the said Governor and Company "to make, ordain and constitute such and so many reasonable laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, as to them, . . . , shall seem necessary and convenient for the good government of the said Company, and of all governors of colonies, forts and plantations, factors, masters, mariners and other officers employed or to be employed in any of the territories and lands aforesaid, and in any of their voyages"; Power was likewise granted to impose such pains and penalties as might be necessary for the enforcement of the same laws. The fines and amerciaments thus levied and taken were to be devoted to the use of the Company without impediment and without any account to the Crown, provided always that the said laws and fines "be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws, statutes or customs of this our realm:"

A further grant of trade is made to the Company comprising, "not only the whole, entire and only trade and traffic, . . . , to and from the territory, limits and places aforesaid; but also the whole and entire trade and traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes and seas, into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or land out of the territories, limits or places aforesaid; and to and with all the natives and people inhabiting, or which shall inhabit within the territories, limits and places aforesaid; and to and with all other nations inhabiting any the coasts adjacent to the said territories, . . . , or whereof the sole liberty or privilege of trade and traffic is not granted to any other of our subjects:"

As a provision against trespass the following prohibition is inserted: "WE STRAITLY charge, command and prohibit, . . . , all the subjects of us, . . . , that none of them directly or indirectly,

do visit, haunt, frequent or trade, traffic or adventure, by way of merchandize, into or from any of the said territories . . . unless it be by the licence and agreement of the said Governor and Company in writing first had and obtained, under their common seal, . . .” The penalty for infringement of this regulation was the forfeiture of all goods brought by such trespassers into England, one half of such forfeiture to go to the king and the other half to the Company. The covenant further engages that no such liberty, licence, or power will be granted by His Majesty to others, contrary to the tenor of these letters patent, without the consent of the Company.

The succeeding paragraph makes general provision that all lands and places aforesaid shall be under the power and command of the Company, who may appoint Governors and other officers, subject to the supreme power of the Crown, to preside within their territories and judge all causes, civil and criminal, according to the laws of England, and to execute justice accordingly; or, in cases where judicature cannot be executed for want of a Governor and council, it shall be lawful for the Chief factor of that place and his council to “transmit the party, together with the offence,” to another place, where justice may be executed, or to England, as shall be thought most convenient, there to receive such punishment as the nature of his offence shall deserve.

Relative to matters of security and defence, the Charter confers upon the Company “free liberty and licence, in case they conceive it necessary, to send either ships of war, men or ammunition, unto any their plantations, forts, factories or places of trade aforesaid,” and “make peace or war with any prince or people whatsoever, that are not Christians, in any places where the said Company shall have any plantations . . ., or adjacent thereunto . . .; and also to right and recompense themselves upon the goods, estates or people of those parts by whom the said Governor and Company shall sustain any injury, . . .”

Concerning trespassers, authority is given to the Governor and Company “to seize upon the persons of all such English, or any other our subjects which shall sail into Hudson’s Bay, or inhabit in any of the countries, islands or territories hereby granted to the said Governor and Company, without their leave and licence in that behalf first



had and obtained, or that shall contemn or disobey their orders, and send them to England; . . . .”

After making provision for the administration of oaths by the officers of the Company, the document concludes with the following important direction: “AND WE DO hereby straitly charge and command all and singular our Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Constables, Bailiffs, and all and singular other our officers, ministers, liege men and subjects whatsoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping and assisting to the said Governor and Company, . . . .”

To the renowned first Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, elected under the terms of the foregoing document, some more than passing reference may appropriately be made at this period of the story. Of Prince Rupert's mysterious personality it may be briefly said in the words of Eliot Warburton's scholarly introduction to his “Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers:”

“There is no personage in history at the same time  
so notorious and so little known, for his true  
history lies hidden under the calumnious cloud of  
Puritan hatred and Royalist envy and disparagement.”

One great illuminating fact is known of him however—one that gives the keynote of his noble life—and that is the spirit of unswerving honour and loyalty of purpose which dominated his soul from the earliest years of his career. In proof of this it is not to the old chivalric legends of the time that one need turn, but to the sober, yet stirring pages of European history that record the feats of arms and gallantry which made him known to fame.

Son of Prince Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, later to become the chosen King of Bohemia, and son-in-law of King James of England,—it was amid scenes of semi-barbaric state and splendour that Prince Rupert was born; and thus, by parentage, in his veins was fused the blue blood of England's royal house with that of the old dynasty of the Palatines of the Rhine. Driven from the throne for espousing the Protestant cause, his parents for some time found an unwilling asylum at royal kinsmen's courts until at length little Holland afforded them abiding sanctuary; and here their pilgrimage ended at the palace of the Hague. Obscurity then envelopes Prince

Rupert's early years until, from time to time, he figures spasmodically in history as Palatine officer under the Prince of Orange, as Cavalier soldier, as Admiral of the Royal fleet—in the Thirty Years War with Germany, and the English Civil War. Now leading his squadron "Prince Rupert's Horse," as advance guard of the Palatine army against the serried phalanx of Austria at the siege of Lemgo—at one with the Protestant Princes of Northern Europe in their stand against despotism in Church and State—now figuring grandly as Royalist leader of a forlorn hope against the sturdy Puritan "Roundheads," always an heroic figure, he flashes in meteoric manner across the scroll of history "and mothers hush their infants with the terror of his name." Then the lost battle of Naseby—and again, for a period, the dark.

What followed the battle of Naseby and the fall of Bristol immediately afterwards was that, deprived of his commissions, he was ordered to leave England, which he did in 1746. After this the glimpses we catch of him are when in many a strange and, to us at any rate, anomalous role he follows his forceful destiny of power and control. In military command in France and Holland, in command of a fleet around the coasts of Britain, in the Mediterranean and the West Indies, until in 1653 he again appears in France and from 1654 to 1659 in Germany. The year 1660 finds him again in England at the Court of his cousin, King Charles the Second, where, two years later he was created a Privy Councillor and Commissioner for the Government of Tangier. The next year he figures as one of the patentees of the Royal African Company and, the year but one following, as an Admiral of the Fleet under the Duke of York. In 1666 he shared responsibility with Monck, first Duke of Albemarle, in the conduct of the campaign against the Dutch, in which he suffered naval defeat at the hands of Van Tromp and De Ruyter; but eventually gained the victory. He appears again in military command at Woolwich immediately after and subsequently as constable of Windsor Castle in 1668, until finally he comes down to us as the recipient of the royal favour in the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter in 1670.

Then, after further naval achievement, Prince Rupert seems to have sought a late repose as First Lord of the Admiralty from 1673 to 1679, and in 1682 he died in his house at Spring Gardens, London,

from pleurisy and fever. He was accorded an imposing funeral and was buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. In the words of his biographer: "He left no more honest, brave, or true-hearted man behind him," and is described as one "who after innumerable toils and variety of heroic actions both by land and sea, spent several years in sedate studies, and the prosecution of chemical and philosophical experiments, with which the King was very much pleased and delighted. He died on the 29th of November, in the sixty-third year of his age, generally lamented; having maintained such good temper and exact neutrality in the present unhappy divisions, that he was honoured and respected by men of the most differing interests."

To us, he remains, a symbol of the men his intrepid daring and enterprise have inspired, many of whom were doubtless led thereby into the stupendous task of probing for the first time the vast untrodden territory that bears his name, where their names too and their achievements are with us here today unfading monument to his memory and theirs whilst North America endures.

There is a weird and almost mystic charm about the atmosphere with which it seems that memory loved to surround this really princely figure—a charm which lifts the story of Prince Rupert's life above the records of his peers, in pleasing contrast to the not too convincing eulogies that are wont to grace, with belated virtues, the royal departed. It may safely be assumed therefore that without risk of weariness to the reader, it may serve to recount something of the interesting genealogical detail which, thanks to the thoroughness of Mr. Warburton's researches has come down to us from the pen of an anonymous writer, and of which the following is extracted:

"The genealogy of Prince Rupert, Third son of the King of Bohemia. This prince began to be illustrious many ages before his birth, and we must look back into history about two thousand years, to discover the first rays of his glory. We may consider him very great, being descended from the two most illustrious and ancient Houses of Europe, that of England and the Palatines of the Rhine."

This document, the quaint phraseology of which has for convenience sake been reduced to modern parlance, shows that the succession of the Palatines of the Rhine can be traced with certainty for twelve hundred years, the first of their ancestors recorded in history being

Adellaheren, whom the Bavarians chose king of the Huns, immediately after the death of the famous Attila, about the middle of the fifth century. This leads the writer quaintly to soliloquize: "So great a man and chosen by the Germans for their King, and after Attila, shews he was not the first renowned Prince of his race; and this reason alone is sufficient to persuade us that he was as considerable in his blood as in his valour. Yet, in all appearance, he has been more famous in his successors than in his ancestors, and the Princes which have descended from him are more glorious than those from whom he himself descended. This we see in Charlemagne, the greatest Emperor since Constantine, who came in a direct line from Adellaheren, more than three hundred years after him; during which time his ancestors were called Dukes of Bavaria, and they rendered their name great in the world by those eminent virtues which supported it." Thus the writer shows with backward glance adown the vista of the ages how through Pepin, Bernard, Otho and others—all monarchs of goodly and great renown—"the blood of Charlemagne comes to the Prince whose story we are writing," until he cites a "Rupert," "whose virtue was equal to his birth" and who notwithstanding many illustrious competitors "was chosen and crowned Emperor with the universal applause of Europe." This name was afterwards repeated in the person of a later Emperor who inherited the title and sovereignty of the Palatinate. The Emperor Frederick, his first successor, was followed by his son, Louis the Sixth, who in turn gave place to his grandson Frederick the Fourth, father of Frederick the Fifth, of pious memory, King of Bohemia and father of Prince Rupert of this story.

With this necessarily condensed recital of a long and illustriously royal lineage, this episode may be fitly closed.

As stated in a letter written by the Governor of the Company to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade in 1838, the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company, between the years 1670 and 1690, were very large, notwithstanding losses sustained by the capture of some of its establishments by the French, which amounted to £118,014. In 1684 the Company paid to the proprietors, as dividend, fifty per cent, with a similar sum in 1688 and twenty-five per cent in 1689. In 1690 the stock was trebled, without any call upon the shareholders, and the dividend for that year was again twenty-

ive per cent. In the ensuing years, however (1692 to 1697), losses occurred to the amount of some £96,000—due to further captures by the French, under La Perouse. This necessitated borrowing, but to these temporary reverses a period of enhanced prosperity shortly supervened which lasted to the year 1800, during which, at varying intervals dividends accrued to the happy shareholders equivalent to the magnificent percentage of sixty to seventy per annum.

This is neither the place nor the occasion to relate the story of the Hudson's Bay Company from its inception until it achieved its foothold in the West. That may be readily found in works specially devoted to the subject; but since, as it has been shown, such foothold was attained, by amalgamation with the Company's one time rival, the North West Company, under terms of agreement entered into between them, it may be well to give at this point the particulars of the Royal License of 1821 whereby certain powers were conferred upon the Company by King George IV. Some details, as to the events which led up to the clashing of interests and the subsequent feuds and lawlessness of the rival traders in that region, have already been given. It is, therefore, not necessary to refer to that fascinating age in which the passion for gain found expression in a conflict as memorable as it was futile. All that need be said here is that that seething cauldron of diverse and divided interests subsided almost as suddenly as it was brought to the boiling point. Realizing that such a condition of affairs could not be allowed to exist indefinitely and fearing that the feuds of the rival forces for the furtrade would be utterly destroyed, the heads of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company came together. After due deliberation these autocrats of the wilderness agreed to bury their animosities. Accordingly, a contract was made, under the terms of which the two concerns agreed to pool their interests. And so passed that strange era, which, while it is marked by much that is mean and sordid, still commands our admiration, because of the heroism and energy displayed in the exploration of new lands in quite extraordinary circumstances.

The peace thus declared, however, did not allay the bitter feelings engendered by years of internicine warfare. The heads of the Companies might decree peace, but for many years the rank and file, who had fought their battles in the distant marches of the Northwest,

could not easily forget the days of the great conflict. Thus, at the time of the amalgamation, the respective retainers and henchmen gave vent to their feelings in no uncertain terms. Some of them resigned, more of them threatened to resign, and all or nearly all of them demurred; but gradually the animosities of the Blues and the Greys were forgotten in the work of reorganization and extension.

The conciliation of 1821 found expression in the terms of the Royal License of the same year. Of the series of remarkable documents in which the policies or operations of the furtraders are outlined, the license of 1821 is by no means the least interesting. As it had an important bearing upon the West—and indeed it may be said to mark another turning point in Western affairs—it is desirable, for the sake of clarity, to give concisely the fundamental features of the agreements.

The following is, in brief, the gist of the concession. An Act had been passed entitled "An act for regulating the Fur Trade, and for establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain parts of North America," whereby it was brought within the prerogative of the Crown to grant a Royal License for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in parts of North America specified therein—the "parts" indicated not being part of the lands or territories heretofore granted to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England's trading into Hudson's Bay, not part of any British Province in North America, nor of any lands or territories belonging to the United States of America—for a period of twenty-one years. Upon this concession no rent was to be required, but certain conditions were imposed touching the administration of law and the prevention of the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians—a stipulation inserted for the purpose of promoting their moral and religious improvement and for the remedy or prevention of other evils.

The said Act further recited a Convention entered into between his late Majesty and the United States of America, wherein it was stipulated and agreed that every country on the Northwest coast of America to the westward of the Stony Mountains, should be free and open to citizens and subjects of the two powers for the term of ten years from date, and therefore, that nothing in the said Act should be deemed or construed to authorize any body corporate, company or person to whom his Majesty might give license, to claim or exercise

any exclusive trade to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizens of the United States of America who might be engaged in the same trade. Now therefore, the Act continues, in effect, seeing that the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and certain associations of persons trading in the name of the "North-West Company of Montreal," have respectively extended the furtrade over many parts of North America which had not been before explored and that the competition between them had been productive of great inconvenience and loss to both the Company and the Association, detrimental to the trade generally and likewise of injury to the native Indians and other British subjects: In consequence of this the Governor and Company, on the one side, and William McGillivray of Montreal, Simon McGillivray of Suffolk-lane, in the City of London, merchant, and Edward Ellice, of Spring Gardens, in the County of Middlesex, on the other, have entered into an agreement on the 26th day of March last for putting an end to the said competition, and carrying on the trade for twenty-one years, in the name of the said Governor and Company exclusively. The King, accordingly, in order to encourage the trade and remedy the evil aforesaid, did grant and give to the parties mentioned, jointly, a Royal License for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the northward and westward of the said territories for the period of twenty-one years from date thereof, subject to the conditions before mentioned for the proper regulation and conduct of the trade. The license was given at Carlton House, the 5th day of December, 1821, in the second year of the reign, by His Majesty's command.

No sooner was the seal of the high contracting parties affixed to the agreement and the same accorded official recognition by the Royal Licence of 1821, than the Hudson's Bay Company prepared to assume command of the western territory, so long the debatable ground of the erstwhile rivals. The first thing to be done was to reconcile to the new order the stalwarts of both sides who had so lately contended with an ardour worthy of a better cause. There was, even yet, a danger that the latent hostility of the two factions of the amalgamated companies might again burst into flame and thus destroy the coalition of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'-westers, or at least render nugatory its pacificatory measures and

work of consolidation. One of the great lessons taught by the philosophy of history is this: that in all crises a man is found with the necessary qualifications and force of character to master the situation. Napoleon's whiff of grape shot finished the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror. Oliver Cromwell with his stern command to take away that "bauble" brought the long Parliament to an inglorious end. Disraeli ensured the ratification of the Treaty of Berlin by letting it be known at the crucial moment of the negotiations that he had ordered a special train to take him from Germany. In fact, numberless cases might be quoted to prove the adage that the hour brings forth the man.

No less was it so in the great crisis in the furtrade of North America in the year 1821. At that juncture, when no one was prepared to say what the outcome might be, a man steps forth from obscurity to mould and fashion the destinies of half a continent. George Simpson was the man of the hour. To him was given full control of the reorganized Hudson's Bay Company's affairs in British North America. At the coalition of 1821 he was appointed to the ancient and honourable post of Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, a position which carried with it the overlordship of that vast region which stretches from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific Ocean. This young man, who was but twenty-nine at the time of his assumption of that high office, was entrusted with the onerous task of reconciling conflicting interests, abating personal jealousies, and controlling the turbulent forces placed under his command. The record of his life shows how well he succeeded in evolving order out of chaos. When he assumed command in North America, the furtrade from one end of the continent to the other was in a state of demoralization, bordering upon confusion; in a few years George Simpson by the exercise of tact and diplomacy, with, perhaps, a dash of native cunning, had reduced the vast organization to working order and operated it with all the precision of a machine.

Inasmuch as George Simpson is a commanding figure of the romantic period of the furtrade, his unique career is deserving of more than passing notice. He was the only son of George Simpson of Lochbroom, Ross-shire. It is a coincidence that he was born in 1792, the same year in which Captain Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra conducted their famous negotiations at Nootka Sound, touch-



ing the title to the land he was afterwards to rule with such signal success. In 1809 he was taken to London, where, after completing his education, he entered a merchant's office. The youth, however, was not destined for the desk. Like Alexander Mackenzie, he longed for a life of adventure and a broader sphere of activity; and, like Alexander Mackenzie, George Simpson sought an outlet for his restless spirit in the furtrade of the North. Mackenzie had thrown in his lot with the independent traders; George Simpson joined the ranks of the Hudson's Bay Company, the inveterate enemy of the North West Company; and to his lot it fell to extinguish the vendetta forever famous in the annals of Canada and of the Empire. It is also a peculiar coincidence that Sir George Simpson entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1820, the year in which Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the doughty champion of the independent traders and the great antagonist of the Hudson's Bay Company, died at Mulnain, near Dunkeld. And thus it ever is—the passing of one bright planet into space but heralds the rising of another lord of the ascendant.

George Simpson devoted his whole energy solely to the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. The young officer gained his first experience of frontier life at Athabasca, where he passed the winter of 1820-21, suffering great privations, but nevertheless keeping up an active competition with the foe—the rival Nor'westers. The two companies were now at death grips and it seemed that nothing short of the complete rout of one or other could end the fratricidal war. In 1820 the fight was raging in all its fury. Then the unexpected happened—in 1821 the rivals coalesced and George Simpson was made Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's "plantation" called "Rupert's Land," and of all the vast domain of the west.

It does not appear that George Simpson was looked upon as a strong man by the wintering partners, traders and chief factors; that is if Willard Ferdinand Wentzel, a Norwegian in the service of the North West Company, truly reflects their opinions. In a letter to the Hon. Roderick McKenzie, under the inscription "Winter Lake, Fort Enterprise, near Coppermine River, March 26th, 1821," Wentzel has this to say of the man who was, shortly afterwards, appointed Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company: "Mr. Simpson, a gentleman from England, last spring superintends their (the Hud-

son's Bay Company's) business (in Athabasca). His being a stranger and reputed a gentlemanly man, will not create much alarm, nor do I presume him formidable as an Indian trader." But the writer soon had occasion to change his opinion. Three years had not elapsed when Wentzel, writing from the Mackenzie River, March 1st, 1824, is found lamenting the evil days which had fallen upon the traders, remarking in conclusion, "In short, the North-west is now beginning to be ruled with an iron rod." Already the strong hand of the "gentlemanly man" was making itself felt throughout the length and breadth of his control.

As administrator of the Hudson's Bay Company Sir George Simpson chiefly resided at Lachine. In after years he was closely connected with the financial interests of Canada as director of the Banks of British North America and later of the Bank of Montreal. In 1827 Sir George married Frances Ramsay Simpson, second daughter of Geddes Mackenzie Simpson of Tower Hill and Stamford Hill, London, and left one son and two daughters. He was knighted in 1841. The last public act of this great man was to receive the late King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, at Lachine in July, 1860. He died on September 7th of the same year.

At the time of the union of the two companies, a certain Doctor John McLoughlin was in charge of Fort William. He had already achieved distinction in the service of the North West Company, but his constructive work in the Oregon Territory was to give him enduring fame in the annals of two countries. He had opposed the amalgamation, but had decided to remain in the service of the re-organized Hudson's Bay Company. There was also, stationed at Fort William at that time, a young clerk named James Douglas, who, upon hearing that peace had been declared and that henceforth the rival organizations were to be as one, impetuously declared his intention of leaving the country. Doctor McLoughlin, who had taken a fancy to the lad, prevailed upon him to transfer his allegiance to the new power. Both of these men—Doctor John McLoughlin—then in the prime of life—and James Douglas—were destined to play leading parts in the vast wilderness which the union had added to the territories already controlled.

Doctor McLoughlin was selected to take charge of the Com-

any's affairs west of the Rockies,—no abler or nobler man could have been chosen for this responsible post.

A slight digression may here be made for the purpose of giving a brief outline of the genealogy of this very remarkable man, who figures so grandly in Frederick V. Holman's well-known and exhaustive work as "the Father of Oregon"; and indeed since no fuller or more reliable reference can possibly be found, no apology is made for drawing freely from that excellent source.

Doctor John McLoughlin was born October 19, 1784, in Parish La Riviere du Loup, not far from Quebec. He was of Irish Roman Catholic parentage. His mother's maiden name was Fraser—she also was Canadian by birth, but came of distinguished Scottish military stock. He was educated in Canada and Scotland and, like his brother David became a physician—"Physically Dr. McLoughlin was a superb specimen of a man—His height was not less than six feet four inches. He carried himself as a master, which gave him an appearance of being more than six feet and a half high. He was almost perfectly proportioned. Mentally he was endowed to match his magnificent physical proportions. He was brave and fearless, he was true and just; he was truthful and scorned a lie. The Indians as well as his subordinates soon came to know that if he threatened punishment for an offence, it was as certain as that the offence occurred. He was absolutely master of himself and of those under him. He allowed none of his subordinates to question or to disobey. . . . He was facile princeps, and, yet with all these dominant qualities, he had the greatest kindness, sympathy and humanity."

In 1824 a notable party arrived at Fort George, as Astoria had been re-christened by Captain Black of H. M. S. *Raccoon* in 1813. It is said that George Simpson himself, led the expedition, and with him came Dr. John McLoughlin, James Douglas, John Work and other men who became prominent in the West in after years. Of these men Doctor McLoughlin was the most commanding in personality and appearance. He was to take charge of the newly created Western Department and for more than twenty years he was to be in fact as well as in name the ruler of the Oregon Territory. With characteristic energy he threw himself into the work of organizing his vast principality, which he governed as despotically as any feudal

baron of the twelfth century ever ruled his fief or tenure held of the Crown. Doctor McLoughlin in a short while established throughout the land the stern law of the furtrader. Even the fierce and lawless tribes of the interior feared this man while they acknowledged his high sense of justice and his magnanimity. To the natives he was known as the "White Eagle"—a tribute to his personal appearance and character. He was a benignant despot—terrible in his righteous anger, overbearing at times to his subordinates, but noble always and always *en grand seigneur gentilhomme*. Courteously and charmingly or stern and forbidding, he commanded alike the respect of his inferiors and the regard of his equals—he had no superior in all the West.

McLoughlin quickly grasped the fact that Fort George was not well situated, and that the great trading emporium should be placed farther up the Columbia. After carefully examining both banks of the river in small boats, he selected a site for the new post—destined to become famous in the annals of the West—on the north bank of the Columbia, some seven miles above the mouth of the Willamette, and a few miles below the point named Vancouver by Lieutenant Broughton in 1792. Fort Vancouver was built in the following year (1825), but it was not completed until a later period. A few years after, about 1830, it seems that the old fort was pulled down and a new one erected about a mile westerly from the original building. The place is now a United States military post, commonly known as Vancouver Barracks.

The passing years have obscured the history of the pioneer period. Not a great deal is known of the lives of the builders, of their pleasures and vicissitudes; and but few descriptions of the first posts have survived. Now and again, however, some old report or diary, or a long forgotten letter written by one of the pioneers, gives the present generation a glimpse of the life of that far-off day. Thus, Fort Vancouver is revealed as it was in the days before it became the Mecca of all travellers in the west. For instance, the Report of Naval Agent W. A. Slacum to the Secretary of State of the United States, dated March 26, 1837, gives many particulars of the place as it was at that time. Doctor McLoughlin had established a large farm, which under his able administration produced quantities of grain, vegetables, butter and cheese. Afterwards it was stocked with cattle,

horses, sheep, goats and swine. In 1836 the farm consisted of three thousand acres, fenced into fields such as would have graced the estate in old England, with dairies and cottages for the herdsmen and shepherds. In the same year there were harvested eight thousand bushels of wheat, fifty-five hundred bushels of barley, six thousand bushels of oats, nine thousand bushels of peas, fourteen thousand bushels of potatoes, besides large quantities of roots, pumpkins and other vegetables. There was also an orchard of apple, pear and quince trees, which bore in profusion. Two sawmills and two flour-mills cut the timber for the Sandwich Islands and ground the flour which was exported to the Russian settlement at Sitka. In a few years Doctor McLoughlin converted the Oregon country into one of the most profitable parts of North America to the Hudson's Bay Company. For many years the London value of the yearly gathering of furs in the territory varied from five hundred thousand to one million dollars; and it should be borne in mind that such sums represented then a value several fold more than they represent today.<sup>1</sup>

Again, in 1841, Commander Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, in his narrative of the voyage, gives a pleasing picture of Fort Vancouver. Commander Wilkes visited Doctor McLoughlin, and in the following words describes his reception and the place:

"We came in at the back part of the village, which consists of about fifty comfortable loghouses, placed in regular order on each side of the road. They are inhabited by the Company's servants, and were swarming with children, whites, half-breeds, and pure Indians. The fort stands at some distance beyond the village, and to the eye appears like an upright wall of pickets, twenty-five feet high: this encloses the houses, shops, and magazines of the Company. The enclosure contains about four acres, which appear to be under full cultivation. Beyond the fort large granaries were to be seen. At one end is Dr. McLaughlin's house, built after the model of the French Canadian, of one story, weather-boarded and painted white. It has a piazza and small flower-beds, with grape and other vines, in front. Between the steps are two old cannons on sea-carriages, with a few shot, to speak defiance to the natives, who no doubt look upon them as very formidable weapons of destruc-

<sup>1</sup> See Holman, McLoughlin, p. 29.

tion. I mention these, as they are the only warlike instruments to my knowledge that are within the pickets of Vancouver, which differs from all the other forts in having no bastions, galleries, or loop-holes. Near by are the rooms for the clerks and visitors, with the blacksmiths' and coopers' shops. In the centre stands the Roman Catholic chapel, and near by the flag-staff; beyond these again are the stores, magazines of powder, warerooms, and offices.

"We went immediately to Dr. M'Laughlin's quarters. He was not within, but we were kindly invited to enter, with the assurance that he would soon return. Only a few minutes elapsed before Dr. M'Laughlin came galloping up, having understood that we had preceded him. He is a tall fine-looking person, of a very robust frame, with a frank manly open countenance, and a florid complexion; his hair is perfectly white. He gave us that kind reception we had been led to expect from his well-known hospitality. He is of Scotch parentage, but by birth, a Canadian, enthusiastic in disposition, possessing great energy of character, and extremely well suited for the situation he occupies, which requires great talent and industry. He at once ordered dinner for us, and we soon felt ourselves at home, having comfortable rooms assigned us, and being treated as part of the establishment.

"The situation of Vancouver is favourable for agricultural purposes, and it may be said to be the head of navigation for sea-going vessels. A vessel of fourteen feet draft of water, may reach it in the lowest state of the river. The Columbia at this point makes a considerable angle, and is divided by two islands, which extend upwards about three miles, to where the upper branch of the Willamette joins it. The shores of these islands are covered with trees, consisting of ash, poplars, pines, and oaks, while the centre is generally prairie, and lower than the banks; they are principally composed of sand. During the rise of the river in May and June, the islands are covered with water, that filters through the banks that are not overflowed. This influx renders them unfit for grain crops, as the coldness of the water invariably destroys every cultivated plant it touches.

"The Company's establishment at Vancouver is upon an extensive scale, and is worthy of the vast interest of which it is the centre. The residents mess at several tables: one for the chief factor and his

clerks; one for their wives (it being against the regulations of the Company for their officers and wives to take their meals together); another for the missionaries; and another for the sick and the Catholic missionaries. All is arranged in the best order, and I should think with great economy. Every thing may be had within the fort: they have an extensive apothecary shop, a bakery, blacksmiths' and coopers' shops, trade-offices for buying, others for selling, others again for keeping accounts and transacting business; shops for retail, where English manufactured articles may be purchased at as low a price, if not cheaper, than in the United States, consisting of cotton and woollen goods, ready-made clothing, ship-chandlery, earthen and iron ware and fancy articles; in short, every thing, and of every kind and description, including all sorts of groceries, at an advance of eighty per cent. on the London prime cost. This is the established price at Vancouver, but at the other posts it is one hundred per cent., to cover the extra expenses of transportation. All these articles are of good quality, and suitable for the servants, settlers and visitors. Of the quantity on hand, some idea may be formed from the fact that all the posts west of the Rocky Mountains get their annual supplies from this depot.

"Vancouver is the head-quarters of the Northwest or Columbian Department, which also includes New Caledonia; all the returns of furs are received here, and hither all accounts are transmitted for settlement. These operations occasion a large mass of business to be transacted at this establishment. Mr. Douglass, a chief factor, and the associate of Dr. M'Laughlin, assists in this department, and takes sole charge in his absence.

"Dr. M'Laughlin showed us our rooms, and told us that the bell was the signal for meals.

"Towards sunset, tea-time arrival, and we obeyed the summons of the bell, when we were introduced to several of the gentlemen of the establishment: we met in a large hall, with a long table spread with abundance of good fare. Dr. M'Laughlin took the head of the table, with myself on his right, Messrs. Douglass and Drayton on his left, and the others apparently according to their rank. I mention this, as every one appears to have a relative rank, privilege, and station assigned him, and military etiquette prevails. The meal lasts no longer than is necessary to satisfy hunger. With the officers

who are clerks, business is the sole object of their life, and one is entirely at a loss here who has nothing to do. Fortunately I found myself much engaged, and therefore it suited me. The agreeable company of Dr. M'Laughlin and Mr. Douglass made the time at meals pass delightfully. Both of these gentlemen were kind enough to give up a large portion of their time to us, and I felt occasionally that we must be trespassing on their business hours. After meals, it is the custom to introduce pipes and tobacco. It was said that this practice was getting into disuse, but I should have concluded from what I saw that it was at its height.

"Canadian French is generally spoken to the servants; even those who come out from England after a while adopt it, and it is not a little amusing to hear the words they use, and the manner in which they pronounce them.

"The routine of a day at Vancouver is perhaps the same throughout the year. At early dawn the bell is rung for the working parties, who soon after go to work: the sound of the hammers, click of the anvils, the rumbling of the carts, with tinkling of bells, render it difficult to sleep after this hour. The bell rings again at eight, for breakfast; at nine they resume their work, which continues till one; then an hour is allowed for dinner, after which they work till six, when the labours of the day close. At five o'clock on Saturday afternoon the work is stopped, when the servants receive their weekly rations.

"Vancouver is a large manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial depot, and there are few if any idlers, except the sick. Everybody seems to be in a hurry, whilst there appears to be no obvious reason for it.

"Without making any inquiries, I heard frequent complaints made of both the quantity and quality of the food issued by the Company to its servants. I could not avoid perceiving that these complaints were well founded, if this allowance were compared with what we deem a sufficient ration in the United States for a labouring man. Many of the servants complained that they had to spend a great part of the money they receive to buy food: this is £17 per annum, out of which they have to furnish themselves with clothes. They are engaged for five years, and after their time has expired the Company are obliged to send them back to England or Canada, if they



desire it. Generally, however, when that time expires they find themselves in debt, and are obliged to serve an extra time to pay it: and not unfrequently, at the expiration of their engagement, they have become attached, or married, to some Indian woman or half-breed, and have children, on which account they find themselves unable to leave, and continue attached to the Company's service, and in all respects under the same engagement as before. If they desire to remain and cultivate land, they are assigned a certain portion, but are still dependent on the Company for many of the necessities of life, clothing, &c. This causes them to become a sort of vassal, and compels them to execute the will of the Company. In this way, however, order and decorum are preserved, together with steady habits, for few can in any way long withstand this silent influence. The consequence is, that few communities are to be found more well-behaved and orderly than that which is formed of the persons who have retired from the Company's service. That this power, exercised by the officers of the Company, is much complained of, I am aware, but I am satisfied that as far as the morals of the settlers and servants are concerned, it is used for good purposes. For instance, the use of spirits is almost entirely done away with. Dr. M'Laughlin has acted in a highly praiseworthy manner in this particular. Large quantities of spirituous liquors are now stored in the magazines at Vancouver, which the Company have refused to make an article of trade, and none is now used by them in the territory for that purpose. They have found this rule highly beneficial to their business in several respects: more furs are taken in, in consequence of those who are engaged having fewer inducements to err; the Indians are found to be less quarrelsome, and pursue the chase more constantly; and the settlers, as far as I could hear, have been uniformly prosperous.

"In order to show the course of the Company upon this subject, I will mention one circumstance. The brig *Thomas H. Perkins* arrived here with a large quantity of rum on board, with other goods. Dr. M'Laughlin, on hearing of this, made overtures immediately for the purchase of the whole cargo, in order to get possession of the whiskey or rum, and succeeded. The Doctor mentioned to me that the liquor was now in store, and would not be sold in the country,

and added, that the only object he had in buying the cargo was to prevent the use of the rum, and to sustain the temperance cause.

"The settlers are also deterred from crimes, as the Company have the power of sending them to Canada for trial, which is done with little cost, by means of the annual expresses which carry their accounts and books.

"The interior of the houses in the fort are unpretending. They are simply finished with pine board panels, without any paint; bunks are built for bedsteads; but the whole, though plain, is as comfortable as could be desired.

"I was introduced to several of the missionaries: Mr. and Mrs. Smith, of the American Board of Missions; Mr. and Mrs. Griffith, and Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, of the Self-Supporting Mission; Mr. Waller, of the Methodist, and two others. They, for the most part, make Vancouver their home, where they are kindly received and well entertained at no expense to themselves. The liberality and freedom from sectarian principles of Dr. McLaughlin may be estimated from his being thus hospitable to missionaries of so many Protestant denominations, although he is a professed Catholic, and has a priest of the same faith officiating daily at the chapel. Religious toleration is allowed in its fullest extent. The dining-hall is given up on Sunday to the use of the ritual of the Anglican Church, and Mr. Douglass or a missionary reads the service."

Fort Vancouver, then, was the centre of all the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Western Department, to which New Caledonia was tributary. Here resided Doctor John McLoughlin, whose master mind guided the destinies of the country. In all things he was supreme. He ruled an empire with a rod of iron, yet, withal, he was courtly, generous, warm-hearted, sympathetic and humane. Feudal autocrat that he was, he never forgot his duty to his fellow-men. Throughout the length and breadth of the region that acknowledged his sway, he was feared, perhaps, but always revered. No less was he respected by the American immigrants, by whom he was termed the "Good Doctor" or the "Good Old Doctor." Later he came to be called the "Father of Oregon."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Holman, McLoughlin, p. 91.

So much for the generalship of Doctor McLoughlin in the larger affairs of administration and policy. There is, however, another side to his character which neither the historian nor the biographer can afford to overlook—that is his consummate mastery of detail. No matter was too trifling to receive his personal attention. He left nothing to chance. The terse letters of instruction which he despatched to his subordinates all over the country prove that Doctor McLoughlin was the master mind and the mainspring of the Hudson's Bay Company's vast operations in the Western Department. Many a director of a great concern is content to leave the working details in the hands of a lieutenant, holding him responsible for results. It was not so with Dr. McLoughlin. Not only did the autocratic overlord of old Oregon and its tributary provinces dictate the general policy, but he needs must delineate in its minutest and even sordid detail the work of each post and the obligation of each man. His orders were Napoleonic in their simplicity. He left no room for doubt or equivocation. After the manner of Peter the Great of Russia, in his instructions he did not contemplate failure. They demanded exact obedience and a literal fulfillment.

There is perhaps no better way of arriving at a just estimate of the many-sided character of this extraordinary man, than by turning to his correspondence, of which, owing to its voluminous nature much has been preserved. Seeing that day by day his couriers carried forth his mandates from Fort Vancouver to all quarters of his palatinate, it would indeed be strange if less of his correspondence was available. Even in a land where the exigencies of pioneer life have conspired to prevent the accumulation of historical papers. It is true that a great number of these epistles have been lost or destroyed, yet enough have survived to give an idea of the extraordinary capacity of the man and to throw many interesting side-lights upon his character and administration. At random as it were, from the mass of material yet preserved in the archival repositories of the west, the biographer or the student will find letter after letter bearing the impress of that strong character. One of these curt and trenchant despatches bears the date of Cowlitz, 20th December, 1839, and is addressed to Lieutenant Kittson, then stationed at Nisqually. Bearing in mind that it was written by one who, from his high position,

might with propriety have left such directions to a subordinate, it is an extraordinary document; but let it speak for itself:

COWLITZ, 20th Dec., 1839.

Lieut. Kittson

Dear Sir

The first Job to be done at Nisqually is to get the field fenced in for the Sheep—

2nd Then to get a field of a mile and a quarter square fenced in for the cattle.

3 To get a Dairy made of twenty by thirty feet erected.

4 A piece of Level Ground must be selected in the vicinity of the Dairy and fenced in—on which the cattle ought to be penned at night to manure the Ground—and when sufficiently manured—the fence to be moved to manure a contiguous piece.

5 In the meantime the ground on which the sheep have been penned is to be ploughed and sown before the first of March with oats.

6 If any ground is manured by penning sheep on it (up to) the 1st March—it should be sown with peas or wheat—but no ground if possible should be manured by sheep for potatoes—the manure of the cattle is best adapted for Potatoes—and none but level or nearly level ground ought to be manured.

I am

Yours truly

JOHN MCLOUGHLIN

NB As to a house for the Shepherd—he must use a mat lodge till we get a house made—and your (Dairy) ought to have an outside covering of mats at least three ft from the Walls and covering—it keep(s) the Dairy cool

J. McL

No less interesting is the letter dated Fort Vancouver, 6th of May, 1840, written in acknowledgment of one from Lieutenant Kittson:

FORT VANCOUVER 6th May 1840.

Lieut. Kittson

Dear Sir

I received yours of the 30th ultimo yesterday evening and I am sorry to hear that you are still ailing but I hope before this reaches

you that you will be restored to your usual good Health—but I am happy to find that your work is coming on well though Mrs. Ancock has not so much Butter for the same number of cows as we have had—which is rather surprising to me as your cattle are in better condition than our—however she may improve. You say Lotrus is Occupied in hauling Oak in piles—to Burn for ashes. The easiest way to make ashes is to collect the fallen and Broken limbs of trees in heaps where they fall and Burning them there. In this way a man may make twenty or thirty fires in different places in a day and as they Burn heap them up—allow them to cool and when perfectly cool collect them and cover them over on the field so as to keep them dry until required. And only Occasionally oxen are required to Drag limbs of trees to a heap—But Recollect that on no account must the ashes be put in any of the Buildings in or about the fort as they may set the building on fire. It is on this last account that you ought to collect them in a heap on the field in the Vicinity of where you intend to use them. You must also fence your ashes well as the cattle are very fond of eating them and Rubbing themselves in them I think your ground with turnips will not require more than five Bushels per acre—

I hope you will go on folding the sheep and cattle as I mentioned. I think with the cattle and sheep you have we ought at least to get three hundred acres of ground in a fit state for the plough between this and next spring and I intend to send you all the cattle I can from this place.

I am

Yours truly

JOHN McLoughlin

NB<sup>1</sup> You will please to have Dry Grass ready for Mr. Yale's Horses which will be embarked at your place when the Cadboro gets there

J McLoughlin

Lt Kittson

Nisqually

In December, 1840, Doctor McLoughlin is again at Cowlitz and from there he writes to Mr. Alexander Caulfield Anderson now, for a time at Nisqually, a long letter giving minute instructions—of

which a few luminous extracts will be quoted—as to the farming operations to be carried on at his post:

“In my instructions to you of the 7th inst. I (stated) ‘he will divide the place where the potatoes were into five parts and sow them in Oats and Wheat at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Bushel Oats or 1 Bushel of Wheat ( ) and after they have been well harrowed he will sow one of those parts with Red clover, another with White clover, a third with low Grass, and a fourth with trefoil at the rate of six pounds per acre, covering it with a turn or two of the harrow; on the fifth he will sow Sanfoin at the rate of a Bushel to the Acre.’ I beg to observe that it would be proper to sow your Grass seeds and as soon as possible after the 1st of February and to (put) only Oats with them; at the time I wrote I mentioned that you might sow Wheat with Grass Seed. It was because I believed you had not a sufficiency of Oats; but, by the memorandum you gave me, I am happy to see that you have more Oats than is sufficient for the purpose, after you have sown the place where your potatoes were with Grass seeds mentioned you will sow no more of them, but make good (Seed) Bags, in which by first opportunity by Cadboro send to Vancouver, 3 Kegs Red clover, 2 Kegs White Clover, (1) Saintfain, 2 Kegs Cow Grass—and 3 Kegs, Trefoil, the Kegs which contain these seeds you will keep to put butter in them.

“2nd. I must add that as it would be advisable to sow thirty bushels of Oats at Nisqually, you will write to Mr. Yale to send you some—you ought to sow the remaining quantity of Oats on the Ground Manuring at the Dairy at the rate of 2 bushels Oats per acre.

“3rd. As soon as you possibly can you will sow your Winter Tares on the manured ground (near) the Dairy at the rate of 1 bush. per acre. The Spring Tares ought to be Sown in the beginning of Febr.—and you will observe that this new ground for Oats as well as Tares will require to be ploughed and cross ploughed before sowing them.

“4th. And I trust to your best endeavours to manure as much ground as possible as we require manured ground in the Spring for Peas—and if possible for a little Barley—and after that for Potatoes Cole seed and Turnips, and after seeing the fine Turnips at Nisqually, I do not despair if you manage well of seeing fine Crops of Wheat at that place, but, bear in mind that they never manured the Ground for

potatoes at Nisqually half enough, and that if you wish to get potatoes at that place you must manure heavily.

"5th. You must bear in mind to have poles cut for the New Fields.

"6th. I forgot to enquire what terms Ancock asks. Without appearing anxious about it try to find it out. I think if we consider the proceeds of his Work, he has fully more than its Value and is as comfortable as most Men in his situation in England."

It is little short of marvellous that Doctor McLoughlin should have time in the midst of his excessive and arduous duties to write as he did with his own hand long letters containing minute and particular instructions relating to the affairs of each post. He seems to have carried in his mind a detailed plan of each establishment and to have gauged its resources, both as regards fur and farm, with remarkable precision. Viewed in this light, his letter to Mr. A. C. Anderson, dated Vancouver, 23rd of April, 1841, is a marvel of conciseness, exhibiting sound judgment and a wonderful grasp of the requirements of the farm at Fort Nisqually. One might think that the details of management might be left to the man in charge but Dr. McLoughlin directed everything from the smallest particular of the cultivation of a certain field to the largest question of policy with the same fundamental grasp of the requirements of the situation. In the letter just mentioned he states: "I received yours of the 10th instant, by Mr. Lee, . . . I am happy to see that you have so much (seed) in the ground as appears by your statement—that you have more turnips planted out for seed than I mentioned, and as I directed the patch of Cole seed has been preserved, as from your putting cole seed and turnip seed in your Requisition I was afraid that both had been destroyed.

"2nd. It is perhaps as well that you kept the potatoes, as if they had remained on board the vessel, they would have been all lost, you will plant if possible a hundred bushels but recollect the ground must be well manured, and if you have not done this you must plant more and manure the ground well.

"3rd. I am happy to find you milk so many cows. You will get as many (cows) in to milk as you can and none should be milked so much as to injure the Calf as you have no feed for them—they

will require more milk, and even if you only broke some of the cows this year, it will be a great advantage for next.

"4th. Last year Malcolm Smith with one Sandwich Islander recently from his native land, milked 27 Cows (old) from which he got forty Kegs of Butter, fattened six barrels of Pork with the skimmed milk, and Gilbeau with a Sandwich Islander also recently from his Country began on the 1st June to break in wild cows to milk, broke in thirty in the season (there were no more at the place) kegs Butter; . . . I merely state these facts to enable you to judge if your people do what they can—and Knowing what is done elsewhere may make them exert themselves and you may see from what Smith did you ought to fatten at least as much pork at your Dairies as you require.

"5th. I send you with this nigh a bushel of flax seed—you will manure an acre and a half of ground, in the same manner as I will hereafter direct for the Cole seed and turnips and you will sow the flax seed now sent on it. It ought to be sown immediately after the ground is cross ploughed that is as the (row) is ploughed it is smoothed by a turn or two of the plough and the flax is sown, harrowed in and well drilled.

"6th. You will continue to get as much ground manured as possible in the same manner as last year that is you will manure it well by penning Cattle on it, plough it and manure it again by penning cattle on it in the same way as at first, then cross plough and sow turnips or Cole Seed, that is as soon as the rig is ploughed the ground is harrowed the seed is drilled with the drill now sent and afterwards well rolled with a heavy roller to press the seed well in the ground and make it retain its moisture.

"7th. As you manure ground in this way you will sow turnip and cole seed to September but as what is sown ( ) is in general too young to give to animals is kept and allowed to run to seed next year.

"8th. As you have no turnip or perhaps Cole seed you ought to give only one manuring to your fields and immediately plough it in, and in this case harrow it and roll it well and proceed to manure &c another in the same way, and when you have seed you be able to manure the 2nd time and to sow your fields in quicker succession.

"9th. The turnips and Cole seed must be kept to feed the Sheep



in Winter except what is reserved for seed which on no account should be eaten or injured, and from your experience of this year you can judge what quantity of cole or turnip seed is necessary for next year.

"10th. I send p. the Cadboro ( ) small wooden houses made of inch boards, and mounted on Wheels, but all taken to pieces for the convenience of transporting, but are marked so as to be easily put together again. They ought to be put together on arriving, and about 15th August the wood will be thoroughly dry, but if it has shrunk much, the boards ought to be driven close to each other, and the shrinks filled up with putty and then painted. One of these houses should be placed in the park where the rams are, and the other in the one for the Ewes and will answer well as houses for the shepherds to lodge in, in Winter and Summer.

"11th. I send you with this a receipt to make bread made with milk by Mrs. McDonald at Colville and never tasted better bread. There are two tin or sheet iron pans in which to bake the bread, on board the Cadboro for your place.

"Allow me now briefly to recapitulate what I wish to be done

"1st. To make as much butter as possible and break in as many cows to milk as you can.

"2nd. At the same time to manure in the way I mention all the ground you can—I think you have enough of Cattle and Sheep (and I hope before fall to send you more to manure three hundred acres of land in the way I suggest and if you can sow it all with turnips and cole seed and get them eaten off . . . I am certain you will fall 1842 have a large (crop).

"3d. The Bulls to be castrated leaving about one of the largest for every ten females, of course the Bull calves of this year are also to be castrated in the same proportion.

"4th. To break in a sufficient number of oxen for the work, allowing those getting old to fatten to be killed this fall for this purpose they ought to be allowed to feed quietly and not driven to the park at night.

"In reply to your list of work 15th Feby.

"1st. As to the dam I do not think it can be made where you suggest but I will examine when I go to you. I think there is a

suitable place to swim the sheep at the Dairy, however as I say we will examine.

"2nd. We cannot remove the Fort this season, but if you have plenty of potatoes this fall, salmon and provisions &c I hope I will be able to send you people to effect this object next Winter.

"3rd. Of course you will make the Hay if it can be done without interfering with your other work as rather ( ) We must make the Peas, Oats, and Wheat straw serve as a substitute.

"4th. The usual farming operations must go on.

"5th. You can make two Dairies if you have the means as it excites emulation but they must be contiguous to each other.

"6th. You must get Waggon or Carts made as you suggest.

"7th. Break in as many oxen as you can.

"8th. I have already mentioned the castrating of the Bulls.

"9th. I have replied to this.

"10th. The Sheep in due time must be sheared and the wool must be washed on the backs of the animals, and after they are washed they must be kept in a clean place until they are shorn.

"I dare say, I need not say, I was much surprised to see by the accounts you sent with yours of the 15th Feby that there was for the first time a Loss on the post of Nisqually—which I merely mention to show you the state of the affairs of the post and how absolutely necessary it is that every exertion be made to retrieve them.

"You will please see to it that while Capt. McNeil lodges on Shore, he is (according to) a rule of the service to preside at the table of the establishment.

"You will please afford Cap.<sup>n</sup> McNeil every assistance he requires.

"If you have any Wheat which you do not require you will send it p. *Cadboro*.

"I send S. Martin to remain with you till further orders."

Even such a small particular as the salting of beef does not escape the keen mind of Doctor McLoughlin as the undermentioned letter, dated Vancouver, 28th December, 1842 shows: "I have yours of 25th November and 16th Decr. By which I regret to learn that the Scab is among the Sheep. You will of course cause every attention to be paid to them and get them washed with the Tobacco juice.

"In yours of 16th you state having slaughtered Fifty two Animals, and that they filled sixty one tierces of 3 cwt each—But you made no

mention of the Tallow. What weight did they yield—or if you salted any Ox tripe which I presume you have.

“As to the young Bullocks you mention you need not kill them—Have you fattened and salted any Pork.

“You write the Beef is well salted but it is not the quantity of Salt put on the Beef: as the manner it is put on. You will take care that there is a sufficient quantity of salt between the Meat and the Cask so as the meat does not touch the wood.

“You will give to Captain Brothie the Beef he demands and you will use what you require for your own table and the Shepherds, only observing what I know you will use without my mentioning it, proper economy—and killing the Old Wethers as they may be required.

“You did well to shift the Sheep.

“You will I hope keep a sufficient quantity of Turnip and Coleseed for seed.

“Pray have you fattened any Hogs or have you any fit to fatten, you have some Chinese pigs I wish them to be kept separate. If you have any hogs fit to fatten you ought to do so.

“Captain Brothie writes me in his letter of the 26th Nov. I have killed Eleven Bullocks and have salted 12 Tierces of Beef, are these a part of the fifty two animals killed by you, and of the sixty two tierces of beef you have salted.”

It would be both tedious and superfluous to quote letter after letter to prove Dr. McLoughlin's wonderful knowledge of his domains and extraordinary grasp of detail, but one more note may well be spread upon these pages to prove and amplify all which has been said upon this score. Among the documents which have been preserved is a paper in Dr. McLoughlin's own handwriting which reads as follows: “Memorandum for Angus McDonald in charge of Nisqually.

“1st. He will plant as many Potatoes as he can in his best ground putting manure in the Drills as far as it will go.

“2. Sow at least *at least* as much pease and oats altogether as last year—and more pease if he can.

“3. You will penn the cattle on the ground at the Dairy that has been laid down to Grass seed last summer and which has not come up and when properly manured sow turnip and cole seed on it.

"4. You will continue to get as much ground manured as possible—that is you will manure it well by penning cattle on it. plough harrow and manure it again by penning cattle on it, and when sufficiently so cross plough Harrow well and sow it with Turnip and if you have no turnip sow Cole seed—as soon as the (Rig) is ploughed it is harrowed the seed is Drilled and well Rolled so as to press the seed well in the Ground and make the Ground retain its moisture.

"5. You can continue to sow turnip to the 15th Sept. and about that date I wish about two acres to be laid down with Cole seed—for seed.

"6. After that date you will give your penns only one manuring But plou and Harrow them immediately after taking the cattle off The sheep Parks must be treated in the same Manner as the cattle parks and sown with Turnip and Cole seed.

"7. He will afford every assistance in his power to settlers without deranging the Business of the place.

"8. When he will have been able to get stamps to mark the Settlers Cattle, he will let them have fourteen Wild Cows with their Calves each. He has already given them each one tame cow and calf one Bull and two oxen—and fifty Ewes with their Lambs.

"9. Mr. Steel will point out 12 places where it will be necessary to get wood out to make small Houses and Poles to make Parks—the Houses for the shepherds—of course these Houses need not be Built at present.

"10. As soon as the Lambing is over Mr. McDonald will send Pooper to assist in taking care of the Sheep—and Bastien will be employed in cutting (B ) &c.

"11. I wish Mr. McDonald to mix some train oil with Earth and to sow a few turnips on it.

"12. Salt must be put in the cattle penns—and also in the Sheep penns.

"13. I wish Mr. McDonald to sow on his Wheatfield on

6 ft. by 9  $\frac{1}{2}$  Gall Salt

6 ft. by 9  $\frac{1}{4}$  Gall Salt

6 ft. by 9  $\frac{1}{8}$  Gall Salt

6 ft. by 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  Gall Salt

sufficiently distant so as not to mix but sufficiently close as to be seen at once.

"He will also sow a piece of new Grass Land—

6 ft. by 9  $\frac{1}{2}$  Gall Salt

6 ft. by 9  $\frac{1}{4}$  Gall Salt

6 ft. by 9  $\frac{1}{8}$  Gall Salt

6 ft. by 9  $\frac{1}{16}$  Gall Salt

sufficiently remote so as not to mix but sufficiently near to be seen by a Coup D'Oeil.

"14. Every time he writes he will report what has been done and what has occurred since he last wrote me, state his present plans, his suggestions and send a Distribution List of the Manner his people are Employed.

"15. The sheep must be washed Either by hand or by swimming before shearing.

"16. Parks must be made for the purpose of castrating the Lambs.

"17. The Bulls must be castrated in due time.

"18. To find out if there are any cattle alive which Mr. Anderson left and get them brought here.

"19. You will consider Mr. Steel as your assistant in discharging the duties at this place—

JOHN McLoughlin

"20. If possible neither of you ought to leave the Fort without informing the other.

J McL

"21. You will get your salmon overhauled. Brought up and (pickled) as also that coming from Fort Langley."

The seventh and eighth paragraphs of these instructions are worthy of particular attention in view of the fact that over and over again the American settlers in Oregon charged Dr. McLoughlin and the Hudson's Bay Company with doing all in their power to oppress and starve them. The late Professor Marshall in his monumental work entitled "Acquisition of Oregon" has effectually disposed of these accusations, nevertheless it is worthy of notice that one should find in official instructions, emanating from the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company in Old Oregon, explicit commands to the effect that the officer at Nisqually is "to afford every assistance in his power to settlers." In this connection it is interesting

to refer to a statement of assistance furnished the pioneer American settlers at Nisqually from November 7th, 1845, to December 31st, 1846, from which it appears that the American settlers received everything they asked for, from buckwheat to bullocks. It is well known to historians and more generally accepted now than ever before, that the Hudson's Bay Company did everything in its power to alleviate the distress of the travel-worn pioneers of Oregon. To say more upon this point, after all that Professor Marshall has written, would be superfluous. The author has amply demonstrated that the campaign of abuse and vilification—carried on by the very men who, had it not been for the Hudson's Bay Company, would have starved to death or perished at the hands of the Indians—is almost inconceivable. It displays a shameless disregard for the truth and a base ingratitude on the part of those who were indebted for their lives and property not to the Government of their own country, but to the strong arm of Great Britain.

The memorandum is of peculiar interest to the farmer, as witness, among other things, the thirteenth paragraph in which the Doctor outlines a series of agricultural experiments. It is not necessary to more than refer to the matter, but it shows what a great debt Oregon owes to the man who died, heart-broken, at Oregon City in 1856. After all he had done both for the Company, which he represented for twenty-two years, and for the pioneer settler, whose poverty aroused his magnanimous sympathies, there were none to help him.

Upon McLoughlin's arrival in the Oregon Territory in 1824, Astoria, or Fort George, as it was then called, was the only place of importance in the whole Oregon Territory, and Astoria, in spite of the improvements carried into effect by the North West Company's agents, was nothing more than a rude frontier village. It is true that scattered about the country there were subsidiary posts, but all of them were small and maintained purely for the sake of the Indian trade. To the north no establishments had been planted, with the exception of those in New Caledonia and that one at Kamloops. Vancouver Island was scarcely better known than in the days when it was first visited by British and Spanish ships. The lower Fraser had not, apparently, been visited since Simon Fraser's exploration in 1808; while the land stretching in a westerly direction from

New Caledonia to the coast was absolutely unknown, except that part of it traversed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1793. But, with the arrival of Dr. McLoughlin, a new day dawned for the Northwest.

Mr. T. C. Elliott, an historian of sound judgment and a recognized authority on early western affairs, states in his preface to the *Journal of John Work*<sup>3</sup> that it is evident that a report upon the lower Fraser River region was desired "before a permanent location should be selected further up the Columbia for the District Headquarters. Fort Vancouver then did not exist except by anticipation." That learned author is no doubt correct. At any rate one of George Simpson's first acts was to send an expedition to the northward, "for the purpose"—as Mr. John Work specifically records—"of discovering the entrance of Fraser's River, and ascertaining the probability of navigating that River with boats, and also of examining the coast between Fort George and Fraser's River."<sup>4</sup>

The party left Fort George on Thursday the 18th of November, 1824, under the command of James McMillan, accompanied by three clerks, Thomas McKay, F. N. Annance and John Work, an interpreter named Michel LaFrambois and thirty-six men. In addition to these, George, an Iroquois fur hunter together with his slave were included in the party because of their knowledge of a part of the coast.

The expedition departed at mid-day in three boats well provisioned with kegs of peas, oatmeal, flour, pork, grease and rum, and bags of flour biscuit and pemmican, sufficiently for an absence of some sixty days.

Arriving at Baker's Bay, a portage of fourteen miles brought McMillan and his party to the Pacific Ocean, north of Cape Disappointment. They then followed the coast to the mouth of Gray's Harbour and, ascending the Chehalis River and crossing the country to the eastward of the head-waters of that stream, in due course reached Puget Sound. The voyage was continued by sea to Mud Bay, and thence the expedition crossed the delta of the Fraser River.

After reaching the Fraser River, the expedition paddled upstream for two days beyond the site of old Fort Langley, which was not built until three years later. On the homeward journey McMil-

<sup>3</sup> Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> John Work, *Journal*, Winter 1824. Ms. in Archives Department, Victoria.

Ian followed the river to its mouth, rounded Point Roberts, and, after spending a night at Birch Bay, made the Black River, south of Olympia. Thence McMillan, Work and a few others followed the better-known and more direct route of the Cowlitz to the Columbia and Fort George, while McKay, in charge of the rest of the party, took the boats back by the outward route.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. John Work's minutely exact and well-kept diary of the expedition is interesting for several reasons. It throws light on the difficulties of a traveller in the wilderness; it shows us, for the first time, the great delta which lies to the south of the lower reaches of the Fraser and its primitive inhabitants; and it proves that the Hudson's Bay Company was anxious to find an outlet for the northern interior to the north of the Columbia. A journey from Astoria to Fort Langley by the route followed by these pioneers would not be an easy one even today—at that time it was attended by great hardship and severe labour. The expedition was equipped with light batteaux, which were used throughout the length of the journey, excepting, of course, at the carrying places, one of which was more than four and a half miles long.

The country between Mud Bay and the Fraser River is aptly described in such entries as the following: "The soil here," says the journal of December 14, 1824, "appears to be very rich, is a black mould, the remains of a luxurious crop of fern and grass lies on the ground. The country about here seems low, the trees are of different kinds, pine, birch poplar, alder, etc., some of the pine of a very large size. Some of the men who were hunting visited the upper part of the little river and report that they saw the appearance of plenty of beaver. Elk have been very numerous here some time ago but the hunters suppose that since this rainy season they have gone to the high ground."

The entry of the following day shows that elk abounded in the meadows and swamps of the lower Fraser in that early period. "In the evening," so runs the Journal, "as we got to the end of the portage a herd of elk was seen on the edge of the plain. Several of the people set after them but only one was killed which was by Mr. McKay. There were too many hunters and though the elk were

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<sup>5</sup> T. C. Elliott, *Journal of John Work, November and December, 1824*. Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1912, p. 198.



not wild they were not approached with sufficient caution, they were followed into the woods by some of the people who have not yet returned."

Then it is recorded that "In some parts near the portage the woods approach to the water's edge, but farther down the woods are at some distance and the river runs through a fine meadow which is covered with the withered remains of a fine crop of hay. The marks of a great many beaver and numerous tracks of elk, some quite fresh, are to be seen all the way along the river. We entered the Coweechin (Fraser) River at 1 o'clock. At this place it is a fine looking river at least as wide as the Columbia at Oak Point, 1,000 yards wide. Where we come into it is opposite to an island; we are uncertain what distance it may be to its entrance. The banks of the N. shore are low and those on the South shore are pretty high, both well wooded to the water's edge. The trees are pine, cedar, alder, birch and some others. Some high hills appear to the Eastward at no great distance, topped with snow. From the size and appearance of the river there is no doubt in our minds that it is Fraser's."

The expedition, after leaving Mud Bay, the northeastern extension of Boundary Bay, followed the Nikomeckl River to a little stream. Then a long portage of four and a half miles or more brought the men to the Salmon River, which was followed to the point where it empties into the Fraser, not far from old Fort Langley. The island mentioned is that now known as McMillan Island, and the "fine meadow" Langley Prairie. Throughout his journal Work speaks of the Fraser as the "Coweechin" River, a name that possibly may have been taken from Simon Fraser's journal, in which he speaks of the "Cowitchin" Indians as inhabiting the lands at the mouth of that river.

The party paddled up-stream, passing many villages, at one of which the keen observer noticed "an instrument resembling in shape a salmon spear"; but "what purpose it is used for," Work continues, "it's size leaves me at a loss to determine; it was 2 poles about 5 inches in circumference fitted in such a manner that they were intended to be spliced together, one of them was 42 feet long and the other 29, in all about 71 feet, it was of cedar neatly dressed, a fork made of 2 pieces of wood different from the pole and not barked nor made very sharp was fixed to the end of the pole, no cordage or any other

tackling was about it." Undoubtedly this was one of the harpoons used so dexterously by the Indians of the Fraser in spearing sturgeon.

On December 18th (1824) McMillan, deeming it unnecessary to proceed further, turned about and voyaged with the current to the mouth of the river, thence returning to Fort George, or Astoria, by the course already indicated.

The expedition was planned and carried out in furtherance of the project to find an outlet for New Caledonia by way of the Fraser River. Three years later—in 1827—Fort Langley was built near the point at which McMillan and his party turned back in 1824.

McMillan's expedition to the Fraser by the Chehalis River and Puget Sound marked the inauguration of a new and bold policy. Both Simpson and McLoughlin realized that the time had come to strike a decisive blow if this virgin land were not to be forever lost. The alluring prospects of the basin of the Columbia were already attracting attention in the United States, Great Britain's natural rival in that field. The American politicians had not forgotten the expeditions of Kendrick and Gray, Lewis and Clark, Astor and Hunt. Nor had they forgotten the purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803 and the Florida Treaty with Spain, which was negotiated in 1819 and ratified in 1820. The rights springing from those operations and from these treaties—whatever such rights might be—were certain to lead to controversy before long. So now was the time to act and the Hudson's Bay Company made the most of its opportunity.

The determination of the Company to occupy and to hold the Pacific slope from San Francisco to the Arctic Ocean ushered in a period of extraordinary activity, of which Doctor McLoughlin, under Sir George Simpson, was the life and soul. His policy was brilliantly conceived and admirably executed. He despatched emissaries of the Company in all directions and the bastioned forts of the furtrader soon dotted the west. These forts were the outward and visible sign of the might of "The Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." The furtrading post stood for what there might be of law and order on the frontier, where, beyond musket shot of the stockade, might only was right. Each isolated establishment with its wooden palisade, flanked by wooden bastion, was an advance post of civilization.

The forts of the Company were planted on the seaboard as far north as Taku Inlet and south as far as San Francisco Bay. Fort Langley was built in 1827; old Fort Simpson on the Nass River in 1832, from which point it was moved to its present site on the Tsimpsean Peninsula in 1834; Fort McLoughlin on Millbank Sound, in 1834; Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound, where Doctor W. F. Tolmie pastured his flocks of sheep and herds of cattle; Fort Durham, so called in honour of the famous Lord of that name, was built on Taku Inlet in 1840; and Fort Victoria in 1843. New posts were also established in New Caledonia and on the upper Columbia.<sup>6</sup> Then the Company reached southward and built Yerba Buena on San Francisco Bay; and across the Pacific to the Sandwich Islands, which it was hoped would become an integral part of the British Empire by a process of gradual absorption.

While these operations in old Oregon Territory and on the seaboard were engaging the attention of Doctor McLoughlin and his subordinates, other intrepid men of whom little has been written—although they contributed an important chapter to the annals of the West—were exploring the great wilderness lying to the north of the Peace River and the Skeena and west of the Mackenzie. These explorations were not directed from Fort Vancouver but from Norway House; yet, inasmuch as they resulted in the discovery of far northern British Columbia, they have a place in the history of the Province. The men who discovered and explored the Skeena, Stikine, Liard and Pelly Rivers, and Dease, Frances and other lakes, persevered in their important undertakings in peculiarly trying circumstances.

In 1834 J. McLeod, a chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, ascended the Liard to Simpson Lake and followed the Dease River to Dease Lake, which he named in honour of Peter Warren Dease. Thence he crossed the height of land to the upper waters of the Stikine, which was discovered at its mouth by Captain Cleveland of the Sloop *Dragon* in April, 1799. McLeod followed this river—which under a misapprehension he called the Pelly—as far as the famous Indian bridge named Terror Bridge by Robert Campbell some time later. In the course of his travels McLeod collected a great deal of information respecting this unknown region, much of

<sup>6</sup> Finlayson, Biography, and Anderson, History of Northwest Coast.

which Arrowsmith, the well-known cartographer, embodied in his map of North America of 1850. McLeod called the Stikine "Frances River," but placed it too far north and did not connect it with the Stikine, known as such today. In a later map (1854) Frances appeared as an alternative to Stikine, but that name soon fell into disuse, if indeed it ever had a vogue. Speaking of McLeod's exploration, the late Doctor George M. Dawson observed: "McLeod's route from the head of Dease Lake, crossed the Tanzilla within a few miles of the lake and followed its left bank, recrossing before the main Stikine enters the valley, probably by an Indian suspension bridge, which is reported still to exist (1887), within a mile or two of this point. On careful consideration of the facts, there can scarcely be any doubt that the Tooya River was McLeod's furthest point, and the Indian bridge probably crossed it near the position of the present bridge, though it may have been at some point further up the stream which has not yet been mapped."

McLeod was followed by Robert Campbell, another officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, who carried on the work with indomitable energy in spite of the hostility of the Indians, who were numerous and warlike. Campbell reached Dease Lake in the beginning of July, 1838, and "selected a suitable site for the fort about about 5 miles from the mouth of the Nahany & at once commenced building operations."<sup>7</sup> Leaving the men to build the fort, he proceeded to carry out his instructions to explore the west side of the mountains. On July 22nd (1838) he arrived at "Terror Bridge," whence McLeod's party had turned back in 1834. That somewhat famous structure is described by Campbell as a rude rickety "structure of pine poles spliced together with withes & stretched high above a foaming torrent; the ends of the poles were loaded down with stones to prevent the bridge from collapsing. This primitive support looked so frail & unstable & the rushing waters below so formidable that it seemed well-nigh impossible to cross it. It inclined to one side, which did not tend to strengthen its appearance for safety."<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Campbell and the two Indian lads who accompanied him attempted the crossing, which they succeeded in making although "the

<sup>7</sup> Campbell, Journal, 1808 to 1851, p. 46, Ms. in Provincial Archives.

<sup>8</sup> Campbell, Journal, pp. 47-48

flimsy bridge swaying & bending with our weight" threatened to precipitate them into the "waters boiling beneath."

Here the Indians opposed Campbell's progress. The "Nahany Chief," fearing that the natives would kill the strangers, advised the explorer to desist as "the great chief 'Shakes' from the Sea was there & Indians from all parts without number." The Indians were so anxious to prevent the advance of the party that they attempted to detain it by force. In spite of their remonstrances Campbell pursued his way, simply recording in his journal—"I was determined to go on." Proceeding, Campbell came in view of an immense camp, about thirteen miles from Terror Bridge. "Such a concourse of Indians," he remarked, "I had never before seen assembled. They were gathered from all parts of the Western Slope of the Rockies & from along the Pacific Coast. These Indians camped here for weeks at the time, living on salmon, which could be caught in thousands in the Stikine by gaffing or spearing, to aid them in which the Indians had a sort of dam built across the river."<sup>9</sup> Campbell and the friendly chief who had accompanied him then went forward to meet "the closely packed crowd, awaiting us below." Upon his arrival at the camp, the explorer was plied with questions, the answers to which were "taken up & yelled by a hundred throats, till the surrounding rocks & the valley re-echoed with the sound." Presently a lane was cleared through the crowd for the great chief, called "Shakes" in Campbell's journal. He was a coast Indian, tall and strongly built, and all-powerful in that region. He ruled despotically a loose confederacy of Indians of different tribes. Campbell was surprised to find that some of the Indians knew Doctor McLoughlin and James Douglas—news which induced him to write notes to these officers, giving particulars of his journey, and informing them that he had ascertained that the "so-called Pelly & the Stikine were identical."

After this vociferous welcome Campbell returned to his camp, where he hoisted the Hudson's Bay Company flag and cut "Hudson's Bay Company" and the date on a tree, thus taking possession of the country.

It was here that the explorer met a remarkable native woman, the chieftainess of the Nahanies. "She was a fine-looking woman,"

<sup>9</sup> Campbell, Journal, p. 51.  
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Campbell writes, "rather above the middle height & about 35 years old. In her actions and personal appearance she was more like the whites than the pure Indian race. She had a pleasing face, lit up with fine intelligent eyes, which when she was excited flashed like fire. She was tidy & tasteful in her dress. On more than one occasion she interfered to save the party from destruction."

Campbell's journal affords a pleasing picture of the remarkable woman who ruled the "Nahanies." But of all the stories told of her none is more spirited, or more characteristic, or more truly illustrative of the dangers that beset the pioneer furtrader in the wilderness, than the one which follows: In February, 1839, the chieftainess and a number of her fighting men visited the post on Dease Lake, just in time to relieve the wants of Campbell's men, who were starving. "The whole band," says the journal at this juncture, "passed the night with us in the fort, & to illustrate the Chieftainess' extraordinary control over them, let me mention an incident that took place. In the course of the evening, when everything had seemingly quieted down for the night, yell after yell suddenly broke the silence; the now furious savages rushed into the room where McLeod & I were sitting, loading their guns; some of them seized our weapons from racks on the wall & would assuredly have shot us had not the Chieftainess, who was lodged in the other end of the house, rushed in & commanded silence. She found out the instigator of the riot, walked up to him, and, stamping her foot on the ground, repeatedly spat in his face, her eyes blazing with anger. Peace & quiet reigned as suddenly as the outbreak had burst forth. I have seen many far-famed warrior Chiefs with their bands in every kind of mood, but I never saw one who had such absolute authority or was as bold & ready to exercise it as that noble woman. She was truly a born leader, whose mandate none dared dispute."<sup>10</sup>

Campbell returned to Dease Lake for the winter, where, he writes, "we passed a winter of constant danger from the savage Russian (coast) Indians and of much suffering from starvation. We were dependent for subsistence on what animals we could catch and, failing that, on *tripe de roche*. We were at one time reduced to such dire straits that we were obliged to eat our parchment windows.

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<sup>10</sup> Campbell, Journal, pp. 60-1.

and our last meal before abandoning Dease Lake on 8th May, 1839, consisted of the lacings of our snowshoes."

Then the young explorer proceeded to Fort Simpson, with the news of his discoveries. That his work was appreciated is shown by Sir George Simpson's letter of June 16, 1839, in which the Governor expressed his "entire satisfaction with your (Campbell's) management in the recent voyage down the Pelly or Stikine River, bearing ample evidence that the confidence reposed in you was well placed. I was always of the opinion that the Pelly & Stikine Rivers were identical, but many of my friends in this country thought differently. You have at length, however, set the question at rest; and your writing to our gentlemen on the coast was very judicious."

In the same letter the Governor refers to the agreement recently concluded between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company, by which agreement the British Company recognized Russia's right to Southern Alaska: "I last winter concluded," writes Sir George, "an arrangement for the Coy. with Baron Wrangel acting on behalf of the Russian American Coy., by which we became possessed of the whole of the Russian mainland territory (for a term of ten years) up to Cape Spencer; by that means we became possessed of their establishment situated on Point Highfield, entrance of Stikine River, immediately, and have access to the interior country through all the rivers falling into the Pacific to the Southward of Cape Spencer. This arrangement renders it unnecessary for us now to extend our operations from the East side of the Mountains or Mackenzie River, as we can settle that country from the Pacific with greater facility and at less expense. Your services (Campbell's) will now therefore be required to push our discoveries in the country situated on the Peel & Colville Rivers; and I am quite sure you will distinguish yourself as much in that quarter as you have latterly done on the West side of the Mountains."

In 1840 and again in 1843 Robert Campbell was commissioned by Sir George Simpson to continue his explorations, particularly along the north branch of the Liard to its source. In the course of his perilous ventures the intrepid explorer added much information to the common stock of geographical knowledge. But the name of Robert Campbell, like the names of so many of the old furtraders

who first found and followed the wild rivers of the West, is scarcely known today.

In the course of his journeyings to and fro in the Yukon Territory and Northern British Columbia, Campbell entered a beautiful lake, which he named Frances, after Lady Simpson, the wife of his benefactor, Sir George. He also named the Pelly in honour of Sir John H. Pelly, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1842—before the northern field was discovered or occupied—John Finlay had explored the branch of the Peace River named in his honour. So before the middle of the nineteenth century the whole northwestern region of North America had been at least roughly defined if not actually delineated and measured. The territory in question is bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by the Mackenzie River, the Peace River and the Rocky Mountains, on the south by California, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea.

But to return to the Oregon Territory. When Doctor McLoughlin arrived in 1824 to organize and to direct the affairs of the Western Department, Fort George was the only occupied port on the Northwest coast. In the interior the authority of the furtrader was upheld by a few scattered posts in New Caledonia, in the Flathead Country and in the Valley of the Columbia. As for the condition of the trade, all was confusion and strife, if the old records are to be believed. Doctor McLoughlin at once proceeded to straighten out the tangled skein of divergent interests, and differences of opinion amongst those who had heretofore been in charge of the district, by centralizing authority in himself and at Fort Vancouver as the capital of the Oregon Territory. The forts were improved, their number increased, and the trade placed upon a sound basis. In short, Doctor McLoughlin executed his designs so earnestly, so energetically and so successfully, that in a few years all opposition was swept from the field.

Thirteen years after Doctor McLoughlin arrived upon the scene, Sir John Pelly could report upon "the peace, order and tranquillity, which have been so successfully maintained" in the "Indian countries." In a letter to Lord Glenelg, dated Hudson's Bay House, London, 10th February, 1837,<sup>11</sup> Sir John states: "Before the union

<sup>11</sup> Hudson's Bay Company, Return to House of Commons, 26 May, 1842, pp. 12 to 15.



of the rival Companies in 1821, the trade on the north-west coast of America, from the Mexican frontiers to Behring's Straits, was nearly or wholly enjoyed by American and Russian subjects. Some efforts had been made, at enormous costs and sacrifices by the North-west Company, to compete with the Americans, the history of which is recorded in a popular work lately published by Mr. Washington Irving, under the title of 'Astoria'; but these efforts were both costly and unsuccessful, and the North-west Company were on the point of being compelled to abandon the trade.

"The Russian establishment at Norfolk Sound, and at other places on the coast, even so far south as the coast of California, and the American expedition, subsequent to the peace from Boston, New York and other parts of the United States, had obtained a monopoly of the coast trade.

"In the face of these disadvantages, the Hudson's Bay Company felt it their duty to attempt to regain the trade, and to re-establish British influence in the countries adjoining the coast, and to the mouth of the river of Columbia, within the limits of the last convention entered into with the court of Russia; and they have succeeded, after a severe and expensive competition, in establishing their settlements, and obtaining a decided superiority, if not an exclusive enjoyment of the trade, the Americans having almost withdrawn from the coast.

"In the course of the last year they had occasion to appeal to his Majesty's Government for protection and indemnity for a serious act of aggression and violence on the part of an armed Russian force on the coast, which impeded their operations, and occasioned them a loss to the extent of upwards of £20,000. The Russian government has hitherto only consented to disavow the act of its officer, and to give instructions prohibiting further obstruction to the expeditions of the Company within the trading limits agreed upon in the convention; and the Company now wait with the firmest reliance on the further efforts of the Government for an indemnity for their great loss.

"Beyond the difficulties arising from an active competition with the Americans, and the violent and oppressive proceedings on the part of the Russians, the Company have had to contend with other serious obstacles, both on the coast and in the interior, from a savage

and formidable native population, whose habits of intoxication and other vices, encouraged by the competition, have been, to a great extent, restrained by the temperate and vigorous conduct of their traders.

"Great loss of property, and in some cases loss of life, have been incurred by savage and murderous attacks on their hunting-parties and establishments, and order has only been restored and peace maintained by the employment, at a great expense, of considerable force, and by the exercise, on the part of their servants, of the utmost temper, patience and perseverance."

The Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company then went on to say,—“The Company now occupy the country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific by six permanent establishments on the coasts, sixteen in the interior country, besides several migratory and hunting-parties, and they maintain a marine of six armed vessels, one of them a steam-vessel, on the coast.

“Their principal establishment and depot for the trade of the coast and the interior is situated 90 miles from the Pacific, on the northern banks of the Columbia River, and called Vancouver, in honour of that celebrated navigator. In the neighbourhood they have large pasture and grain farms, affording most abundantly every species of agricultural produce, and maintaining large herds of stock of every description; these have been gradually established; and it is the intention of the Company still further, not only to augment and increase them, to establish an export trade in wool, tallow, hides and other agricultural produce, but to encourage the settlement of their retired servants and other emigrants under their protection.

“The soil, climate and other circumstances of the country are as much if not more adapted to agricultural pursuits than any other spot in America, and with care and protection the British dominion may not only be preserved in this country, which it has been so much the wish of Russia and America to occupy to the exclusion of British subjects, but British interest and British influence may be maintained as paramount in this interesting part of the coast of the Pacific.”

These remarks were based upon a report on the condition of the Indian Territories by George Simpson, bearing the date of February 1, 1837,<sup>12</sup> in which that energetic officer refers to the country west of

<sup>12</sup> Hudson's Bay Company, Return to House of Commons, 26 May, 1842, 15 to 17.

the Rocky Mountains in the following words: "The furtrade is the principal branch of business at present in the country situated between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. On the banks of the Columbia River, however, where the soil and climate are favourable to cultivation, we are directing our attention to agriculture on a large scale, and there is every prospect that we shall soon be able to establish important branches of export trade from thence in the articles of wool, tallow, hides, tobacco, and grain of various kinds.

"I have also the satisfaction to say, that the native population are beginning to profit by our example, as many, formerly dependent on hunting and fishing, now maintain themselves by the produce of the soil.

"The country situated between the northern bank of the Columbia River, which empties itself into the Pacific, in lat.  $46^{\circ} 20'$ , and the southern bank of Frazer's river, which empties itself into the Gulf of Georgia, in lat.  $49^{\circ}$ , is remarkable for the salubrity of its climate and excellence of its soil, and possesses, within the Straits of De Fuca, some of the finest harbours in the world, being protected from the weight of the Pacific by Vancouver's and other islands. To the southward of the Straits of De Fuca, situated in lat.  $48^{\circ} 37'$ , there is no good harbour nearer than the bay of St. Francisco, in lat.  $37^{\circ} 48'$ , as the broad shifting bar off the mouth of the Columbia, and the tortuous channel through it, renders the entrance of that river a very dangerous navigation even to vessels of small draught of water.

"The possession of that country to Great Britain may become an object of very great importance, and we are strengthening that claim to it (independent of the claims of prior discovery and occupation for the purpose of Indian trade) by forming the nucleus of a colony through the establishment of farms, and the settlement of some of our retiring officers and servants as agriculturists."

At a later date—28th May, 1849—James Douglas, in a letter to Captain J. Sheppard, R. N., thus reports upon the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company on the coast and in the interior:

"Fort Nisqually,

"Puget Sound 28 May 1849

"Sir.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from you dated 12th May, 1849, announcing the arrival of

H. M. Ship under your command at Esquimalt, in pursuance of orders from Rear Adm<sup>l</sup>. Phipps Hornby, C. B., Commander in Chief of H. M. Naval Forces in the Pacific, in order to receive for consideration any cases of aggression since the visit of H. M. S. *Constance* to the N. W. Territory in August, 1848, and to endeavour to arrange them as far as it may be in your power, to the satisfaction of the Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Hudson's Bay Company.

"I have to beg the favour through you of returning our most cordial thanks to R. Adm<sup>l</sup>. Hornby, for this instance of attention, in affording protection to the Hudson's Bay Company, and other British subjects, established in this country, who will retain a grateful recollection of his solicitude on their behalf.

"For the last two years we have maintained a severe contest, with the lawless American population in Oregon, who, up to a very recent date, were entirely neglected by their own Gov<sup>t</sup>. and left to struggle against the pressure of poverty, distress and an extensive Indian War, carried on at their own expense, without aid or support from their Mother Country and they were in these desperate circumstances often tempted to seize upon the property of the Hudson's Bay Company. In opposing their designs we studiously avoided every cause of Collision assisting them as far as it was prudent for British subjects to interfere in their affairs, yet with a firm resolution to defend our property in case of attack, which was menaced and expected on more than one occasion. With the Blessing of Providence we escaped any serious loss or disaster, and have we trust, seen the last of these days of anxiety and painful suspense—

"The jurisdiction of the United States having been lately extended over all this Territory, & a regular government established under the Authority of Congress; there will be no future interruption to the peace and tranquillity of the country, and should it happen otherwise; we will have the satisfaction of dealing with the Authorities of the United States and not, as heretofore with a lawless and irresponsible Mob.

"From General Lane the present Governor of the Oregon Territory, who arrived two Months ago from Washington, we have received the most friendly assurances, and found him on all occasions, wherein we have had recourse to his good offices, disposed to carry out the provisions of the late Treaty of demarcation in the most

liberal manner:—we have therefore every reason to believe that the property of the Hudson's Bay Company, within the American Territory, will be fully protected hereafter by the local Govt., and that we shall have no further cause of complaint requiring the intervention of the Commander in Chief.

"We nevertheless feel all the value and importance of your kind offers of service, and are at the same time extremely happy that we have no cases of aggression by American citizens to report to you, since the departure of H. M. S. *Constance* in August 1848, and General Lane having expressed a decided intention to arrange all previous matters of complaint we think, on the whole, it will be more agreeable to him, to leave them in his hands for the present, than to bring them in an official shape under the notice of the British Govt.

"In reply to your inquiries respecting the present state of the coal fields in the North East end of Vancouver's Island I would remark that we made arrangements in December 1848, to form an establishment between McNeills and Beaver Harbour, where the Coal Crops abundantly to the Surface, and a party of our people are now engaged in the execution of that Service.

"We propose by forming an establishment in that quarter to open a new branch of trade, by working these beds, and supplying the rapidly increasing demand for Coal, on this Coast.

"The result of this experiment is questionable in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of the Country; the Savage and treacherous disposition of the Natives, the expense and difficulty of procuring labourers, and the limited though increasing demand for Coal in these seas, circumstances which present serious obstacles to the successful prosecution of this enterprise.

"A body of English miners are coming out from England, by a Vessel expected at Fort Victoria in the course of next month, under whose directions the Coal works are to be Carried on.

"The Vancouver Island Coal is considered good; though the surface beds have as yet only been tested, and our impression is, as experience has proved in other cases, that the interior beds will yield a much better quality. Coal has not been seen on any other part of Vancouver's Island except that before mentioned, or on the Continental Coast of British Oregon; but the Indians report that it also

exists on the North West Coast of Vancouver's Island, particularly at a place known by the name of Naspate about 25 miles north of Nootka Sound.

"It is also found in the Columbia at the mouth of the Chityles River which discharges into Gray's Harbour and in one or two other places within the limits of the United States Territory; but from the specimens I have seen it appears to be neither so good, nor is it so abundant, nor so accessible to shipping, as the Coal beds of Vancouver's Island.

"The character of the British Territory on the main land about which you want information may be described in a few words.

"The Coast presents one continuous outline of dense forests swamps and rugged mountains and has every where a most unprepossessing appearance. The interior, particularly the valley of Fraser's River, contains good land and is capable of supporting a large agricultural population, but that is an exception to the general character of the country, which is valuable chiefly for its inexhaustible forests of the finest fir timber in the world; and its valuable fisheries which will become a source of boundless wealth to its inhabitants at some future time.

"The Climate is remarkably healthy and very pleasant in summer; the winters, which extend from the middle of March, are on the contrary generally rainy and disagreeable, and not very unlike the winter weather on the West Coast of Scotland, though the cold is at times more severe.

"There is abundance of game on every part of the Coast, and it probably produces the finest venison in the World. The Elk and two species of Fallow Deer inhabit the low Islands, and level parts of the coast, while fur bearing animals such as Beaver, Otters, Bears, Wolves, Martens and Minks are more or less numerous in different parts of the Country.

"Excellent harbours abound on every part of the Coast, which are well described in Vancouver's Work, to which I will take the liberty of referring you

"The names of the Company's Trading Posts on the West side of the Mountains are as follow viz.<sup>t</sup>

"On the American Territory, South of 49°:

"Fort Colville, Flat Head House, Fort Okanagan, Fort Nez

Perces, Fort Boise, Fort Hall, Fort Vancouver, Fort Umpqua, Fort George, Fort Nisqually, Cowelitz Farm.

"On the British Territory North of 49° :

"Forts Victoria, Simpson, Langley, Hope, Kamloops, Thompson, Alexandria, George, Fraser, St. James, Connolly, Kilmaurs, McLeod, Chilcoten.

"There are about 600 Europeans, Men and Officers, attached to these Establishments besides a great number of Indian Labourers who are employed in the various departments of the Service, West of the Mountains.

"The Exports from the Company's Settlements on the West side of the Mountains may be classed as follows :

Russian Settlement on the N. W. Coast.....	£10,000
Sandwich Islands .....	8,000
Great Britain .....	60,000
	<hr/>
	£78,000

"The annual imports vary from £25,000 to £30,000.

"The above is of course merely a rough estimate given from Memory, as I have no books at this place to refer to but you will find much interesting and authentic information on that Subject, and also a General review of the use, progress and present state of the Company's general trade, in Murray's History of British America, forming two Volumes of the 'Family Library.'

"The Vessels employed in the Company's Trade on the West side of the Mountains are as follows : 3 Barks, 1 Steam Vessel, 1 Brig, 1 Schooner, 1 Sloop.

"The four latter remain constantly in this Country, while the three Barks are alternately employed in taking the returns home, and bringing out our annual supplies for the trade.

"I have thus briefly replied to most of your enquiries, and shall be most happy to communicate verbally any further information which it may be in my power to furnish, if I have the good fortune to see you at Fort Victoria ; in which case I shall also be most happy

to take advantage of your obliging permission to forward letters to England under your charge.

"I have &c.

"James Douglas

"Chief Factor H. B. Compy.

"Capt. J. Sheppard"

One other letter of that period, bearing upon the policy and administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, should have a place beside that of James Douglas, quoted in the preceding paragraphs. Reference is made to Captain Courtenay's entertaining but important communication, dated on board *H. M. S. Constance* "at sea," September 12, 1848, and addressed to Mr. W. Miller, British Consul at the Sandwich Islands. It reads:

"I had a long passage, 26 days, from Honolulu to Port Esquimalt, but I luckily had a fine day & fair wind to enter the strait of Juan de Fuca, & found my port without difficulty. The Hudson's Bay Company's Settlement of Fort Victoria is only three miles from Esquimalt, so that we got our daily supplies of Beef without much trouble. The Company have 300 acres under tillage there, and a dairy farm of 80 Cows, together with numerous other cattle & 24 brood Mares, the whole under the superintendence of a Civil but hard Scot, named Finlaison who has about 30 people of all descriptions under him. They are likewise building a Saw Mill at the head of Port Esquimalt which will be ready for work at the end of the year.

"Altogether the Company's affairs appear to be exceedingly well and particularly economically managed; and my opinion is that the sooner they give up their Settlement in Oregon & retire within our frontier, the sooner an end will be put to their bickerings with the Americans, but I fear that the large amount of gain annually flowing into their coffers, from being the Chief Merchants and Purveyors there, will cause them to remain as long as they can, & to cry Wolf, until, like the Shepherd's Boy in the Fable, they are not listened to.

"From the nature of Mr. Douglas' letters to you, one would have imagined their lives and Properties were in danger, no such thing the Americans never molested them in the slightest degree, with the



exception of the Powder affair at Walla Walla which they first asked to buy, & in the end gave receipts for, so that they have clearly the Law of Nations on their side, if Vattel is any authority. The story of the redoubtable General Gillian (who was killed by accident) having threatened to hang Mr. McBean is so perfectly idle, that when I mentioned the circumstance no one knew anything about it, so that if any such threat *were made* it must have been merely an idle blustering of some Yankee Back-woods man.

"The exaggeration of friend Douglas must have been, in my opinion, the reason why he avoided meeting me, for instead of coming to Fort Victoria as he originally intended he returned to Columbia River!!! notwithstanding Lieut. Wood offered him a Passage in the *Pandora* by which evasion I have been unable to procure information on any one point from the H. B. Co. for so greatly do they fear each other that Mr. Finlaison referred me to Mr. Ogden at Fort Vancouver, & that worthy referred me again to Chief Factor Douglas, who made himself so scarce that although I remained to the latest day my orders admitted in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, I never was enlightened either by his presence or by the sight of his handwriting. I really think that one of the causes of the strong desire the H. B. Co. have for the presence of a Ship of War is the help it throws into the General Stock, for example the *Constance* paid them £400 for what cost them absolutely nothing namely, Cattle that feed on the Prairies & flour that is manufactured at no cost whatever.

"They nominally pay their Farm Servants £17 a year, but as they are the only Purveyors the said servants are in every case compelled to come to their Stores for all their wants which are furnished them at a charge of 150 per cent over cost price.

"The Company have a regular Tariff, from which they never depart in their traffic for Furs, from bear Skins for a blanket, not so large as a Purser's blanket charged 6s to the Sailors is a specimen.

"The Indians inhabiting Vancouvers Island & the neighbourhood are a very dirty, wretched set of People, without fixed habitations, but many of them have handsome features, particularly the women. I was agreeably surprised to find that they are not so thievish as represented, scarcely a single instance of dishonesty occurred during our intercourse, but they will not do you a hand's turn, or give you a drink of water without payment.

"There appears to be a great deal of excellent Land in Vancouver Island, & the Coast abounds with good harbours. As it is too far *distant ever to be colonized by emigration*, it would be the Place of all others for a Military Colony. The winters are mild; never so severe as to interrupt agricultural pursuits, & they have never failed to gather in their crops at Fort Victoria in the month of August while the extensive Prairies afford pasture for innumerable herds of Cattle.

"The Country abounds with Elk, Deer & other game besides all the Fur animals.

"San Francisco, Sept. 17. I got here yesterday & sail tomorrow for San Blas. The Gold Fever goes on & its extent is not exaggerated."

In the light of the full and able report of James Douglas, the gallant Captain's strictures upon that official are, to say the least, out of place. James Douglas was not the man to shirk his duty and it may be taken for granted that he did not avoid Captain Courtenay, as that officer avers. No doubt important matters kept him from proceeding to Victoria at the time H. M. S. *Constance* was lying in Esquimalt harbour. It is well known that James Douglas, in common with the other high officials of the Company were ever ready and willing to answer as fully as possible all legitimate enquiries.

Although Doctor McLoughlin was directly responsible for the administration of the Western Department, and although he administered Old Oregon and its tributary territories, he was yet subject to the will of Governor Simpson and the Council which met annually at Norway House. This parliament of the furtraders set forth each year in a series of resolutions the arrangements to be carried into effect by the officers in command of the different districts. At the same time it settled the stations of the furtraders and clerks in the different departments and promoted or rebuked them as occasion demanded. The Minutes of Council embody specific instructions and particulars touching the outfits and equipment of each district in the Indian Territories and Rupert's Land. For instance, the Minutes of Council of 1830 thus set forth the arrangements for the Columbia Department:

## "WINTER ARRANGEMENTS—COLUMBIA

"Fort Vancouver—J. McLoughlin, C. F.; J. D. Harriott, C. T.; Donald Manson, Clk.; James Douglas, Clk.; James Birnie, Clk.; John Kennedy, Surgeon; Michel Laframboise, P. M.

"Fort Colville—Francis Heron, C. T.

"Flat Heads—William Kittson, Clk.

"Coutainais—Payette, Intr.

"Thompson's River—Fr<sup>s</sup>. Heron, C. T.

"Okanagan—A Labourer.

"Fort Nez Perces—Samuel Black, C. T.

"Fort Langley—A. McDonald, C. T.; J. M. Yale, Clerk.

"Snake Expedition—P. S. Ogden, C. T.

"Disposable—Simon McGillivray, C. T.; A. R. McLeod, C. T.; John Work, Clerk; Thomas McKay, Clerk; Geo. Barnston, Clerk; F. N. Annance, Clerk.

"Shipping—Captains Simpson, Ryan & Minors & Mate.

"That it be discretionary with Chief Factor McLoughlin to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

"That 40 men be provided for this District to accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Factor Rowand until they reach Edmonton and from thence proceed under the charge of Chief Trader Harriott to Fort Vancouver or until he may receive instructions from Chief Factor McLoughlin for his further guidance.

"That 160 guns (trading) and a few other supplies as per requisition be taken from York for the use of the Columbia department and from Jasper's House all the leather which he may find there of the stock provided last year for New Caledonia.

"That Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary steps to employ the Shipping in the Coasting and Timber Trades to build a Ship at Vancouver to establish the post of Nass and to carry into effect the other objects noticed in the Governor & Committee's Dispatch of 28th Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1829 conformably to their Honours instructions.

## "COLUMBIA CONTINUED—NEW CALEDONIA

"Stuarts Lake—Wm. Connolly, C. F.; J. McDonald, Clk.

"Frazers Lake—P. W. Dease, C. F.; Thomas Dears, Clk.

"McLeods Lake—John Tod, Clk.

"Alexandria—A. Fisher, C. T.

"Babines—P. C. Pambrun, Clk.

"Conollys Lake—Charles Ross, Clk.

"Fort George—Wm. McGillivray, Clk.

"That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Connolly to make the appointments of the above Gentlemen together with the requisite establishment of Servants as he may consider expedient.

"That Chief Factor Dease proceed to New Caledonia via Athabasca and Peace River in a Canoe manned by 4 men for the Columbia; in which Chief Factor Charles will take a passage from Norway House to Fort Chippewyan preceding his Brigade; from Fort Chippewyan Chief Trader McGillivray to accompany Mr. Dease, or in the event of that Gentleman not arriving there by the 20th September, C. T. Campbell to accompany him and either of those Gentlemen, say Mr. McGillivray or Mr. Campbell, to proceed from New Caledonia to Kamloops and thence to Vancouver as early as possible with the men intended for the Columbia Department.

"That Chief Factor Connolly be authorized to transfer the charge of the District of New Caledonia next spring to Chief Factor Dease, who will make the necessary appointments of Officers and Servants for the Summer to the different Posts and Stations as he may see fit and that Chief Factor Connolly attend the sitting of Council next season taking his passage out via Peace River in a Canoe manned by not exceeding 4 retiring Servants, the remainder of the crew to be provided by Chief Factor Charles at Fort Chippewyan and that John McDonald, Clerk, late of new Caledonia District, who is to pass the ensuing Winter at Peace River come out from Fort Chippewyan in charge of the Athabasca Brigade to Norway House.

"That 650 dressed Moose skins, 100 lb. Babiche Snares and Beaver nets, 2000 Fathoms Pack Cords and a sufficient quantity of Grease to make up 50 pieces in all be provided at Dunvegan for the use of New Caledonia District to be sent for in the Autumn of every year by the Gentleman in charge of that District.

"That a complete Outfit for New Caledonia 1831 conformably to requisition be prepared at Fort Vancouver by next Spring and that the requisite Horses and appointments, etc., to effect the transport thereof be provided and forwarded thither from the Columbia and

with reference to further arrangements connected with the Columbia Department Generally.

"That the same be determined by Governor Simpson in correspondence with Chief Factors McLoughlin and Connolly."

In 1843 the arrangements for the Columbia district, as set forth by the Council, were:

"COLUMBIA ARRANGEMENTS

"Fort Vancouver—John McLoughlin, C. F.; Dugald McTavish, Clk.; Forbes Barclay, Surgeon; A. L. Lewes, Clk.; David McLoughlin, App. Clk.; Thomas Lowe, App. Clk.; D. Harvey, Miller.

"Fort George—James Birnie, Clk.

"Nisqually—Angus McDonald, Clk.

"Cowelitz—Charles Forrest, P. Mr.

"Fort Langley—James M. Yale, Clk.

"Fort Simpson—John Work, C. T.; John Kennedy, Clk.

"Umpqua—Paul Fraser, Clk.

"Buena Venture Expedn.—Michel Laframboise, P. M.

"Snake Expedition—

"Fort Hall—Richard Grant, C. T.; Angus McDonald, P. M.

"Fort Boise, Francis Payette, P. M.

"Fort Colville—Arch<sup>d</sup> McDonald, C. F.

"Flat Heads—John McPherson, P. M.

"Coutonais—Patrick McKenzie, App. P. M.

"Thompsons River—John Tod, C. T.; Dun. Cameron, P. M.

"Okanagan—An Interpreter.

"Nez Perces—Arch<sup>d</sup> McKinlay, Clk.; William Todd, P. M.

"Stikine—Charles Todd, Clk.; G. Bleakinsop, P. M.

"Straits of de Fuca—James Douglas, C. F.; Charles Ross, C. T.; Rod<sup>k</sup> Finlayson, Clk.

"Sandwich Islands—George T. Allen, Clk.; George Pelly, Agent.

"Disposable—Wm. Glen Rae, C. T.; Francis Ermatinger, C. T.; Wm. F. Tolmie, Surgeon; H. N. Peers, App. Clk.

"Beaver Steamer—Wm. Brothie, Master; J. Carless, Engineer; Wm. Mitchell, 1st Mate.

"Vancouver—Duncan, Master; James Sangster, 1st Mate; Oxley, 2nd Mate; J. Humphrey, Master; 1st Mate; 2nd Mate.

"Cadboro—James Scarboro, Master; Alexr. Lattie.

"Cowlitz—Wm. H. McNeil, C. T.; William Heath, 1st Mate; J. Heald, 2nd Mate.

"NEW CALEDONIA

"Stuarts Lake—Peter S. Ogden, C. F.; Henry Maxwell, Clk.

"McLeods Lake—A. C. Anderson, Clk.

"Frasers Lake—Wm. F. Lane, Clk.

"Alexandria—Donald Manson, C. T.

"Flux-cuz—Donald McLean, C. T.

"Conollys Lake—William McBean, C. T.

"Fort George—William Porteous, C. T.

"Babines—Wm. McIntosh, C. T.

"That Chief Factor McLoughlin for the Columbia and Chief Factor Ogden for New Caledonia be instructed to follow up without deviation the foregoing appointments as far as circumstances may admit.

"That H. N. Peers App. Clk. with the Guide and 10 Servants, as many of them Boutes as possible, to be selected by C. T. Hargreave be forwarded to the Columbia District and accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of C. T. Harriott from the Depot to Edmonton, from thence to proceed under the charge of Mr. Peers to Vancouver, unless he may receive further instructions from Mr. McLoughlin en route by which he will regulate his movements. Of these Servants 2 to be Blacksmiths and 2 Coopers if any such be disposable, if not, those tradesmen coming out by the Ship this season to be forwarded next season to the Columbia.

"That the Gentlemen in charge of the Columbia be instructed to send to York Factory in the Spring of every year with the accounts, an intelligent Officer conversant with them, qualified to enter into explanations, and to give information on such Points as may not be sufficiently reported in the public correspondence; that Mr. Dugald McTavish be sent out with the Accounts next year and be relieved in the Office Department by Mr. Thomas Lowe who will be required to come out with the accounts in the year 1845.

"That C. F. Ogden having expressed a desire to obtain leave of absence or an exchange of Furlough next year it is resolved that the

same be afforded him, but this cannot be assured him beyond the ensuing year.

"That the New Establishment to be formed on the Straits de Fuca to be named Fort Victoria be erected on a scale sufficiently extensive to answer the purposes of the Depot; the square of the Fort to be not less than 150 yards; the buildings to be substantial and erected as far apart as the grounds may admit with a view to guarding against fire."

As might be expected the building of a fort in the wilderness was often marked with stirring events. The jealousy of the natives was easily aroused and it was sometimes a difficult matter to prevent inter-tribal feuds from recoiling upon the meagre garrisons of the different establishments. It was the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to preserve the balance of power and to maintain peace by the assumption of an overlordship amongst the native tribes. The chief factors and chief traders in charge of the operations in the field were astute men, bred, it might almost be said, to the furtrade. Long years of service in all parts of the country had inured them to hardship and danger and had given them an insight into Indian traits and customs. No one knew how to frustrate the designs of the rival trader, or to placate the savage, better than the old-time servant of the great Company; and no corporation was better served by its officers than the Adventurers of England.

According to the canons of that age the Indians were well and fairly treated. Their lands were not seized, because the furtrader was concerned only in the gathering of peltries and not in the promoting of settlements; their customs were respected, because it was less provocative of hostility to humour them than to attempt to change ideas born of immemorial usage. The authority of the friendly chief was upheld because it was easier to control the Indian peoples by such means than to foist upon them laws and customs foreign to their mode of thought and social institutions. The unfriendly chief was placated because it was only by diplomacy that a mere handful of men could maintain the sovereignty of the Company in the vast territories it had made its own without wars of aggrandizement, or in any other manner than by making the natives dependent upon its wares. Much has been said against the policy pursued by the great monopoly, but, taking all things into consideration, the Company was paternal in its solicitude for its Indian wards. The treat-

ment accorded the natives by the agents of the British corporation and later by British settlers, stands in marked contrast to that accorded the aborigine by the American traders and settlers—a fact which is well-borne out by the frontier history of British North America and the United States. In spite of his inherent distrust of the native—a distrust which is amply revealed in his letters and diaries—the British furtrader treated the Indian fairly and, in so doing, won the respect of his savage ward who at one time had owned and ruled the land.

For a glimpse of the fortbuilder at work and for a knowledge of his dangers and difficulties one must turn to his letters and diaries. With the aid of these documents, which are the materials from which history is woven, the past can be made to live again. Thus the pages of Roderick Finlayson's autobiography<sup>13</sup> vividly portray the building of Fort Durham on Taku Inlet, the northernmost post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the seaboard. In the Spring of 1840, James Douglas proceeded northward in the *Beaver* to establish the fort. Upon this expedition Douglas was accompanied by Finlayson, who had been appointed to the command of the new district. This appears from the diary of the latter which has fortunately been preserved and says: "After remaining about ten days at Sitka settling various matters relative to our future trade with the Russian Company, the party left in the *Beaver* (having been saluted as before and returned from the *Beaver*) to the Gulf of Taco (Taku) and River, for the purpose of establishing a fort there for trading purposes; we ascended the river in boats for about 30 miles looking for a place to build, but found none on the river and selected a place about 50 miles in a land locked harbour, where we built a fort on the usual plan, called it Fort Durham in honour of the Governor General of Canada. It took some time to build this fort and make it defensible against the warlike Indians in the vicinity. When it was considered in proper state for defence, with bastions erected at the angles of the stockade, a party was left to take possession consisting of eighteen men and two officers, of whom I was one, second in command. Mr. Douglas then left for the south in the *Beaver*, when we were left to our own resources to make the best of our circumstances. It was now late in October and the Fort built on Taco (Taku)

<sup>13</sup> Privately printed.



harbour surrounded with high mountains was as dismal a place as could possibly be imagined, the rain pouring down in torrents adding to our other discomforts. The journal kept at this place showed rain and snow for nine months out of the twelve. We opened trade with the natives, a wild turbulent race, so that we only allowed a few of them at a time to enter the Fort gate for trade. A few years before this an American vessel from Boston came to trade in the neighbourhood and had a quarrel with the natives in which a large number of them were killed, and, supposing we were Americans, they tried to take revenge for this by attempting to take the Fort and murder us all. With this view a warrior of the tribe attempted to force his way in at the gate, where a number of others were watching the gatekeeper, a Sandwich Islander who did all he could to keep the man out, but failed, when I went to the rescue, having pistols in my belt, and forced the fellow out. In doing so I was struck by a bludgeon and in the heat of passion I went outside the gate where I was laid hold of by a party of wild savages and forced away to a distance from the gate, when I called out to open blank cartridges from the cannonades in the bastion to frighten them. In the meantime I managed to get my back to a tree, drew my pistols from my belt and threatened to kill the first man that attempted to lay hold of me; my face was covered with blood and otherwise badly hurt. The firing from the bastion frightened the fellows off so I was enabled to return to the fort. After this we were besieged for several days. Preparing ourselves for action and the natives finding trade suspended they came to a parley, when it was arranged that on payment of the insult to me,—who was not a Boston, as the Americans were called,—they agreed to pay in furs, a large bundle of which were brought as payment and accepted. Peace declared and trade resumed. I then passed a dismal winter at Fort Durham.”<sup>14</sup>

The early letters and papers of the furtraders contain many references to Kamloops and by means of these broken records it is possible to portray the vicissitudinous history of that post. Towards the end of the year 1822 John McLeod, a prominent officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, was placed in charge of the Thompson River District. In his report<sup>15</sup> of the following spring he gives

<sup>14</sup> Finlayson, *Biography*, pp. 6-8.

<sup>15</sup> McLeod, Report on Thompson River District, dated "Kamloops Spring, 1823." Ms. in Provincial Archives.

some interesting particulars respecting his post and the neighbouring Indian tribes. "Since my arrival at Thompson's River," he writes, "the Natives have hitherto conducted themselves very peaceably and would very likely continue so if it had not been for the death of one of their principal chiefs who was killed last November by the Fraser River Indians, which circumstances subsequently created great commotions amongst the Indians throughout the whole department.

"There are now four different nations in confederacy against the murderers to revenge this chief's death, for which purpose no less than 600 fighting men were expected to assemble at Kamloops this spring. I tried as much as I possibly could to dissuade them from going to war; but finding all my rhetoric only excited their derision against myself I was obliged to desist. The murderers sent several articles of value to the deceased's son, as propitiation for his father's death, which he rejected and sent back with the message that 'he was determined not to be satisfied with any other atonement than life for life.' I am convinced that this affair will be materially detrimental to Thompson River Department at a future period as the greatest part of our dried salmon is traded at Fraser River.

"I am happy to have knowledge that we have this spring at the post of Kamloops alone nearly 900 beaver skins more than the returns of that place last year. Mr. McMillan's early arrival here last fall or autumn contributed in a great measure to this unusual augmentation in trade, as it gave the natives an opportunity of making a fall hunt. The natives appertaining to the Post of Alexandria formerly traded at Kamloops, but that place is now attached to New Caledonia.

"The post of Kamloops is situated on the banks of Thompson's River, at its confluence with the North Branch or N. River; to this post no less than seven different tribes or nations resort."

It is evident that the affairs of the Thompson River district were not in a very flourishing condition at that time, for the Governor himself felt it incumbent upon him to place on record his disappointment at the returns from Kamloops, which he did in the following terms: "The returns of Thompson's River I am concerned and surprised to learn have fallen off while at the same time the expenses are considerably increased within the last year or two; this may have arisen from circumstances beyond your control, but which I doubt not you

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JOHN TOD

Famous Officer, Hudson's Bay Company, many years at Kamloops

will be able to account for, and I am satisfied is not occasioned by any want of zeal or exertion on your part; I however sincerely trust things will assume an improved appearance next Spring; if its affairs do not look better, my opinion as also that of Messrs. McLoughlin, McMillan and Ogden, is that it should be abandoned as 1700 Beaver will do little more than cover the Interest on the capital employed, whereas in many other parts of the country it can be turned to much greater advantage. The complement of people intended for the District this season appears to be greater than necessary and than the Trade can afford. We have therefore reduced it from 21 Gentlemen and Servants to 18 in all which we hope you will find sufficient. Mr. Annance is particularly required to accompany Mr. McMillan on a very hazardous expedition to the Mouth of Fraser's River in the course of the Winter and from the report we have of Jacco La Fontise, there can be no doubt that he is competent to perform all duties in which Mr. Annance was last season employed. In the course of this Winter we shall at Fort George determine whether the Post on Thompson's River is to be continued or not, in the meantime you will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements for abandoning it by removing every valuable article in Spring in case it may be deemed expedient to adopt the latter measure. It is probable an Establishment may be formed at the Mouth of Fraser's River if the reports from that quarter are favourable and I have to request you will be pleased to make particular enquiry among the natives as to the navigation, numbers, and disposition of the Tribes on that communication, as also the means of subsistence and general Character of the Country." <sup>16</sup>

But Kamloops was not abandoned and later became an important way-station on the old Brigade Trail from Fort Okanagan, on the Okanagan River, to Fort Alexandria on the Fraser. Here the Company maintained a stud farm for the breeding of horses—for the great brigades which annually passed over the trail with bales of supplies and peltries—the beautiful ranges in the vicinity affording an abundance of rich pasture.

It does not appear, however, that the post on the Thompson River, in early days, was considered of first importance, John Tod, a noted character, graphically describes the place as it was in Aug-

<sup>16</sup> Simpson, to John McLeod, Okanagan, Nov. 1st, 1824. Ms. in Provincial Archives.

ust, 1841. "Men employed," Tod's Journal records, "clearing away the bushes of grass which have been allowed to shoot up time out of mind till it was quite impossible to discover the Fort at the distance of more than ten feet. Never in the whole course of my travels in this Country have I beheld a place that exhibited a more complete picture of desolation than the present Establishment of Kamloops.—The buildings have apparently been long in a state of decay, and notwithstanding the props by which they are supported, are fast tottering to the ground."<sup>17</sup>

The fort stood originally on the Indian Reserve opposite Kamloops. Tod rebuilt it on the other side "of the river."<sup>18</sup> Later it was again moved to a point not far from the bridge which spans the Thompson at the west end of the town. Of the first fort nothing remains but the buried foundation of the chimney, but an old house of whip-sawn timber still marks the site of the post near the bridge.

The earliest mention of the spot which was later to become the site of Fort Langley occurs in the original manuscript of Mr. John Work's Journal, one of the prized possessions of the Archives Department at Victoria. This reference occurs in the course of his description of the expedition of 1824 under James McMillan, undertaken by order of Governor Simpson with the object of discovering the entrance of the Fraser River and essaying its navigation; the party camped at the confluence of a "little river" with the "Coweechin River" on Thursday the 16th December 1824. The place is thus described—"the woods are at some distance and the river (the modern Salmon River) runs through a fine meadow which is covered with the remains of a fine crop of hay. The marks of a great many beaver and numerous tracks of Elk, some quite fresh are to be seen all the way along the river." It was not until about two and a half years later that anything appears to have been done to follow up the exploration of 1824, the Company's officers meanwhile being busy with the building of Fort Vancouver and the establishment of that important post on the Columbia river. The merits of the position and its various advantages had not escaped their ever alert attention as Mr. Work's second diary, descriptive of the subsequent expedition of 1827, amply testifies.

<sup>17</sup> Tod, Journal, 1841. Ms. in Provincial Archives Department.

<sup>18</sup> For description of Tod's fort see Mayne, B. C. and Vancouver Island, London, 1862.

It was on the 27th of June, 1827, that this expedition set out from Fort Vancouver. Mr. McMillan was accompanied by three clerks—Donald Manson, François Noel Annance and George Barnston—and twenty-one men, making in all, a party to the number of twenty-five. They left the fort early in the morning and encamped the same evening fifteen miles up the Cowlitz River, reaching Puget Sound without special incident on July the first. After purchasing canoes from the Indians, a start was made as soon as the tide would permit and Fort Orchard, the rendezvous where the *Cadboro* was to be met, by agreement, was reached on the fourth of July; but the schooner made no appearance. On the eleventh a crossing was made to Whidby Island, when the firing of a "great gun" announced the proximity of the vessel which shortly arrived. The party embarked on the *Cadboro* at ten o'clock on the morning of the twelfth and at once set sail for the Gulf of Georgia, coming to an anchor the following night in Point Roberts Bay. Mr. McMillan went ashore here to look for a site for an establishment, but without success and returning on board, an attempt was made to make the entrance of the Fraser River which, however, was not effected until the morning of the eighteenth when, a good channel having been discovered, an entrance was made and an anchorage found on the edge of the North Shoal where, meeting with an unexpected depth of water the vessel dragged anchor and drifted out to sea during the night. Next day the difficult entrance was again effected and the ship, after grounding, without damage, anchored a second time, a mile within the river. The next day—Sunday—the north point of entry was visited for the purpose of taking a meridian observation. The place was named by Captain Simpson, "Point Garry" and the latitude recorded was 49 degrees, 5 min., 30 sec. The remainder of the day was spent in taking soundings up the river and finding the set of the current. The day following some progress was made up stream and many Cowitchen villages were passed the inhabitants of which were roughly estimated to number some fifteen hundred souls. Two trees marked HBC were noticed on the south bank, a land mark left by the previous expedition of 1824. The vessel reached a point opposite the Quoitile or Pitt River, that evening and anchored later above Pim Island.

The Indians here surrounded the vessel in considerable numbers

and proved somewhat aggressive. They were with difficulty restrained from forcing their way on board, urged thereto by the chief, an old man who delivered his orders in a very determined manner.

The remark is here made:—"On the south side of the river at this point there is a tolerably good situation for a fort. We still entertain hopes, however of finding a better."

Trouble was again met with from the Indians who were found to have stolen from the ships stores and "Shoshier," the native interpreter sent to recover them, reported badly of the Indians who, he said, threaten the annihilation of the white men, should they persist in settling.

On Monday, the thirtieth, a landing place having been found, with deep water close to shore, the horses were landed and "appeared to rejoice heartily in their liberation."

Here is a passage describing the initial operation in the building of Fort Langley on Monday the 30th of July 1827:

"Our men at noon were all very busily employed in clearing the ground for the establishment. In the evening all came on board to sleep, a precaution considered necessary until we are better assured of the friendly disposition of the natives. A few Indians, and Indian Women, were alongside for a great part of the day, and were very quiet & peaceable. One of the ship's company was this day put in irons for making use of language calculated to promote discontent and create disorders amongst the crew.

"Thursday 31st. At 5 in the morning the Fort Langley men were put on Shore to go on with their operations. The work is laborious from the timber being strong, and the ground completely covered with thick underwood, interwoven with Brambles & Briars. We procured a small supply of fresh Sturgeon from the Indians today. These fish are as large as those of the Columbia, and are killed in this River with Spears fifty feet in length, having a fork at the end, Barbed occasionally with iron, but oftener with a piece of shell—When the fish is struck, the barbs having a cord, attached to their middle, and held at the end of the Spear, are drawn from their socket and remain in the fish across the wound, till it is drawn up and killed."

The following entries are of very considerable local interest con-



stituting as they do—perhaps the earliest record of bush fires—the ever impending terror of the woods—the same then as now.

“The fires which had been kindled to consume the Branches, and cuttings of the timber that had been felled, communicating with the surrounding woods occasioned us much inconvenience and trouble; at one time we were completely enveloped in Flame, & Clouds of Smoke, and it was with great difficulty that the People succeeded in getting the Conflagration checked. Squatches the Nanaimooch Chief was taken on Board today and shewn the vessel, with which he appeared to be highly pleased.

“Saturday 5th. A number of Indian women were alongside the vessel today with Berries which they dispose of, for trifling Articles such as Rings, Buttons &c. By a meridian observation of the Sun taken this day, Fort Langley was found to be in Latitude  $40^{\circ}-11'-38''$ .

“Wednesday 8th. The men who are employed cutting Pickets were today obliged to abandon their work on account of a fire in the Woods, which we have every reason to suppose to have been Kindled by Indians with the malicious intention of forcing us to relinquish our purpose of establishing. A few Beaver Skins were traded today.

“Thursday 9th. The fire which had raged with so much violence yesterday, broke out again with redoubled fury on the setting in of the Sea Breeze. It swept part of the little open meadow on our left, being arrested in its progress only by the intervention of the small Rivulet that runs through the Plain. The Blaze has at last communicated with the Woods directly behind us but luckily at a considerable distance off. We expect much annoyance in consequence should the wind blow from that quarter. Work going forward as rapidly as possible.

“Saturday 11th. A Number of Indians from above and below were on the ground today, and many long and pithy orations were given on the occasion. The Scatchats traded their furs, a business that was luckily brought to a close without much jarring as to prices. The fire this forenoon approached very near to our Camp, and occasioned us a great deal of trouble and anxiety before its progress was checked, which took many of the people from their other occupations. In other respects our operations advanced as usual. The Bastion is now nearly at its height, and appears to command respect in the eyes of the Indians, who begin shrewdly, to conjecture

for what purpose the Ports & loop Holes are intended. In the afternoon the Company who have visited us retired quietly to their respective homes, and our Scatchat friends also went off as soon as they had finished trading.

"Sunday 12th. Few Indians looked near us today."

The entries of the day here assume a more satisfied tone with the abatement of some of the troubles that beset the work. He writes:—

"The fire also, hitherto our most dreaded foe, has sunk to rest, the dried wood branches & other Combustibles around being at length consumed. We had in consequence a day of rest—a day of calm & undisturbed tranquillity throughout. We have only to regret the scarcity of fish among the natives, which prevents us from provisioning the People as we could wish, or as their present laborious duty would require.

"Monday 13th. The Bastion requires now only to be covered & Pierre Charles & Cornoyer are busy raising Cedar Bark for that purpose. Jacques Pierrault commenced hauling Pickets with one of the Horses from a distance of a quarter mile. The other men are employed as during last week.

"Tuesday 14th. Faniant and others squaring Wood for a Store. Jacques Pierrault & Kennedy Carters Como Peopeoh sawing Pickets and eight or nine men cutting and carrying logs to the Sawpit. A small supply of sturgeon was had from the Indians as also a few dried salmon. The latter fish according to Indian report is becoming plentiful in the River. We have seen few Indians today, and those few were very quietly disposed."

The weather conditions are the subject of the next entries and fitly describe the admirable climate of the locality and the progress of the work.

"Since leaving Fort Vancouver up to the present date we have experienced the finest weather one could wish for. We have had clear & unclouded Skies and pure atmosphere, and the heats which prevail at this season in all climes have been agreeably tempered by the Breezes and Air from Sea.

"Friday 17th. Some of the men felling timber close to the Camp preparatory to erecting the Fort Picketing. Others still squaring Wood for the Buildings, Como & Peopeoh sawing. Jacques Pierrault & Kennedy Carters, and the three Horses all in requisition

hauling. There were heavy Showers of Rain during the night and this morning; and the weather still appears lowering and unsettled.

"Monday 20th. Most of the wood required for Picketing is now Cut and hauled to the site of the Establishment, and preparation for the Storehouse gets on apace. Some of the men are employed in Burning and rolling into the River the useless Logs that are still lying through the Camp, which, excepting the Stumps, are the greatest obstacles to be removed in levelling the ground to be occupied by the Buildings. Six or Seven Sinahomes made their appearance this forenoon. Nine Beaver Skins were traded from them, tho' it was a matter which was accomplished with infinite trouble, and after long and earnest expostulation on their part as to Prices. All this arose from their having had communication with the American Vessel which visited the Straits of De Fuca last Spring, supplying them with Clothing and other articles at a cheaper rate than what our Tariff admits of. In the afternoon Fifteen to Twenty Chomes and Misquians arrived from above. They parted with about 200 Dried Salmon and then continued their route down to the Nanaimooch Village. The Sinahomes also retired in the evening to visit some of our neighbours, and soon afterwards a number of Cowitchens passed with their families & moveables on their way up to kill Salmon at the Rapids, where they remain some time collecting a Stock of Dried Provisions for the Winter.

"Tuesday 21st. This morning four men commenced opening a Trench three feet deep for the Pickets. The Ground is a hard Gravel composed of small round Stones of Granite, mixed with Sand, with a very thin vegetable mould on the surface."

The next passage describes the annual migration of the Indians to the Salmon fisheries, their methods of transport and their war canoes.

"Saturday 25th. Families from the Sanch Village at Point Roberts have been passing in continued succession during the day all bound for the Salmon Fishery. The Luggage of these as well as of the other tribes here is transported up and down the River on Rafts which are formed by laying Boards across two or more Canoes Kept, eight, ten or twelve feet asunder. We have also seen amongst them large War Canoes which are used as Luggage Boats and carry a great Load of Furniture & Baggage. The Size of some of them

is in length fifty feet and six or seven feet in breadth across the middle. On the Top of the Stern which is flattish there is in general carefully carved out the resemblance of the face of a human Being; and the Bow or Stem stands twice the height of the rest of the Canoe out of the water, which gives it an imposing appearance. The Natives here do not make these large Canoes themselves but procure them from the Yucletaws and other Nations to the northward. They ornament the sides of them fancifully enough with circles and other figures laid on with a red Paint or Clay.

"Friday 31st. The Second Bastion is up, and roofed in, and it only remains now to finish the flooring, to complete it."

Theft on the part of the natives now made it imperative to hurry on the fort inclosure to which this entry refers:—

"Sunday 2nd. It being a most desirable object to have an inclosure up as quickly as possible, all hands with the exception of the Sick and Maimed are at work. No Indians were allowed to land, on account of the Theft Committed Yesterday, but the want of fresh Provisions will soon compel us to concede a little in regard to this restriction, and indulge them with the same familiarity of intercourse that they before enjoyed. As it is, they appear already to feel the deprivation of our good will and friendly disposition towards them as severely as we had a reason to expect they would, which is so far satisfactory."

A forlorn picture is here given of the conditions which surrounded the work in hand; this entry also shows the system of capture and ransom practiced by one tribe upon another:—

"Friday 7th. Since Sunday the 2nd Inst. we have had very gloomy weather and almost incessant Rain. It has however cleared up this afternoon, and we entertain hopes of a favourable change, which we certainly much require, for the sake of advance with our business, as well as the health of the People, who have not yet had time to put up for themselves, any thing like comfortable Lodgings, and consequently suffer much from their constant exposure to so wet a climate. Sickness at present prevails among them to an alarming extent, and we can ascribe it only to this, and the late change of their diet. They are now living entirely upon fish, whereas their rations before consisted chiefly of grain—say Indian Corn—Pease &c., &c.

"A Ylalam Woman Sister in Law of Scanawa has been restored by Yucletaws who had taken her prisoner in their last plundering excursion. Her ransom had cost Scanawa seven or eight Blankets, besides other trifling articles of trade. The negotiator was a Yucletaw Woman who is married to an Indian that lives up this River and is well known here by the name of the Doctor."

The reference here registers the completion of the Fort Langley inclosure, the dimensions of the same and the internal details to be completed afterwards recording the murder of the "Doctor" who figured in the last entry:—

"Saturday 8th. The Picketing of the Fort was completed, and the Gates hung. The rectangle inside is 40 Yds by 45; and the two Bastions are 12 ft. square each, built of 8 inch Logs and having a lower and upper flooring the latter of which is to be occupied by our artillery. The *Tout ensemble* must make a formidable enough appearance in the eyes of Indians especially those here who have seen nothing of the kind before.

"We have just been informed of the murder of the Yucletaw woman who made herself so serviceable in ransoming the Ylalam and Scadgat Captives.—It seems an Indian of this place performed the meritorious deed, because the poor creature had not been equally successful in recovering some Women of his own tribe, which arose probably from the ransom offered not being sufficiently valuable."

A significant circumstance is noted on the 18th September in the most matter of course manner, which reads, "The *Cadboro* left us early this morning under a salute of three guns which she returned." This seems to imply that the fort was now considered sufficiently complete for safety and that its little garrison were thus formally left to their own devices. The domestic arrangement seems also to have been brought practically to a conclusion as these concluding passages show:—

"Saturday 22nd (Sept). The carpenters today finished the outside shell of the house they have been working at and gave it a good bark covering. The wintering house gets on apace and promises to make snug and comfortable quarters. It is thirty feet long by fifteen feet broad and is divided into two apartments, each provided with a fireplace and two windows." And again on Friday the 19th October, "The houses of the men are nearly completed and some of

the hands are again in the woods felling and squaring timber for various purposes."

The Langley episode closes, as far as this part of the story is concerned, with the following gruesome description of the pastimes of the "noble savage":—

"The War Party of Cowitchens returned this afternoon from their expedition. They have murdered one man and a Woman, and taken several women and children prisoners who as a matter of course become slaves. The Head of one of their Victims was pendant at the Bow of one of the Canoes presenting a Spectacle as dismal and disgusting as can well be imagined, a Spectacle the most shocking to humanity, that this Land of Savage Barbarism produces. The greater number of the Canoes were laden with dried & fresh provisions, Baskets, mats and other Furniture, the Spoils of the Camp of the unhappy creatures that they surprised."

After this the only features of general interest in this portion of the Journal are the earthquake shock experienced on November the 23rd "resembling the sound of distant cannon," and the erection of the flagstaff which was "cut and prepared and in the afternoon erected in the south-east corner of the fort. The usual forms were gone through. Mr. Annance officiated in baptizing the establishment and the men were regaled in celebration of the event. Our two hunters came home at night, having been alarmed at the firing which took place on the occasion." The narrative touches upon the predicament of Mr. A. Mackenzie who, it appears, was beset by the Musquiam Indians—the same tribe of natives who forced Simon Fraser to turn back in 1808. The incident is thus described: "On Monday, the 24th December, in the morning two Indians from the Misquiam Camp near the Quoitile River arrived with a note from Mr. A. McKenzie, the purport of which was, that he was disagreeably situated with only four men amongst a formidable Band of Indians, and requested our assistance in case he might not be able to extricate himself. Messrs. Manson and Annance with nine men went off immediately to his relief, but they had not proceeded far before they met him and his party all uninjured. The Indians have stolen from them a little property but this will soon be recovered. Mr. Mc. is a welcome visitor. He is the bearer of our letters, and home news, from Fort Vancouver."

The fact of the next day being Christmas Day is despatched with the curtest brevity, in two words whereas New Year's Day is heralded in the subsequent entry with true "hieland honours":

"January 1st. Every one in high glee: Jean Baptiste considerably elevated, and as a matter of course displaying his manhood," and yet again on "Wednesday 2nd. (the next day) The men still enjoying themselves, tho' the effervescence of spirits has greatly subsided."

The description of the building of Fort Langley may fitly close with the founder's letter to his friend John McLeod, then stationed at Kamloops. In January, 1828, James McMillan writes of this new establishment on the Fraser River:

"I left Vancouver on the 24th June (1827), the *Cadboro* Schooner some days before. I with the Land Party up the Cowlitz to Puget Sound; fell in again with the vessel at Entrance of Admiralty Inlet where we all embarked and proceeded to Fraser's River and succeeded in reaching this place on the 29th. July, and on the 1st of August began to cut the first stick for Fort Langley. Indians innumerable about us of whose friendly disposition we soon had reason to know—greater scamps never was. However, with a good deal of care and watching their motions we got on pretty well. On the 18th Sept'r the vessel left us to prosecute her voyage to Northward. We had then a good Fort up, with store, and we managed to keep our numerous neighbours at as respectable a distance as we could. Our returns are not very flattering, indeed much could not be expected the first year and we have only half a year this season. Still our losses will not be much felt. We scraped about 1,100 Skins—Beavers & Otters. The winter here this year is very severe and would not be thought too mild even at your own quarter. I don't know if this is always the case or not. In such cold our naked Indians cannot go about in search of Skins, were they so inclined; but they are very lazy and independent, as the sea and river supply their wants plentifully. We make out to live pretty well, fresh salmon in fish season and can procure plenty of dried for the winter. Sturgeon can be had also at times and the forest gives (us) an occasional Red deer now and then. We could trade at the door of our Fort, I suppose, a million of dried salmon if we choose—enough to feed all the people of Rupert's Land. I do not know when I will be allowed to quit

this side of the mountains but to be plain with you my good sir I am tired of it. I would willingly be quit of it.”<sup>19</sup>

In New Caledonia, affairs moved fairly smoothly, though the turbulent natives of that quarter often gave cause for anxiety. Fort St. James had already become an important centre. The fort was rebuilt and enlarged, and beyond the stockade fields and gardens were cultivated with success. John Stuart retired from the command of the district in 1824, to be succeeded by William Connolly, who in turn retired in favour of Peter Warren Dease. Dease spent four years—1830-1834—in New Caledonia, and then handed over the reins of government to Peter Skene Ogden, famous in the annals of the West for his humour and combativeness. Ogden ruled for ten years—1834-1844. He was a brave man and a jovial companion and many rich anecdotes of his career survive to this day.

It was during William Connolly's tenure of office that James Douglas served his apprenticeship in New Caledonia, as clerk in charge of the fisheries. Here the future Governor of Vancouver Island and British Columbia courted beautiful Amelia Connolly, the daughter of the superintendent of the district, and wedded her according to the law of the country. Upon his return to Fort Vancouver, Douglas solemnized his marriage in accordance with the rites of the Church.

Douglas did not stay long at Fort St. James. On January 30, 1830, he bade farewell to New Caledonia. Apparently his experiences in that turbulent district had dampened his ardor, for George McDougall, in a letter to John McLeod of March 8, 1828, observes—“Mr. James Douglas is bent on leaving the Country.” He then paid this tribute to the young trader—“I am sorry for it. Independent of his abilities as an Indian Trader he possesses most amiable qualities and (is) an accomplished young man.” Such independent testimony would seem to refute in some measure the statements of certain learned authors—notably H. H. Bancroft—who have sought to disparage Douglas.

In a memorandum, dated Hudson's Bay House, 5th January, 1826, and prepared by Sir George Simpson for the Right Honourable Henry Addington, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, there were at that time thirteen establishments west of the Rocky Moun-

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<sup>19</sup> MacMillan, to John McLeod, Fort Langley, Jan. 21, 1828. Ms. in Provincial Archives.







*B.C. Bureau of Mines.*

DUNVEGAN, HUDSON'S BAY POST, PEACE RIVER, ALBERTA,  
LOOKING DOWN STREAM



*B.C. Bureau of Mines*

EPISCOPAL CHURCH MISSION AT LESSER SLAVE LAKE, ALBERTA

tains—Vancouver, (1) Vancouver, (2) Nez Perce, (3) Okanagan, (4) Colville House, (5) Flat Head, (6) Kootenais, (7) Kilmany (Kilmaurs), (8) Fraser's Lake, (9) Fort St. James, (10) McLeod's Fort, (11) Chilcotin, (12) Thompson's Fort (Kamloops), (13) Alexandria Fort.<sup>20</sup> Twenty-three years later the number had increased to twenty-five, according to James Douglas' report to Captain Sheppard, R. N., of May, 1849. The additional names are Forts Boise, Hall, Umpqua, George (confluence of Fraser and Nechaco Rivers), Nisqually, Cowlitz Farm, Victoria, Simpson, Langley, Hope, Connolly, Kamloops and George (Astoria). In the meantime the place called Kootenais by Simpson had been abandoned. It will be observed that the Governor does not mention either of the Forts George, whereas Douglas includes both in his list. Douglas also includes both Kamloops and Thompson, yet it is generally supposed that these two names refer to one and the same establishment.

A volume, or rather a series of volumes, might be written upon the remarkable activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in the period in which Dr. McLoughlin was the tutelary genius of the west, without exhausting the subject; but the narrative of that fascinating era must be held within proper bounds. Interesting and instructive as it would be to follow the fortunes of each post and to trace the career of each man identified with the progressive march of events in that early formative period of our history, it is clearly impossible to do so in the prescribed limits of a single chapter. Still it is necessary, for the sake of continuity, to give a general account of the wide-extending operations of the Hudson's Bay Company on the coasts first brought into prominence through the exertions of British navigators.

The work of the great corporation in this particular may well be summed up in the words of Sir George Simpson, to whose indefatigable exertions and superhuman energy the success of the Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay was largely due. Sir George visited the Oregon Territory and the Northwest coast in the summer of 1841, upon that memorable journey which led him across two continents to St. Petersburg and thence to London. Upon his return he laid before the Governor, Deputy Governor and Com-

<sup>20</sup> Correspondence, Foreign Office and Hudson's Bay Co., p. 5.

mittee of the Hudson's Bay Company an illuminating report of his tour of inspection, which is particularly valuable to the historian of the west, inasmuch as it contains extended references to the posts on the western seaboard. Therefore that report, or rather the essential parts of it, may well be spread upon these pages, because it reviews the situation in a very able and concise manner. It is as follows:—

“25th November, 1841.

*“To The Governor, Depy. Govr., & Committee of the Honble. Hudson's Bay Company.*

“1. HONBLE. SIRS,—I had this honour under date 20th June from Red River Settlement whence I took my departure on 3rd July for the shores of the Pacific prosecuting my journey across the Continent on horseback, instead of pursuing the usual canoe route, as from the best information that could be obtained respecting the state of the Athabasca and Columbia Rivers at the period of the season when I should reach those streams, there was every reason to believe the navigation of them then would not only be exceedingly dangerous but impracticable.

“2. My route which your Honours can trace on Arrowsmith's chart lay from Fort Garry in a Westerly direction to Fort Ellice on the banks of the Assineboine, where I arrived on the 7th July; thence North West to Carlton, on the banks of the Saskatchewan where we arrived on the 15th of the same month; thence West to Fort Pitt, which we reached on the 20th; thence W. N. W. to Edmonton, likewise on the Saskatchewan, where we arrived on the 24th. From thence we took a S. S. Westerly direction by the head waters of the Red Deers and Bow Rivers crossing the Rocky Mountains by a pass in about Lat.  $50^{\circ} 30'$ , which had now for the first time been travelled by Whites. Thence we passed through the Kootenais Country arriving at Fort Colville on the Columbia River, on the 18th August having performed a land journey of about 1900 miles in 47 days, out of which we had travelled but 41, having been detained 6 en route. The country through which we passed from Red River Settlement, until we reached the Red Deers River is exceedingly beautiful presenting all the varieties of Prairie and Woodland, Hill and Dale intersected by rivers and lakes well adapted as far as soil admits for pastoral and agricultural settlements:—Deer, Buffalo, and Wild

Fowl were abundant, and although our way lay through the numerous marauding Plain tribes many of whom we saw, we were allowed to pass unmolested. Towards the Red Deers River the country became more hilly from whence across the mountains to the Kootenais Country it is extremely rugged and precipitous and in many places we found it almost impassable even with light horses the whole route lying through thick forests deep morasses and over stupendous rocks.

"The party of Red River settlers proceeding to the Columbia who followed us, were however more fortunate as they fell in with some Indians who conducted them through a still more Southerly pass than we pursued, not only shorter but better in every respect so that even with families, and encumbered with baggage as they were they effected the passage of the Mountains with infinitely less labour and in a shorter time than we accomplished it.

"From Fort Colville we descended the Columbia River by boat touching at Okanagan and Walla Walla, and arrived at Fort Vancouver on the 25th August, six days earlier than by my letter of last year from England to C. F. McLoughlin I had appointed to be there.

"3. It affords me great satisfaction to say that I found the business of the different establishments I visited on my way from Red River East of the Rocky Mountains in as regular and prosperous a state as I had reason to anticipate; but having reported very fully on the affairs of the Honble. Company's territories, previous to my departure from Red River I shall here confine myself to those matters to which my attention has been directed since I have been on the Western side of the Continent.

"4. After crossing the mountains the first permanent establishment I visited was Fort Colville which is intended to protect and collect the trade of the Upper Columbia and of the Kootenais and Flat-head countries which lie to the South and West of that post.

"I am concerned to say the returns are gradually diminishing from year to year; this arises from no want of attention to the management of the district but from the exhausted state of the country which has been closely wrought for many years without any intermission. In the present unsettled state of the Boundary Line it would be impolitic to make any attempt to preserve or recruit this once valu-

able country as it would attract the attention of the American trappers, so that there is little prospect of any amendment taking place in its affairs. Here there are many extensive tracts of country, well adapted for colonization and at Colville there is an excellent farm yielding bountiful harvests of maize, wheat and other crops.

"5. Okanagan the next station I visited is an outpost from the establishment of Thompson's River, maintained more for the purpose of facilitating the transport business of that post and New Caledonia than for trade as there are few or no Fur bearing animals in the surrounding country.

"6. I was concerned to learn whilst passing Okanagan that the disaffection of the Indians between that Place and New Caledonia, which has shown itself more conspicuously since the death of the late C. F. Black than previously, had not yet subsided and that every plan which had been formed for apprehending the assassin had failed. This unfortunate state of affairs it is thought has arisen from an ill-judged forbearance on our part in not punishing many cases of misconduct (such as horse thieving, pilfering from encampments &c) which have been committed by the natives of late years, a forbearance they ascribe to shyness or timidity instead of the proper cause—a disinclination to have recourse to measures of severity. Presuming on this laxity of discipline they have day by day become more daring until now that it is considered a service of danger even to pass through the country and can only be attempted in strong parties. The complement of people in this district has been considerably increased, with a view of restoring good order and with the hope that more effective measures may be adopted for the apprehending of the murderer of Mr. Black, as if he be allowed to remain at large unpunished the impression it would leave on the minds of the natives might prove dangerous to the peace of the country and the lives and property of the white population.

"7. It had been arranged that I should meet C. F. Ogden at Okanagan but from letters I received from that gentleman it appeared he had proceeded to New Caledonia a few weeks previously, with his outfit and people, being unwilling in the present disturbed state of the country through which they had to pass to intrust so important a charge to other hands. Mr. Ogden's report on the affairs of New Caledonia is by no means so favourable as

could be wished, the returns of this once valuable district having fallen off materially during the few past outfits. There has been a gradual diminution in the quantity of beaver and otter traded for several years past, but this is the natural result of the exertions that have been made to prosecute the trade with vigour, with the double object of benefitting by immediate results, and of rendering the country less inviting to the numerous United States trapping parties, who formerly threatened to overrun the whole of the accessible country on the west side of the Mountains.

"There has also been a great diminution in the articles of Lynx and Martens during the last two years, which has caused a rapid decline on the profits of those compared with the preceding outfits. From the knowledge which has been acquired by experience of the habits of those latter animals, however, there is every reason to believe that this diminution in their numbers is merely temporary arising either from migration to other quarters or from disease; but that as soon as those causes shall be removed they will become as plentiful as formerly and assist in retrieving the present unpromising aspect of affairs in this district.

"8. At Walla Walla my next place of call the business appeared to be in a regular satisfactory state, without any material alteration having taken place in its condition as regards profits since last reported upon. In former years and until very lately this was considered to be a post of danger being surrounded by several warlike and independent tribes, who were difficult of management but I was gratified to find that both the natives and the people have improved greatly in each other's estimation, and that the latter feel in perfect security although the complement of servants at the post is very small. I am however concerned to say that the establishment soon after I passed it was destroyed by accidental fire, but without any serious loss having been incurred as both the furs and goods were saved. The Indians on this occasion behaved with great propriety manifesting much regret at the calamity and affording every assistance in their power to save the property. The establishment was in a very dilapidated condition and was about to be enlarged and repaired so that the accident will be productive of less inconvenience than might be supposed. It is here my painful duty to report the melancholy death of C. T. Pambrun, who lately had charge of this

establishment, which was occasioned by an injury sustained in riding a vicious horse; the death of that Gentleman who was a very active and efficient officer is a serious loss to the Department.

"9. Mr. Pambrun having died before the close of outfit 1840/1, his representatives will be entitled to a half interest only on the current outfit say 1841/2 there is consequently a half 1/85th share vacant which can be made applicable to filling up the full Chief Trader's interest of one of the Gentlemen recommended for promotion by the Council this year, as stated in the 36th paragraph of my despatch to your Honours from Red River Settlement, in compliance with the directions contained in the 23rd par. of your despatch to myself of this season.

"10. Two posts, Forts Hall and Boisee, more or less dependent upon Walla Walla, have for many years past been maintained in the Snake country with a view of watching any trapping parties that might present themselves from the United States and of encouraging the Snake Nations to direct their attention (which formerly was principally occupied in the Buffalo chase) to fur hunting in both of which objects they have been successful.

"There is not at present any organized Trapping Expedition belonging to the United States employed in the Snake country, although there are several straggling parties, the debris of other expeditions; one of these parties headed by a Mr. Frabb was this season cut off by a war party of Sioux. They collect some furs in the Utah country through which the waters of the Rio Colorado pass to the Southward of the Snake country, and on the Platte and other head waters of the Missouri. These parties are principally outfitted with goods forwarded to them from St. Louis and occasionally receive a few supplies from Forts Hall and Boisee, which are thrown by us in their way and of which they usually avail themselves paying for them in furs. A want of success having of late made them irregular in their payments there is some doubts that the merchants of St. Louis, who have heretofore outfitted them, will continue to provide them with supplies it is probable therefore these people will become dependent on the Company for the means of following up their operations. Under these circumstances an arrangement is at present contemplated with Captain Bridger, the principal man among these trappers, by which it is hoped their entire hunts



may next year fall into the hands of the Company. Should such arrangement take effect it would of course be necessary to make advances to the party and if they should consider it more advantageous to their interest to lose sight of the Company's claims upon them and decamp, we should in that case benefit by their absence and would probably occupy some of their late hunting grounds in the Mexican territory; but should they consider honesty the better policy and come back with the view of repaying their debts and getting a fresh outfit the transaction would likewise in that case be profitable, so that our dealings with these people in either event are likely to be productive of advantage. Independent of the benefits derived from our intercourse with the Americans, arising from our occupation of the posts of Forts Hall & Boisee, the presence of those establishments has stimulated the Snake Indians to industry in fur hunting; and as there are Beaver still in the country, we are likely to benefit more by the services of the natives which will be secured by the maintenance of those posts (at a very moderate expense) for their convenience than by the employment of a trapping Expedition in the country while the occupation of those posts enables us to obtain more or less of the hunts of our late rivals in trade from the United States.

"The operations of these trappers being principally confined to the American territory east of the Mountains and to the country situated to the Southward of Lewis and Clark's River and eastward of the Bonaventura valley, it cannot be said that they injuriously interfere with us in any shape; but should the mode of dealing with these people now contemplated be carried into effect they will be in everything but name the Honble. Company's servants or hunters.

"II. The Snake Country and its affairs, which until they fell under the direction of C. F. McLoughlin were in a very disorganized state and productive of more loss than gain, have for several years past been managed with so much judgment and address that they have been a source of profit, while in very many instances they have been ruinous to the United States adventurers who in this quarter entered the lists against us, and the want of success that attended their exertions, frustrated many plans that had been laid both in Boston and St. Louis of wresting from the Honble. Company the advan-

tages they were deriving from their exertions on this side of the continent.

"12. Resuming the narrative of our voyage. We took our departure from Walla Walla remaining there but a few hours and on the 25th August arrived at Fort Vancouver, where the Intermittent Fever was prevailing as usual at this season of the year. Besides C. F. McLoughlin & Douglas and the other officers and people belonging to the Establishment, I here found Commodore Wilkes, Captain Hudson and other officers of the United States Discovery Expedition. Three of the five discovery vessels were in the river say the *Porpoise*, Sloop of War the *Flying Fish* tender and the *Oregon* (late Thomas Perkins) store ship.

"The *Peacock* Sloop of War had been totally lost on the Columbia Bar a few weeks previous to my arrival, but the officers and crew were providentially saved; and the *Vincennes* Corvette had proceeded from Puget Sound direct to San Francisco there to await the arrival of Commodore Wilkes with the other vessels. The Expedition was preceded by the Schooner *Wave* with supplies from the Sandwich Islands. The *Wave* it will be recollected was the same vessel that had been chartered by the Hon. Company in the month of November last for the transport of goods to the Sandwich Islands and had been rechartered from thence by Commodore Wilkes for the transport of the supplies in question to the Columbia.

"13. This Expedition was dispatched by the United States Government in 1838 principally for the purpose of discovery in the Antarctic sea; in that object it had been successful inasmuch as it had on the same day as a French Expedition fitted out for the like purpose, but at a distance of several hundred miles, discovered a continent in Lat: 69° S., but so completely icebound that nothing more could be known of it than the bare existence of land, of which I beg to send proof in a particle of rock from this land of small promise, taken off an Iceberg. In the course of their voyage they visited Madeira, Rio Janeiro, Rio Negro, Terra-del-Fuego, New South Shetland, Valparaiso, Lima, discovered some new Islands and surveyed others in the Pacific between the tropics, touched at Port Jackson, from thence proceeded to the newly discovered continent, which they traced 1800 miles; they afterwards returned to Port Jackson proceeded to New Zealand, resumed their discoveries in the Polynesian region, thence

proceeded to the Sandwich Islands then to the North West Coast of America, touching at Puget Sound and the Columbia from whence they intended proceeding to California, thence to the Sandwich Islands thence to the East Indies and thence home via Cape of Good Hope. While the Expedition was with us they surveyed the coast from Puget Sound to Fraser's River, made some partial surveys in the Straits of Juan de Fuca and between Cape Flattery and the mouth of the Columbia River; they likewise surveyed the Columbia from the Bar to the Cascades Portage and the Willamette up to the Falls; they moreover made excursions in the Interior crossing from Puget Sound to Okanagan and visiting Forts Colville and Nez Perce crossed the Cowlitz Portage and closely examined the country on the banks of the Willamette forwarding a land party through the Bonaventura valley to San Francisco.

"14. Every civility and attention were shown to Commodore Wilkes and his officers, and such facilities afforded him for prosecuting the objects of the Expedition as our means would admit; and it is satisfactory to be able to say that the Commodore seemed fully to appreciate the attention shown to him and his officers, as will appear from a letter addressed to C. F. McLoughlin & Douglas, copy of which is herewith forwarded. Both at the Sandwich Islands and at the Columbia & likewise at Puget Sound the expedition received supplies from the Hon. Company's Stores amounting at this place to about £3,000 and at the Islands to £ , for which they paid by drafts as advised in the 61st paragraph.

"15. Learning that the *Beaver* steamer was agreeably to previous arrangement in readiness at Puget Sound to convey me to the North West Coast on a tour of inspection of the posts in that quarter; and on a visit to the Russian American Company's principal depot of Sitka, I took my departure from Fort Vancouver (after a stay there of six days) on the 1st September, accompanied by C. F. Douglas, touched at the pastoral establishment on the Multnomah island, ascended the Cowlitz River, visited the Puget Sound Company's tillage Farm at the head of that River, crossed the Cowlitz Portage to Nisqually, a distance of from 55 to 60 miles and reached that establishment on the evening of the 4th—but as I shall in another part of this dispatch have to notice the farming operations both of

the Hon. Company and of the Puget Sound Company it is unnecessary here to make any remarks on that part of the journey.

"16. Starting from Nisqually situated in Lat.  $47^{\circ} 8' N.$  and Long.  $122^{\circ} 2' W.$  on the shores of Puget Sound on the 6th September we proceeded Northwards between Vancouver's Island and the mainland passing through Johnston's Straits, Queen Charlotte's Sound and inside Colvert's Island to Fort McLoughlin, situated on an island near Mill Bank Sound (the position of which is in Lat.  $52^{\circ} 6'$  Long.  $132^{\circ} 6'$ ), where we arrived on the 15th September, having of the ten days occupied in getting from Nisqually to Fort McLoughlin been detained wood cutting, trading with the Quakeolith Newettee tribes and wind and fog-bound about half the time. This establishment employing a complement of 12 men besides the officer in charge collects about 1500 beaver & otter besides small furs, the value of the returns being from £2500 to £3000 the charges amounting to about £1400 and the nett profits to about £1200. It is visited by about 5200 Indians the natives of seven villages; the trade extending from Smith's Inlet in Lat:  $51^{\circ}$  up to Hawkesbury island in about Lat:  $52^{\circ} 45'$ ; and interiorly to a range of mountains that divides that part of the coast from the interior of New Caledonia. While American opposition existed on the Coast the establishment of Fort McLoughlin might have been necessary for the protection of the trade, but in another part of this dispatch, I hope to show that this establishment may now with others be abandoned without either loss or inconvenience to the business, while the saving that would arise from such abandonment will greatly increase the present profits of the trade of the Coast, North of Fraser's River district. Fort McLoughlin is principally maintained on country provisions, say Fish in great abundance and variety, venison and potatoes, and the natives who were at one time troublesome comparatively peaceable towards the establishment, more from a feeling that they are to a certain extent in our power than from any good disposition towards us.

"17. We took our departure from Fort McLoughlin on the 16th and passing through Princess Royal's & Grenville Canals and Chatham Sound arrived at Fort Simpson the following day. This establishment which is the most important on the Coast is situated in about Lat:  $54^{\circ} 34'$  Long:  $130^{\circ} 38'$ , near Dundas Island and close

upon the Southern Russian Boundary. It is visited by a great many Indians occupying the Islands and continental shores to a considerable distance among whom are the inhabitants of five villages on the mainland; likewise by the natives of Queen Charlotte's Island, the inhabitants of Tomgass and by those of Kygarnie one of the islands forming the Prince of Wales Archipelago (Russian Territory) in all a population of about 14,000 souls. From this will be seen that the range of its trade is very great and if the existing arrangement with our Russian neighbours had not been entered into, opposition prices would have drawn to Fort Simpson a considerable portion of the furs now collected at Stikine. The present returns are from 3000 to 4000 Beaver and otter, about 50 sea otter and a large quantity of small furs, the gross amount being about £6000, of which about £3000 forms the amount of charges so that the nett revenue arising from this post may be estimated at £3000 pr. annm. The establishment was in the first instance placed at the outlet of Nass River, but the situation being found inconvenient for shipping, it was removed to its present site which is besides being a good position for watching our own Northern and the Russian Southern frontier, well adapted for opposing both the Russians and the Americans should such at any time hereafter become necessary.

"There is a complement of two officers and 18 servants at this post, where the means of living are abundant, consisting principally of Fish, venison, and potatoes, and a large body of Chimsseans have seated themselves down in the neighbourhood as the home guards of the Fort. In any point of view this is a valuable and important establishment and ought by all means to be maintained as the depot of the Coast while we have anything to do with its affairs.

"18. Leaving Fort Simpson on the 18th we immediately entered within the Russian Southern Boundary and passing through Canal de Reveilla and Clarence Straits arrived at Stikine on the 20th.

"This establishment of which we obtained possession on the 1st June last year (1840), under the arrangement of 6th Feby., 1839, is situated on the North end of the Duke of York's Island near Point Highfield, 4 to 5 miles South of the Outlet of the Stikine or Pelly's River in Lat:  $56^{\circ}33'$  Long.  $132^{\circ}14'$  and was in the first instance formed here by the Russian American Company in 1833 with the view of protecting their trade, which they had every reason to sup-

pose would be endangered by the establishment which the Hon. Company then contemplated forming within the British territory up the Stikine River.

"The post is frequented by Secatquonay who occupy the country about the mouth of the river and the islands contiguous to and running parallel to that part of the coast. It is likewise frequented by the natives of three villages situated on islands, to the trade of which we do not consider that we have any claim under the existing agreement. Nearly all the furs collected at this post, which are appropriated by us are brought from the British interior territory amounting to about 1500 Beaver and otter, besides small furs estimated at about £3000 of which £1500 forms an item of charge so that the nett profits of the post are about £1500 pr. annum. The furs appropriated by us are principally traded by the Secatquonays from the Niharnies and other Indians of the Interior, some of whom have been seen at the Establishment in the Mackenzie River. The Secatquonays meet those Indians for the purpose of barter about 150 miles distant from the Coast, where the Niharnies have a village about 60 miles distant from Dease's Lake, which place they visited in 1838-39. Nearly all the furs collected at Stikine are obtained from the Niharnies at that village which is a great fishing rendezvous and is during the fishing season visited by all the Indians of the neighbourhood. The complement of people at this establishment is 2 officers and 18 men, which notwithstanding the good disposition shown by the Indians cannot with safety be reduced. The post is maintained by fish and venison, which are procured in great abundance from the natives at a very cheap rate.

"19. We remained at Stikine but a few hours taking our departure thence on the afternoon of the 20th and passing through Wrangell's Straits and Prince Frederick's Sound arrived at Tacow on the 22nd. This establishment is situated in Lat.  $58^{\circ} 4'$  Long.  $133^{\circ} 45'$  and was intended to have been placed at the mouth of the Tacow River, but no favourable situation having been found for an establishment there, it was erected on its present site on the mainland between two rivers: the Sitka and Tacow, about 15 miles distant from each. It is frequented by a great many Indians occupying the continental shore, both to the Northward and Southward, likewise by some of the Islanders; in all from 4000 to 5000 souls are more or less dependent

upon this establishment for their supplies. The returns of the past outfit were about 1400 Beaver and Otter besides small furs yielding a profit of about £1000 but from the growing industry of the Indians to the Northward arising from their being more regularly supplied with goods than heretofore it is expected that the returns will next year amount to about 1800 to 2000 Beaver and Otter.

"The establishment is surrounded by a village containing from 300 to 400 Indians who have recently shown a disposition to be troublesome, more from a jealousy of the encouragement afforded by us to other tribes than from any hostile feeling towards ourselves; on the contrary they, likewise all the Indians in the neighbourhood of the different establishments, are very much pleased to have us settled among them, as our presence affords them protection to a certain degree from their enemies while they benefit in many other respects by our intercourse with them. The complement of people at this establishment is 2 officers and 22 men. It is principally maintained on venison, got here as at the other establishments on the Coast at so cheap a rate from the natives that we absolutely make a profit on our consumption of provisions, the skin of the animal selling for much more than is paid for the whole carcass. Nearly all the returns collected at this establishment are brought from the British territory inland of the Russian line of demarcation running parallel with the coast, and traded by the coast Indians from those inhabiting the interior country very few being hunted by themselves.

"20. Both at Tacow and Stikine, likewise at Fort Simpson some sea otter and land furs have been collected which the Russian American Company think they have a claim to under the provision of the agreement of 6th Feby. 1839, and as the article is not quite distinct an equitable adjustment of the matter has been made with Govr. Etoline which has removed all difficulty on the subject. By that arrangement it has been agreed that the Russian American Company shall give up to the Hudson's Bay Company at cost prices all continental furs taken by them to the southward of Cross Sound, and that the Hudson's Bay Company shall in like manner give up to the Russian American Company at cost prices all brought by Indians belonging to the Russian Islands—and there being a question as to whether certain Indians the Hoonaquonays of Cross Sound reside principally on the continental shores or the islands it has been agreed that any

sea Otters traded by the Hudson's Bay Company from them shall be exchanged with the Russian American Company fur Beaver after the rate of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  full sized Beaver for one full sized sea Otter skin. Under the strict letter of the agreement, I am not clear that we could claim these skins, but Governor Etoline acceded to the arrangement already mentioned in consideration of the Russian American Company benefitting by the trade of the Indians of the Alsache River, which empties itself into Port Francois about 40 to 50 miles North of Cape Spencer under the impression that those Indians make their hunts to the S. E. of a supposed line drawn from Cape Spencer to Mount Fairweather, whereby those hunts would belong to the Hudson's Bay Company by the agreement of Feby. 1839.

"21. When the arrangement by which we became possessed of the Russian territory to the Northward of Lat:  $54^{\circ}$  was first entered into, it was in contemplation to form a chain of posts along the Coast up to the outlet of Cross Sound and from those establishments to form outposts in the interior, under an impression that the country between the coast and the Rocky Mountains was of much greater extent, more numerously inhabited and more valuable than we have since ascertained it to be. There are only two streams of any magnitude falling into the ocean between the Russian Southern Boundary and Cape Spencer, those are the Stikine and Tacow Rivers; the former being navigable in seasons of high water for about 40 to 50 miles by the steam vessel and afterwards by canoes, and the latter by small craft only. There is a range of mountains running along the coast extending inland about 60 miles beyond which there is a district of level country partially wooded but as there are few lakes in the interior it is difficult of settlement except in a direct line between the great chain of Rocky Mountains and the coast; and as the coast Indians are in constant communication with those of the Interior it is not supposed that the presence of establishments would tend materially to increase the quantity of furs at present collected; so that all idea of occupying the interior country with posts during the existence of the present arrangement with the Russians is now abandoned. I have little doubt that our Russian neighbours will be glad to prolong the arrangement beyond the expiration of ten years, as independent of other considerations it would be a means of avoiding competition in trade with the Hon. Company which they are well aware



would be highly injurious to them, but should they alter their present view of the subject and object to the extension of the arrangement beyond the year 1850, it will in that case be advisable to establish three posts in the Interior say one from 40 to 50 miles up the Stikine River, another on the banks of the river falling into the head of Lynn's Canal where we should be well received by the Chilcat nation; and a third on the banks of a Lake situated inland from Admiralty or Behrings Inlet near the Northern British Boundary at Mount St. Elias, where our presence and high opposition prices would greatly disturb the Russian trade as far North as Cook's Inlet. Such a measure however I hope will not be necessary as the Russian American Company must be well aware that they benefit by the good feeling arising from the existing arrangement whereas a discontinuation thereof would bring us in collision with them by which their interests would be greatly affected.

"22. The trade of the North West Coast which need not under any circumstances be ever estimated at more than 10,000 Beaver & Otter besides small furs is understood to be that of the coast and islands extending Northwards from Point Mudge, which is situated inside of Vancouver's island in about Lat: 50°—Fort Simpson being the most central point and principal establishment upon that coast is considered the depot of the district, although the outfits for the different posts have heretofore been made up at Vancouver & conveyed direct to the establishments which together with the transport to Sitka has this year been the principal employment of the barque *Columbia*, the Schooner *Cadboro* and the *Beaver* steam vessel.

"23. The trade of the coast cannot with any hope of making it a profitable business afford the maintenance of so many establishments as are now occupied for its protection, together with the shipping required for its transport, nor does it appear to me that such is necessary as I am of opinion that the establishments of Fort McLoughlin Stikine & Tacow might be abandoned without any injury to the trade and that the establishment of Fort Simpson alone with the *Beaver* steamer will answer every necessary and useful purpose, in watching and collecting the trade of the whole of that line of coast the transport of supplies and returns to be accomplished in one trip of a sailing vessel from Fort Vancouver to Fort Simpson. Under this arrangement the steamer would be constantly employed in

visiting the principal trading stations between the Quakeolith village in about Lat:  $50^{\circ}30'$  to the Northward of Johnston's Straits and Cape Spencer the Northern entrance of Cross Sound. These stations she could visit at stated periods six times a year, which would be sufficiently often for the purpose of collecting the trade and of supplying the Indians and would be more convenient to the natives generally than the permanent trading establishments now occupied, which many of the more remote Indians are unable to visit, in some instances on account of the distance and in others from an apprehension of difficulty with the home-guards at the different posts, who look upon such visits with much jealousy desirous as they are of having the trade entirely in their own hands by acting as middlemen between the Fort and those distant tribes, in order that they may have the benefit of an agency by the transaction; indeed I am of the opinion that when once the steam vessel comes into regular operation so as to visit the different trading stations at stated periods the returns of the coast will materially increase as it will render our intercourse much more frequent with the natives than it would otherwise be, and thereby bring our supplies into more general use among them than they now are, and consequently stimulating them to industry.

"24. The principal objection to this extended alteration in the arrangements of the coast trade is the possibility of another attempt being made to disturb it by American opposition: of that however I have no apprehension as it is perfectly ascertained that the late adventurers upon the Coast have lost money by their attempts upon the trade, and as they cannot afford a sacrifice of means in what they must know to be a hopeless attempt to dislodge us, I do not think they will ever interfere with us again in this quarter. But even should they be disposed to make the experiment it could only be on the line of coast to the Southward of Lat:  $54^{\circ}$ , which is open to them pending the adjustment of the Boundary question between Great Britain and the United States, which however the establishment of Fort Simpson, with the presence of the *Beaver* steamer, or any other vessel is sufficient to protect.—The country to the Northward of Lat:  $54^{\circ}$ , being Russian territory is under any circumstances safe from opposition being protected both by treaty and by the Russian American Company. The trade of that part of the Coast, say the Russian

territory will be more effectually protected by the *Beaver* steamer from any possible breach of good faith on the part of our Russian neighbours than by the posts now occupied; but I have not the least apprehension of any unfair dealing on the part of our neighbours, on the contrary I feel perfectly satisfied they will honourably fulfil in spirit and to the letter all their engagements with us.

"25. The saving that would be effected by this alteration in the mode of conducting the business of the Coast would amount to upwards of £4000 p. annm. besides leaving the shipping disposable for other important services a portion of the time now occupied in that branch of trade.

"26. It might be urged that in the event of any accident occurring to the steam vessel the trade of the Coast to the Southward of the Russian Boundary Line would become exposed, but before any opposition could avail itself of our unprotected condition arising from that cause the accident might be repaired, or we should be in a situation to supply her place either by establishing a post or by the presence of a sailing vessel, until another steamer could be got from England, as in the event of the loss of the *Beaver* I would strongly recommend (notwithstanding a difference of opinion on this subject with Gentlemen for whose judgment I have a very high respect) I consider that another steamer should be provided with as little delay as possible. My reason for so saying is—that I consider a vessel of that description peculiarly adapted for the inland navigation between Puget Sound and Cross Sound, and that the transport business of those inland seas cannot without the assistance of a steam vessel be done justice to, while her presence in my opinion has had more effect in overawing the natives of the coast and expelling opposition therefrom than any other means that could have been adopted.

"27. The climate of the North West Coast differs very much from that of the country to the Southward of Lat: 49° arising I conceive in addition to the difference of Latitude, in a great degree from the character of the country, which north of that point is exceedingly mountainous and the tops of many of the higher mountains covered with perpetual snows; while North of Stikine glaciers are to be seen in many of the valleys to the waterside and floating ice in several of the canals & Straits all the year round. From our departure from Red River Settlement up to the time of our arrival at

Stikine we had the finest weather that can be well imagined, but there it became wet and stormy, and at Tacow we were detained in consequence three days, starting from thence on the 25th, and passing through Stephen's Passage, Peril and Chatham Straits arrived at Sitka on the 26th, where we were received with every mark of kindness and attention by Governor Etoline and the other Russian officers at that establishment.

"28. Sitka, or New Archangel, situated in Norfolk Sound in Lat:  $57^{\circ}$  Long:  $136^{\circ}$ , is the great depot of the Russian American Company from whence nearly all its outposts and dependencies on the North West Coast likewise in the Aleutian and Kurile Islands are principally supplied. Here they have a steam vessel which was originally intended as a protection to their trade from any attempt that might be made upon it by the Hon. Company, previous to the amicable arrangement that has been entered into; but being no longer required for that object it is now principally employed in collecting the trade of the Islands and in towing their sailing vessels out of and into harbour. She is built upon the plan of an American River boat and although she cost £5000 to £6000, is by no means a good or serviceable vessel. They have moreover a small steam tug, with twelve sailing vessels from 120 up to 350 tons burden, employed in their transport business in the country; besides a number of small craft of from 10 to 50 tons attached to their different hunting and trading establishments. The large vessels usually winter at Sitka and during that season there is an establishment of people at that place of exceeding 400 officers and servants, which with families, makes the population of Sitka upwards of 1200 souls, independent of a numerous Indian village, situated immediately under the guns of the forts.

"29. The mode of conducting their business differs very much from that which we pursue being characterized by a formal routine and display, in humble imitation of a Government establishment, admitting in my opinion of many improvements and of curtailments or reductions, which of themselves would produce a very considerable gain in the shape of savings. Their entire collections both on the American and Asiatic shores are about:—

"1000 sea otters

"13000 Fur seals

"12000 Beaver

"5000 Land Otters of which 2000 are the rent paid by the Hudson's Bay Coy for the Russian territory held by them.

"Small furs

"10000 sea Horse Teeth.

"Their tariff of trade is very nearly the same as ours, but notwithstanding the terms of the convention between Great Britain and Russia of Feby., 1825, I find that a considerable quantity of spirituous liquors is disposed of by them to Indians in barter for both furs and provisions. We have discontinued the use of that article upon the Coast as a medium of barter except in the immediate vicinity of Russian establishments ever since the Americans have withdrawn, and the natives are become so perfectly reconciled to the privation that in the whole course of my travels this season where the use of it was discontinued, I only heard one enquiry respecting the article of Rum. With a view to the wellbeing of the Indian population of the coast and to guard as much as possible against even the semblance of competition, I suggested to Governor Etoline that the use of spirituous liquors should be discontinued by both parties on a date that may hereafter be agreed upon, previous to the 31st December, 1843, and I have much satisfaction in saying that he readily assented to this arrangement.

"30. All the furs collected by our Russian neighbours are sent to Ochotsk where they are made up for the Russian and Chinese markets. The article of sea horse teeth cannot bear the charge of inland transport they therefore retain the collections of that article until opportunities cast up every third or fourth year of sending them by sea to St. Petersburg and as so large a quantity, imported at one time naturally gluts the Russian market, they are willing either to enter into a contract with the Hon. Company for the sale of half their annual collections at a price that may be agreed upon or to send that quantity by our annual ship for England on freight, as a consignment to be disposed of by the Company on their account and with that view about half a ton is now forwarded as a specimen of the quality of the ivory. I could not learn that the hides of those animals have ever been sent to market: they are very thick and heavy and might I think be applied to some useful purpose in England. A few of them are therefore sent by the barque *Columbia* on account of the Russian American Company and if they clear anything beyond

the cost of transport and charges they will forward on freight for sale in England by the Company's annual ship from 5000 to 6000.

"31. Governor Etoline informed me that there was a negotiation at present in progress between the Russian American Company and the Imperial Government, with a view to placing the Civil Government of Kamschatka in the hands of the Company and of affording them the exclusive right of the importation and sale of foreign produce and manufactures to the inhabitants, likewise the exclusive right of trading and hunting furs on the coast & in the interior of that Province. Should that arrangement take effect, of which Govr. Etoline did not entertain the smallest doubt, he said in that case a further quantity of grain, say about 10,000 Bushels Wheat would be required from the Country with the annual cargo of British produce and manufactures from England equal to 400 tons, 200 of which would be required for Sitka and the other 200 for Kamschatka; and that whether the arrangement with respect to Kamschatka be carried into effect or not they will require by the Company's annual ship about 200 tons British produce and manufactures from and after the shipment of 1842.

"The Governor expressed himself as highly satisfied with the Otter skins that had been received by them from the Company in fulfilment of the contract of sale entered into, likewise with the wheat and other agricultural produce that had been delivered under the same contract, for which payment had been duly made by his Bills on St. Petersburg transmitted: so that I am in hopes our present dealings with our Russian neighbours from which the country derive important advantages, are but an earnest of future and more extended business operations, and as I hope to see Govr. Etoline again on my way to Siberia and Baron Wrangell and the Board of Directors of the Russian American Company as I pass through St. Petersburg it is more than probable that further extended business transactions may be determined upon previous to my return to England.

"32. The Russian American Company have not yet abandoned their establishment of Bodega in California being unable to effect a sale of their buildings and stock; that stock consists principally of sheep, cattle, horses, Agricultural implements, &c, all of which has for some time past been offered for sale at the round sum of 30,000

dollars. Govr. Etoline however foreseeing the difficulty of obtaining payment should a sale be effected to any of the people in California, said he should feel disposed to accept a much lower price from the Hudson's Bay Company and I have no doubt that the whole might be purchased at from 15,000 to 20,000 dollars. The Russian American Company admit that they have no title to the soil beyond that which they have acquired by occupation; this the Mexican Government does not recognize but they cannot dislodge them, the Russian force there having usually been 150 men, although now that they are about to withdraw it is reduced to 50. Bodega is not well situated for trade nor is the country well adapted for Agriculture; and as any title the Russian American Company could give us would be of no avail unless backed by a force of 80 to 100 men I do not see that any good object can be gained by making the purchase on any terms. Under these circumstances I made him no offer nor did I encourage the hope of our becoming purchasers.

"33. After passing 4 days at Sitka, where we experienced the utmost kindness & hospitality, we took our departure on the 30th September, retracing our steps along the coast and again calling at Stikine, Fort Simpson & Fort McLoughlin. In coming through Johnston's Straits we were suddenly enveloped in a dense fog in a part of the Straits not exceeding two miles in breadth where there was a tideway of 12 to 14 knots an hour of which we were the sport for 13 hours: during this time the vessel was quite unmanageable as we could not see the land, lost the best bower Anchor, disabled the small bower and were unable from the strength of the current to take soundings with two deep sea leadlines fastened together in places where at the slack of the tide we afterwards ascertained the depth of water was from 25 to 30 fathoms. In the course of those 13 hours the current hustled the vessel up and down the Straits with incredible speed, but fortunately there was an offset from the land which kept her in deep water until the fog dispersed, when the steam was got up and enabled us to escape from this extraordinary tideway without any other loss than the Anchor in question, as the injury done to the other has since been repaired.

"34. It was my intention to have gone into Fraser's River with a view of visiting Fort Langley but being uncertain whether the ship by which I was to proceed to the Sandwich Islands might not be

waiting for me and being unwilling to detain her I proceeded direct to Puget Sound, intending to visit Fort Langley on my return to Sitka next Spring. Fort Langley is situated in Lat:  $49^{\circ}6'$ , Long:  $122^{\circ}47'$ , and it is intended to collect the trade of the numerous tribes inhabiting the mainland coast and East Coast of Vancouver's Island from Lat:  $48^{\circ}$  to Point Mudge in Lat:  $50^{\circ}$ , and from Long.  $121^{\circ}50'$  to Long:  $124^{\circ}$ . The complement of people at this place is an officer and 17 men, the returns in furs amounting to about £2500, and in salted salmon for market, say about 400 barrels to about £800, the profits on the post being about £1600 pr. annum. The establishment was destroyed by fire about 18 months ago, but has since then been rebuilt on a larger scale. There is an excellent farm in the immediate neighbourhood, the produce of which with fish and venison maintains the establishment, and assists in provisioning some of the others on the coast. This has for a length of time been a very well regulated post, but as the country has been closely wrought for many years the returns in furs are gradually falling off but the increasing marketable produce of the Fisheries makes up for that deficiency.

"35. On our way back to Fort Vancouver where we arrived on the 22nd Octr., our voyage to & from Sitka and the other establishments already mentioned, having occupied 52 days, I had another opportunity of visiting the establishments of Nisqually and the Cowlitz Farm the former of which may be said principally to be occupied & the latter entirely so with the affairs of the Puget Sound Company. The furtrade of Nisqually extends along the coast & Interior Country to Cape Flattery, likewise to the shores of Puget Sound & North as far as the Northern end of Whidbey's Island, the returns amounting to about £1500, the profits on which is about £700 p. annm. The complement of people chargeable to the Furtrade is an officer and 6 men, with 4 shepherds and herdsmen, besides the occasional services of Indians chargeable to the Puget Sound Company.

(36 to 67 paragraphs follow)

"I have the honour to be, with much respect,

"Honble. Sirs,

"Your mo: obedt. humble servt,

"GEORGE SIMPSON."



It is not possible to give in full the history of each post, but the foregoing at least may serve to illustrate the work of the founder and builder of the West. Enough has been said to give an idea of his trials and vicissitudes and of the wonderful organization by means of which so much was accomplished in the face of such difficulties as could only be encountered in a primeval wilderness, far from civilization. The pioneer trader was no paragon; he was a strong man who bore his part in laying the foundations for future generations to build upon. He did his work from day to day, from year to year, unnoticed and unknown, and in the doing bequeathed to posterity a splendid example of devotion to duty which may well be emblazoned on the scroll of history.



## CHAPTER XIII

### THE OREGON QUESTION

There is perhaps no question in our history upon which opinions are today more divided than that involved in the settlement of our southern boundary line. By that settlement the sovereignty of the whole coastal strip from  $42^{\circ}$  to  $54^{\circ}40'$  was fixed and adjusted, and though over sixty years have elapsed since that time a few minutes conversation in any gathering will evoke most diverse opinions. The extremists on the one hand see the disputed area entirely British or American according to their prejudices, while amongst the others varying boundaries will be favoured depending upon their convictions of the justice or strength of their country's claim. It will be our endeavour to deal impartially with this subject and to place before the reader all the facts bearing upon it, and thus to set it in its proper surroundings and enable him to obtain a clear conception of the dispute and reach a satisfactory conclusion upon the merits or demerits (if such exist) of the settlement.

At the out-set one note of warning must be given. Readers of history cannot more completely mislead themselves than by yielding to anachromisms, therefore let us see exactly what the conditions were in which, or on which, this dispute arose.

By virtue of many titles, amongst which the Papal Bull of Alexander VI. had a prominent place, Spain originally claimed the whole western coast of America. The actual Spanish dominions in the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth bear the names of Mexico and California. The latter was a loose term. Its northern boundary was vague; in the Nootka Convention of 1790 references are frequently made to it under the expression, "the parts of the coast already occupied by Spain," and amongst other things Captain Vancouver while on this coast was ordered to ascertain the number, situation, and extent of such settlements. At that time the

British Columbia coast was known to the Spanish as the coast of California, and Captain Vancouver as a result of his investigations reported that San Francisco in latitude about  $38^{\circ}$  was the northernmost point occupied by Spain. Ultimately by the Florida Treaty of 1819 the parallel of  $42^{\circ}$  north was settled as the northern boundary of Spanish possessions. It will be useful to remember that during the Oregon discussions, the Pacific Coast of North America to  $42^{\circ}$  north at least was Spanish, and that the United States were struggling for a foothold upon the Pacific shores which would offer a favourable harbour to their shipping.

It might be interesting to enter upon a discussion as to whether the claims of the United States would have been so strongly pressed had the safe and commodious harbour of San Francisco been theirs, as it became a few years later. Their strong view is well shown by one of Mr. Buchanan's last letters in the dispute. He says: "It lies contiguous, on this continent, to the acknowledged territory of the United States, and is destined, at no distant day, to be peopled by our citizens. This territory presents the avenue through which the commerce of our Western States can be profitably conducted with Asia and the western coasts of this continent, and its ports, the only harbour belonging to the United States to which our numerous whalers and other vessels in that region can resort. And yet, vast as are its dimensions, it contains not a single safe and commodious harbour from its southern extremity until we approach the 49th parallel of latitude."

The sea-otter and the fur-seal had drawn to this coast the Russian, British, and American adventurers, whose operations have already been detailed, and these claims on behalf of their respective nations arising from their private discoveries (or supposed discoveries) were superimposed upon the Spanish claim. The Russian operations were to the far northward—the area now known as Alaska—but Russia soon ceased to be, or perhaps it would be more nearly correct to say, never became, a real factor in the Oregon dispute. Spain herself was early aware of the presence of Russian establishments on this coast—indeed as early as 1788, as already shown, Martinez and Haro were sent to see what the Russians were doing in Alaska and upon their report a remonstrance was addressed to the Russian government against these encroachments upon alleged Spanish dominions.

Prince William Sound was arbitrarily assumed by Spain as being the boundary between the dominions of the two sovereigns. Here may be seen the very first sign of the breaking up of Spanish pretensions upon this coast, for if the Papal Bull were of any value as a foundation of Spanish right it certainly carried Spanish claims to the farthest north and did not cease at Prince William Sound. It may perhaps be as well to dispose of the claim of Russia at once, although it necessitates a reference to later dates. In 1824 by the convention with the United States and in 1825 by a similar treaty with Great Britain, the portion which belongs to Russia was marked off. The varying language may well be noted. In the convention with the United States the third article provided that that nation should not thereafter form "any establishment upon the northwest coast of America nor in any of the islands adjacent, to the north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude; and that in the same manner there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or any authority of Russia, south of the same parallel."

In the convention with Great Britain in the following year article 3 runs in this wise: "The line of boundary between the possessions of the high contracting parties upon the coast of the continent and islands of the northwest shall be drawn in the manner following, etc." Notwithstanding these differences it is submitted that the plain meaning of the two agreements is the same i. e. that the southern boundary of Russian possessions in America is fixed at  $54^{\circ}40'$ , but that the sovereignty in the land to the southward is left in abeyance.

To return to the claimants of the coast—the four powers, Russia, Britain, the United States, and Spain. From the Meares embroglio which occurred in 1789 resulted the Nootka convention of 1790. That convention has been much misunderstood. It is often carelessly stated that its effect was to make the Pacific coast in this latitude British. This, it is conceived is a manifest error. It is submitted that the real effect of this convention was that Spain abandoned her claim to the exclusive sovereignty of the Pacific coast, and that the coast between the Spanish and Russian settlements thus became a sort of waste, a no man's land, the sovereignty of which would be in any nation which effected settlement. That this is so is plain from

the statement of the British diplomats in the later negotiations, and it is clear also that the same view obtained in the United States.

Leaving the coast now let us turn to consider the approach from the eastward, and the gradual assertion of sovereignty and limitations of boundaries. By the Treaty of Paris in 1783 the line of boundary between the United States and the British possessions was to be drawn from the most northwesterly corner of the Lake of the Woods due west to the sources of the Mississippi River. At that time the territory to the westward of that river latterly known as Louisiana was nominally a French possession, though it had been actually transferred to Spain by the treaty of 1763-4. In 1800 it was retroceded to France as a part of the dower arrangements of the Duke of Parma, though Spain remained in possession. In April, 1803, the Emperor Napoleon, for the purpose of raising funds to carry on his wars, sold the whole region to the United States for \$15,000,000. Spain was much chagrined at this *coup* and protested against it as being contrary to earlier French promises. The western boundary of Louisiana was undefined, but it is now conceded that it did not extend beyond the summit of the Rockies. Its northern boundary was equally vague. It scarcely falls within our purview to sketch the negotiations leading to the settlement of that boundary, yet the fact that the 49th parallel was selected as the north boundary of Louisiana naturally greatly influenced the ultimate division of the territory, for the simple reason that the British territory north and the American territory south of that line gave claims, arising from contiguity, to the sovereignty of the parts of Oregon to the westward. That line was drawn in 1818 as follows: "It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and those of His Britannic Majesty; and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of His Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains."

We now come into the early stages of the Oregon discussion. The Oregon Territory of that time was the land west of the Rocky Mountains between the parallel of  $42^{\circ}$  and  $54^{\circ}40'$ . We have already noted the disappearance of the Russian claim but before that time, namely in 1819, by the treaty known as the Florida Treaty with the United States a boundary was drawn between the territories of the United States and Spain. That treaty fixed the northern boundary of Spanish possessions at 42 degrees as already stated, but it contains a clause which was very strongly relied upon by the United States in later discussions. That clause runs as follows: "The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and prerensions, to the territories described by the said line; that is to say, the United States hereby cede to His Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above described line; and, in like manner, His Catholic Majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions, to any territories east and north of the said line; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever."

Thus the claimants to Oregon were early restricted to Great Britain and the United States. Before dealing with the diplomatic discussions or the discussions in Congress it may be well to give briefly an outline of the respective claims of these two nations to the territory in question. The American claim at the beginning and the American claim at the end of the dispute were very different. In the early stages the only suggestion was that their claim carried them rightly to the 49th parallel, but in the last years of the trouble it grew to a claim to the whole territory leaving no room for Great Britain upon the coast. The discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray in 1792 was alleged to give to the United States the sovereignty of all the land drained by that river. Even before Louisiana had been actually transferred to the United States the President, Thomas Jefferson, was arranging for an examination of that region by an expedition which later was placed under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark. We have already given an outline of the work performed by these two commanders, and while wishing to give them every meed of praise to which they are entitled, it may well be doubted whether anyone can really agree with Doctor Coues in

characterizing it as a great national epic of exploration. The work of these men in following the south branch of the Columbia from its source to its mouth strengthened very greatly the inchoate claim arising from Captain Gray's discovery. The foundation of Astoria, the trading post built by John Jacob Astor's Company, the Pacific Fur Company, at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811, was another factor strongly relied upon by the American diplomats as adding actual settlement to the title arising from the discovery and exploration. The details of the work of the Astorians have already been given. It may be difficult to distinguish between the trading post at Astoria and any other of the numerous trading posts in the disputed territory, and there would seem to be a very wide variance between such a trading post and a real settlement.

During the war of 1812-14 the British government at the earnest solicitation of the North West Company sent out the sloop of war *Raccoon* to demolish Astoria; but before her arrival Astoria had passed into the hands of the North West Company by purchase, yet Captain Black could not resist the temptation of "taking" the fort, and as we have already shown, he went through a little demonstration of hauling down the American flag and running up the British in its place. When the war was settled by the Treaty of Ghent, the first article provided that "all territory, places and possessions whatever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of the treaty excepting the islands hereinafter mentioned (in the Bay of Fundy) shall be restored without delay."

In the negotiation of that treaty the word "possessions" was introduced by Henry Clay, as he later, proudly stated for the very purpose of including Astoria, even though it was not known at the time that it had been captured. In accordance therewith in October, 1818, commissioners representing the two nations met at Astoria and exchanged acts of delivery and acceptance whereby the British Commissioner Captain Hickey of *H. M. S. Blossom* and J. Keith for the North West Company did "in conformity to the first article of the Treaty of Ghent restore to the Government of the United States through its agent J. B. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George on the Columbia River." The North West Company after they had obtained possession of Astoria had given it the name of Fort George.



It was strongly contended that the effect of this transaction was a formal recognition of the territorial rights of the United States at the mouth of the Columbia. In addition to these claims in her own right the United States also claimed by contiguity that portion of Oregon west of the boundaries of Louisiana. And, further, claim was made by them as a result of the Florida Treaty of 1819. By that treaty, all of Spain's rights passed to the United States. It was urged that as the heir of Spain the United States claim obtained strength from the discoveries of the Spanish explorers Heceta, Bodega, and Maurelle. In order to escape the difficulty which the Nootka convention naturally placed in the way of any claim of exclusive sovereignty the United States were forced to argue, as they did most energetically, that by reason of the war which broke out between Spain and Great Britain in 1796, the convention of 1790 ceased to have any effect.

The British claims, however, did not allege any exclusive right or sovereignty of Great Britain in the disputed territory. The claim was that the Nootka convention entitled Great Britain to a sort of joint right to settle upon and thereby obtain the sovereignty of such portions of the territory as were desired. As a result of Alexander Mackenzie's overland voyage in 1793 during which he explored the upper reaches of the Fraser River, and made his way across to Bentinck Arm, a similar right by reason of discovery and exploration to that claimed by the United States on the Columbia had arisen, and by the erection by the North West Company of trading posts upon the head waters of the Fraser and later on the Columbia another right similar to the American claim of settlement at Astoria had arisen. The British further disputed that Captain Gray had really discovered the Columbia River. On this point they drew a fine distinction between the mouth or estuary of the river, and the river properly so called. They claimed that Captain Gray did not actually reach the river, and that although he had filled his water casks with fresh water, yet that was in the month of May when an abnormal condition prevailed, and that this arose by reason of the freshet in the river thereby changing the usual condition and rendering this portion of the water at its mouth, fresh. They pointed out that when Lieutenant Broughton entered the Columbia, the place where Captain Gray had filled his water casks was found to

be salt water, and that Lieutenant Broughton was the first to reach the real river, and ascend it for a distance of about 100 miles. They even went so far as to claim for Lieutenant Meares the discovery of the river, and yet we know from Meares' own account, (and this is one of the few things in which we can believe him) that he saw no sign of the "Saint Roc" as the Spaniards had called the Columbia, that in token of his feelings he had named the cape "Disappointment," and in his *Voyage* he emphatically states as the result of his exploration that no such river exists. How, therefore, he could be its discoverer passes ordinary understanding. With reference to the restoration of Astoria the British answered that in any event it was only an admission of the American right to make and retain settlements with the disputed area—a right which she freely admitted. Dealing with the Florida treaty and the transfer of Spanish rights to the United States, Great Britain contended that those rights were as set out in the Nootka convention i. e. the same right as she herself claimed thereunder—to make settlements at unoccupied points along the coast. These then, in brief, were the arguments upon both sides of the question. No progress, however, could be made in or towards the settlement, and as a last resort the third article of that treaty was agreed upon. It runs as follows: "It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbours, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or state to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves."

The first occasion on which this boundary question was really discussed was during the negotiations of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. On that occasion James Monroe, the Secretary of State under President Madison instructed the American plenipotentiaries: "Should a treaty be concluded with Great Britain and a reciprocal restitu-

tion of territory be agreed on, you will have it in mind that the United States had in their possession at the commencement of the war a post at the mouth of the River Columbia, which commanded the river which ought to be comprised in the stipulation should the possession have been wrested from us during the war. On no pretext can the British Government set up a claim to territory south of the north boundary of the United States. It is not believed that they have any claim whatever to territory on the Pacific Ocean. You will, however, be careful should a definition of boundary be attempted not to countenance in any manner or in any quarter a pretension in the British Government to territory south of that line." No progress, however, could be made in or towards the settlement, although matters went to the point that the 49th parallel was proposed as the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rockies, conditionally upon the relinquishment of certain rights to fisheries then claimed by the United States. Nothing therefore was done to limit the boundary by the Treaty of Ghent, but four years later an agreement was reached covering the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. The words of this treaty have already been given.

The reason that the United States did not urge the extension of the boundary along the line of the 49th parallel west of the Rockies is stated by George Bancroft in his "Memorial of the United States," presented to the Emperor William of Germany in connection with the San Juan dispute. He says—"From that range of mountains to the Pacific, America partly from respect to the claims of Spain was willing to delay for ten years the continuance of the boundary line." At that time the negotiations with Spain which culminated in the Florida treaty of the following year, were in a very critical condition, and the American diplomats feared that any claim of absolute title even though guardedly expressed as being against Great Britain might wound the sensibilities of the Spaniards.

Inasmuch as matters remained quiescent in diplomatic circles concerning the Oregon troubles for nearly ten years, let us look at the action from time to time urged in the American Congress. We shall find as a result of even the most cursory inspection that the persons having control of the policy of the United States early entered upon a systematic scheme for the education of the people, not only with regard to the wealth of Oregon and the ease of access

thereto, but also to create a public feeling (which grows very easily in that country) that the American claim was absolutely unassailable and that any suggestion of British right was another instance of the domineering policy of the Mother Land.

In December, 1820, Floyd of Virginia called the attention of Congress to the expediency of occupying the Columbia River; a committee was appointed which made a report accompanied by a bill for carrying into effect the proposed possession, but there the matter rested.

In the following year similar action was again taken by Floyd; again the committee reported; again the bill for occupying the Columbia River—"and the territory of the United States adjacent thereto"—was introduced. As Marshall says, there was no intention of passing this bill—the real object aimed at was to keep the subject before the public and thus inform the nation upon the merits of the case in anticipation of the time when either the expiration of the treaty of 1818 or the negotiation of a new treaty in advance of that date should give the Americans the right to occupy the Columbia River.

Another select committee to deal with this subject was upon Floyd's initiative, appointed in 1823. In the following month they reported a bill for carrying into effect this much desired object. It passed the House but was defeated in the Senate. All this was but a part of a consistent policy of publicity and education which soon crystallized public opinion into the firm conviction that this was one of the rare questions which have but one side.

Again in December, 1823, Floyd had this subject once more before Congress. An examination of the speeches on this occasion and a comparison with those of earlier date will show that matters had now so far advanced that the United States title to the territory had risen into the realm of irrefragibility, and now the speakers devoted themselves entirely to making plain to the world the easiest means of access to the riches of the West.

These reports and bills and the congressional action thereon did not escape the attention of Great Britain. Complaint was made by her representatives during the progress of the negotiations in 1825 that this conduct was—as it admittedly was—in violation of the treaty of 1818. Mr. Rush the American Minister in London replied

asserting the full and exclusive sovereignty of the United States over the whole of the territory beyond the Rocky Mountains washed by the River Columbia in manner and extent as he had stated, subject, of course, to whatever conventional arrangement they may have formed with regard to it with other powers. Their title to this whole country they considered as not to be shaken—it had often been proclaimed in the legislative discussions of the nation and was otherwise published before the world. In these conferences the Americans made an offer to continue the 1818 treaty for ten years longer upon the terms that citizens of the United States should make no settlement north of  $51^{\circ}$  nor British subjects south of  $51^{\circ}$  or north of  $55^{\circ}$ .

In June, 1824, the British offered as a settlement the 49th parallel from the Rockies to the most north easterly branch (main stream) of the Columbia, and thence down the middle of that river to the Pacific Ocean. The Americans countered by declaring their utter inability to accede to such a proposal but, finding that the line offered in their formal proposal was considered wholly inadmissible by the British plenipotentiaries, said that in the hope of adjusting the question they would so far vary their former line to the south as to consent that it should be the 49th instead of the  $51^{\text{st}}$  of north latitude. Here the negotiations ended for a time. It will be observed that the two disputants are now close together, closer than they became during the later stages. The only portion of Oregon now in dispute was that north and west of the Columbia River as far as the 49th parallel—in all 58,000 square miles.

In the document found amongst the papers of the late Dr. John McLoughlin, he states, "The Hudson's Bay Company officially informed him in 1825 that in no event could the British claim extend south of the Columbia, and that he so informed the few Canadian employees of the company who on finishing their term of service wished to settle in the Willamette Valley, instead of being returned to Canada as provided by their contract with the company." (Transactions, Oregon Pioneer Association, 1880—cited in Marshall's "Acquisition of Oregon," p. 167.)

The Oregon question was not allowed to rest. In 1825 a committee was appointed by Congress to consider the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia. Two reports were

made by this body, which dealt at length with, and described in glowing language the resources of Oregon Territory—its balmy climate—its fertile soil—its excellent timber—its abundance of game—its wealth of minerals and natural resources and even its magnificent scenery.

Having excited the interest of the reader and raised the desire to reach this land of Goshen, the report passed on to consider as a matter of form the question of ownership. It found that "The American title is founded on occupation strengthened (as the committee believe) by purchase—by prior discovery of the river and its exploration from some of its sources in the Rocky Mountains to the ocean. Great Britain can have no title so strong as this." When the British title passed under review the committee expressed itself thus—"After a careful examination of the British claim the committee have unanimously come to the conclusion that it is wholly unfounded and that the navigators of Great Britain were not the original discoverers of any part of the region which is included between the Mexican and the Russian boundaries." And then with a magnanimity worthy of preservation the committee proceeds "Nevertheless the minute examination which has been made by them (i. e. the British) of part of this coast ought perhaps to secure to the nation who patronized them, something more than could be claimed as a positive right; but we think the offer of Mr. Rush to continue the boundary along the 49th parallel of latitude to the ocean was as great a concession as would be compatible with our interests, our honour, or our rights."

But now the ten years were drawing to a close, and accordingly in 1826 negotiations were re-opened on the title to Oregon. The instructions to Andrew Gallatin, the American plenipotentiary contained this very strong expression. After stating that Great Britain had not and could not even make out a colourable title to any portion of the coast, the following language occurs: "You are then authorized to propose the annulment of the third article of the convention of 1818 and the extension of the line on the parallel 49 degrees from the eastern side of the Stony Mountains where it now terminates to the Pacific Ocean as the permanent boundary between the territories of the two powers in that quarter. This is our ultimatum and

you may announce it. We can consent to no other line more favourable to Great Britain."

The result was to have been foreseen—a dead-lock. The *status quo* was therefore continued. By the treaty of 1827 the terms of the treaty of 1818 were extended indefinitely determinable upon 12 months' notice to be given by either of the parties. This renewal treaty used the words in reference to the Oregon Territory: "Nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of the 20th of October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be construed to impair or in any manner affect the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains." It will be noted that the reservation of "the claims of any other power or state" contained in the convention of 1818 are now omitted for the reason that in the interval the claims of Russia and Spain have both been eliminated and the dispute is narrowed to but two claimants.

During the discussions leading up to this treaty, Gallatin spoke of the manifest destiny of Oregon—that it should be settled by the over-flowing population of the United States. "Under whatever nominal sovereignty that country may be placed," he said, "and whatever its ultimate destinies may be it is nearly reduced to a certainty that it will almost exclusively be peopled by the surplus population of the United States. The distance from Great Britain and the expense incident to immigration forbid the expectation of any being practicable from that quarter except upon a comparatively small scale." (Marshall, 173.)

Though nominally 1818 was the vital date, and nothing occurring thereafter could alter the rights of the disputants, yet a little consideration will show that actual settlement occurring thereafter was an exceedingly important matter and though not put forward prominently was none the less efficacious. Indeed it may possibly be inferred that the very opportune immigrations into Oregon at the time the question was at its height—the early forties—were not so free and spontaneous as some would have us suppose. Certainly they fitted so well the American interests that they have a suspicious resemblance to the *Deus ex machina*.

That the Americans understood only too well Britain's policy in Oregon to be *laissez-faire*, the following extract from a letter from

Gallatin to Clay in July, 1827, will plainly show: "Whatever change may hereinafter take place in the views of the British Government concerning that country I may with confidence say that there is not at present any wish to colonize it; that they view it rather with indifference; that they do not believe that it will when once settled long remain either a British Colony or a part of the United States; that they do not think it therefore a matter of great importance whether it shall receive its inhabitants from Great Britain, Canada, or the United States; and that they are willing to let the settlement of the country take its natural course." There is little doubt that Gallatin has here given a very fair condensation of the British official views upon the matter. A letter from Lord Ashburton to Mr. Sturgis, is in existence, dated some years later, it is true, yet giving expression to the same opinions; and he is, clearly, the person referred to by Mr. Edward Everett in a letter to the Secretary of State of the United States as "a person very high in the confidence of the government, but not belonging to it," who had informed him that the British Administration entertained such views.

After the Senate had approved the treaty of 1827, the House of Representatives discussed and discoursed upon Oregon generally in an important debate upon a bill to grant certain rights in Oregon to various persons. Like its predecessors this bill violated the terms of the treaty of 1827 and was not really intended to be enacted. On this point Marshall says that it was a part of the campaign of education and stimulation about Oregon; and the fact that neither Government could grant land to anyone in Oregon while that treaty remained in force was intended to be so emphasized that those infected with the Oregon migration fever, even at that early date, might understand that though the United States Government was inflexibly determined to hold Oregon at least as far north as 49 degrees, it could grant no lands in Oregon until that treaty should be abrogated and a boundary line established between Oregon and the British possession to the northward. (Marshall, 192.)

No further debate of importance took place in Congress for ten years. In the meantime, Oregon was gaining a few inhabitants, for now in regions as widely separated as Massachusetts, Ohio, and Louisiana, there arose a wholly inexplicable craze to migrate to Oregon. This strangely enough came into prominence very shortly after Gal-



latin had prophesied its early advent. The efforts of Hall J. Kelley no doubt account in part for the existence of this feeling in Massachusetts, but that indefatigable seeker, W. I. Marshall, acknowledges his inability to find the root of the movement in Ohio and Louisiana. We do know that Lieutenant Slacum, who was sent out by the United States to report in 1836, felt himself at liberty to subscribe \$500.00 towards the purchase of cattle for the settlers in Oregon—whose money was it? We also know that part of the secret service funds of the United States was devoted to the publication in England of Greenhow's History of Oregon, the brief on the United States side of the dispute; and upon the admissions of the Methodist missionaries themselves, we also know that the secret service fund of the United States contributed towards the expenses of sending out on the ship *Lausanne* the great reinforcement to the Methodist Mission in 1839-40; and in the report of the committee of the Senate in 1843 upon the adoption of suitable measures for the occupation and settlement of Oregon Territory, we find the following: "Everyone acquainted with the insidious and steady policy of Great Britain is aware that in all question of boundary disputes with her neighbours she invariably pushes her pretensions to territory, however unfounded or absurd, to the utmost limits of what is occupied by her subjects, and sometimes so far as to claim as a right what is convenient to her settlements whether on her own soil or not. Our interest therefore is and our policy should be to adopt a counter-acting policy and to meet her advancing tide of settlement with ours; and the sooner we do this the better, for experience shows that a people under the impulse and enterprise of republican institutions peacefully repel by their approach the subjects of monarchical or despotic government just as the aborigines of the country recede before the advance of civilized man. The occupation and settlement of Oregon by American citizens will of itself operate to repel all European intruders except those who come to enjoy the blessings of our laws; this would secure us more powerful arguments than any diplomacy could invent or use to assert and maintain our just rights in that country if war should ever be necessary to preserve and protect them. The settlement of Oregon with American citizens of kindred with us on this side of the Rocky Mountains is also important for cultivating

and cherishing friendly relations between the Indians and the people of this country."

Hall J. Kelley's repeated efforts at colonization ended in miserable failure. In 1832 Nathaniel J. Wyeth, who had caught some of Kelley's enthusiasm, led his first party of American settlers to Oregon. Dismal failure was the lot of this attempt also. The missionaries of the Methodist Church, Jason Lee and Cyrus Shepard, accompanied Wyeth's expedition of 1834. In 1836 the A. B. C. F. M.—The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—sent out Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, Mr. and Mrs. Whitman and Mr. Gray to establish mission stations in Oregon. It will not be overlooked that the pagan Indians of the nearer east were passed by more or less contemptuously while those of Oregon—as indeed everything in Oregon—appeared to be of paramount importance. From these missionaries were sent forth to the East richly coloured accounts of the attractiveness of Oregon. It is not too much to say of the Methodist missionaries that they appeared more interested in obtaining large tracts of land than in gathering in the harvest of souls which theoretically was their *raison-d'être*. In 1836 also Lieutenant Slacum was sent by the American Government to report upon the region. His instructions required him to interview the white settlers, ascertain their nationalities, their leanings and especially their sentiments towards the United States and the two European powers having possessions in that locality. Irving's *Astoria* too appeared in 1836 and his *Captain Bonneville* in the following year. The influence of these works was very considerable in stimulating the interest already existing in regard to Oregon.

In 1838 Senator Linn as Chairman of the select committee on Oregon presented a report of twenty-three pages containing a copy of the famous ultimatum map showing the boundary along the 49th parallel. The statement in regard to the American title is interesting as showing how solid had now become the conviction of its absolute inassailability. "This question," says the report, "has been so ably argued by the late Governor Floyd, who was the first to urge on Congress the use and occupation of the Oregon Territory, by Mr. F. Baylies in two reports to the House of Representatives, and in the diplomatic correspondence of our Government with Great Britain

and in various other public documents as to make it unnecessary for us to go at large into this subject."

In the next session, Linn introduced a bill for the occupation of Oregon Territory which was twice read and referred to a committee of which he was chairman. In the January following (1839) Linn reported the bill which, after a brief debate, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Marshall assures us that all this was done simply to keep the subject alive and before the public, but whether it was intended so or not the result of this constant appearance of dealing with territory to which at that time the United States had no established claim, had the effect of creating (as perhaps it was really intended to create) a feeling in the unreasoning multitude we call the public, of complete conviction and absolute certainty of the American ownership of Oregon. Thus there was created by the very action of the politicians a force which from a servant soon became a master, as the later phases of the discussion show.

In December, 1839, Linn, upon whom had fallen the mantle of Floyd, introduced into the Senate, "a joint resolution declaring that our title to the Oregon is indisputable and will never be abandoned," and that the Government should give the requisite twelve months' notice to terminate the existing convention, for extending the laws of the United States over Oregon, for raising soldiers to protect immigrants to Oregon, and for giving 640 acres of land in Oregon to each white male of 18 years of age resident in the Territory, who would live on and cultivate it for five years. No action was taken upon this resolution, except to refer it to a committee.

In 1840 Greenhow's History of Oregon was published as a Government Document. In the preface thereto, it is calmly set forth that the ultimate destiny of Oregon is its occupation and settlement by the United States. After pointing out that he has demonstrated the title of the United States to the Oregon Territory, as being stronger and more consistent with the principles of national right than that of any other power, he goes on to say: "That those regions must be eventually possessed by the people of the United States only, no one acquainted with the progress of settlement in the Mississippi Valley during the past fifteen years will be inclined to question but that Great Britain will by every means in her power evade the recognition of the American claims and oppose the establishment of an

American population on the shore of the Pacific, may be confidently expected from the disposition evinced by her Government in all its recent discussions with the United States." Is it too much to believe that the American Government was not averse to quietly aiding the movement which its own official publications prophesied?

In December, 1840, Senator Linn gave notice of the introduction of a joint resolution relating to Oregon, and in January, 1841, he introduced his bill for the occupation of Oregon. The latter was referred to a special committee but was afterwards dropped, as it was thought that if pressed forward at that time it might unduly embarrass the settlement of the North-Eastern boundary. (Marshall, 211.)

Mr. King of Alabama in August, 1841, presented a petition from the citizens of Alabama wishing to migrate to Oregon by way of the Isthmus of Panama and asking that arrangements be made by the American Government to extend to them in Oregon the protection of the laws of the United States. On the same day Mr. Linn introduced another resolution on Oregon as follows: "Resolved, that the President of the United States be requested to give the notice to the British Government which the Treaty of 1827 between the two Governments requires in order to put an end to the Treaty for the joint occupation of the Territory of Oregon west of the Rocky Mountains and which Territory is now possessed and used by the Hudson's Bay Company to the ruin of the American Indian and fur trade in that quarter and conflicting with our inland commerce with the internal Provinces of Mexico."

And now after years of resolutions, and bills, and reports, and Congressional action and inaction, we find the Oregon question worthy of a place in the presidential message. At the opening of Congress in December, 1841, President Tyler referred to Oregon, pointing out the necessity of a line of forts from Council Bluffs to the Pacific to protect amongst other things the intercourse between the American settlements on the Columbia River and the Western frontier. (Marshall, p. 212.)

Ten days later, i. e., on December 16, 1841, Linn introduced another of his bills for the occupation and settlement of Oregon, and its encouragement by the granting of land to the settlers there. In his speech introducing the measure Linn stated that the only ques-

tion now involved in the Oregon dispute from the American point of view was as to the rights of that nation north of the Columbia.

While matters were thus proceeding in diplomatic and Congressional circles, the long desired immigrations began. Father De Smet tells us that the migration of 1841 from the United States consisted of seventy persons of whom fifty were capable of bearing arms. These persons, however, did not all reach Oregon; about one-half of them chose to direct their steps to California. The accessions to the population of Oregon in 1842 consisted of fifty-one men and fifty-seven women and children. In 1843 the number of immigrants was far in excess of these figures. Elwood Evans places it at between eight hundred and seventy-five and one thousand persons. In 1844 the estimated immigration was seven hundred; in 1845, about three thousand; and in 1846, about one thousand three hundred and fifty. In May, 1843, steps were taken by the American residents in Oregon territory to form a provisional government. Laws were prepared which were to govern "until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us." This Government was re-organized in 1844 and altered so much that Briton and American united for mutual protection and in the interests of law and order in the anomalous territory—a territory without a sovereignty.

The American people were certainly reaching out to possess the land. The American Congress, as has been shown, was constantly hearing discussions upon some bill or report concerning Oregon, and was taking extreme care that thousands of the speeches and reports were circulated through the country. The American Government, having already sent out Slacum, sent out in 1838 Lieut. Charles Wilkes (afterwards so prominent in the *Trent* difficulty) in command of an exploring expedition, consisting of six ships and about six hundred men. Wilkes was specifically instructed to make full surveys and examinations "of the territory of the United States on the seaboard, and of the Columbia River, and afterwards along the coast of California." We are not, therefore, surprised to find Linn saying in the Senate in August, 1842, that he had in his possession hundreds upon hundreds of letters from every quarter of the Union, making anxious enquiries as to what was likely to be done in reference to Oregon. He then asserted that there were already between fifteen hundred and two thousand American citizens located

in Oregon, and he desired to assure them, and the many on the road to the territory, and the thousands who were preparing to move to that region, that "although upon the extremest verge of this republic, the Government of the United States would not abandon them to any foreign power." (Marshall, 213.)

Stimulated by these promises, American immigrants continued to set out resolutely towards Oregon. The Oregon trail became a great highway, clearly marked and broadly cut upon the surface of the trackless prairie, a road as well and distinctly marked as a city street, upon which, during 1844-5-6, an almost endless procession of canvas-covered wagons toiled patiently through the long summer days to reach the modern land of promise. The effect of these migrations can scarcely be over-estimated. They formed a power operating beneath the surface, unseen, but, for that very reason, of daily increasing strength.

Well may we pause to enquire what was that grasping Britain, which had been so much abused on every stump and soap box through the western States by ranting demagogues, doing to stay the torrent of eloquence, the system of education, or the peaceful occupation? Simply nothing. The Hudson's Bay Company's trading posts were the only British settlements (if trading posts can properly be called settlements) except the scattered farms occupied by the retired employees of the fur company. It is true that these persons were after 1825, wherever possible, induced when locating to select lands north of the Columbia River, in the hope that the boundary line would be drawn down that stream. With the exception of a migration from Red River in 1841, numbering only eighty persons in all, no effort was ever made to equalize conditions in Oregon by the introduction of a British element.

During the negotiation of the treaty of 1842, in connection with the Northeastern boundary, Lord Ashburton, who had received detailed instructions with reference to Oregon, dealt somewhat with this question, but soon realizing that a wide divergence existed as to the relative rights of each nation, he wisely concluded to leave it aside, lest its introduction might submit the Maine boundary question to the hazard of failure. The propositions which Lord Ashburton was authorized to offer, throw light upon the British mind at this stage. He was empowered to suggest a boundary along the Columbia

River, from its mouth to Snake River, and thence due east to the summit of the Rockies. Failing the acceptance of this line, he was directed to renew the proposition made by England in 1824, and again in 1827, of a line along the 49th parallel from the summit of the Rockies to the most northeastern branch of the Columbia River, and thence by that river to the Pacific. If the latter were refused, Lord Ashburton was positively forbidden to accept, should it be offered, the American line of 49 degrees to the coast. We are informed by Edward Everett, the friend and biographer of Webster, that if the latter had supposed that any arrangement could have been effected at that time along the 49th parallel, he would gladly have included it in the negotiations. Having, however, a hint of the limitations of Ashburton's authority, he did not deem it wise to refer to the matter.

Almost immediately after that treaty, the Oregon question, which had been dealt with in the presidential message of 1842, came once more to the front. The British Government felt much aggrieved at the tenor of that message, which left the impression that the adjustment of the difficulty was being delayed by Great Britain; whereas in fact that Government had been urging the re-opening of negotiations, recognizing no doubt the strong feeling which had grown up in the United States, and realizing that any untoward delay would render the ultimate settlement more difficult, if not impossible.

From November, 1842, until August, 1844, although both Governments were agreed to make the Oregon question "a subject of immediate attention," no formal negotiations occurred. This delay was due entirely to internal difficulties in the United States. President Tyler, owing to his veto of the bill re-establishing the United States Bank, had, late in 1841, been "read out" of the Whig party.

Of his cabinet, Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State, alone retained his office, and this only in order to settle the Maine boundary. That end accomplished, Webster resigned in 1843. For two months thereafter the Attorney General filled *ad interim* the vacant office. Upon his sudden death, Abel P. Upshur, in July, 1843, became Secretary of State. In these changes it was clearly impossible to enter upon the serious discussion of a question as important and as difficult as that of Oregon.

These delays appear to have been largely unavoidable, but the

British Government naturally complained when in President Tyler's message in December, 1843, he used language from which it would be reasonably inferred that he had been occupied in urging upon Great Britain an early settlement of the Oregon question; and that that Government had either been inattentive to the urgency of the question or reluctant to proceed to an adjustment of it.

Lord Aberdeen, the head of the British Foreign Office, concluded to undertake negotiations in Washington. To that end Mr. Fox, the British Minister, was recalled, and in February, 1844, his successor, Richard Pakenham, arrived to take in hand the settlement of this thirty-year-old question. Hardly had the barest preliminaries been arranged between himself and Mr. Upshur, when late in February, the latter was accidentally killed by the explosion of a great gun called the Peacemaker, on board the U. S. S. *Princeton*. His successor was that brilliant American statesman, John C. Calhoun.

The conferences began on August 23, 1844. After examining the actual state of the question as it stood at the last unsuccessful attempt to adjust it, Calhoun requested Pakenham to make a fresh proposal towards effecting an adjustment. The latter accordingly on August 26th renewed the offer of the 49th parallel to the main stream of the Columbia and thence following that river to the ocean, with the addition of a free port or ports south of 49°, either on the mainland or island, as the American Government might desire. This was at once declined.

The difficulty which Calhoun found himself in, in this negotiation arose from the fact that on May 18, 1844, the Democratic party had resolved at the Baltimore Convention, "That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be surrendered to England or any other power; and that the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union"—which resolution was later crystallized into the slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight." Calhoun knew that to offer 54° 40' would result in its immediate rejection; while to have renewed the offer of 49° at a time when his own party were so lustily shouting "All of Oregon—Fifty-four forty or fight," would have been to stultify both him and them. He consequently "marked time"



by restating the various arguments on behalf of the United States, of which a *résumé* has already been given, but he took care to offer no definite boundary line. In September, Pakenham having as he believed answered all of Calhoun's arguments, requested him to "state what arrangements he is, on the part of the United States, prepared to propose for an equitable adjustment of the question; and more especially that he will have the goodness to define the nature and extent of the claims which the United States may have to other portions of the territory, to which allusion is made in the concluding part of his statement, as it is obvious that no arrangement can be made with respect to a portion of the territory in dispute, while a claim is reserved to any portion of the remainder."

Calhoun's reply was that the American claims were "derived from Spain by the Florida treaty, and are founded on the discoveries and explorations of her navigators, and which they must regard as giving her a right to the extent to which they can be established, unless a better can be opposed." Even after Polk's election, Calhoun did not see his way to suggest the line of  $54^{\circ} 40'$ . He let the matter lie. Pakenham, whose proposition had been rejected in September, 1844, waited in vain for one from Calhoun. In January, 1845, he, as a last resort, submitted a suggestion to refer the question to arbitration. Calhoun replied that the President thought the matter might yet be settled in the present negotiations. This ended the connection of Calhoun and the Tyler administration with the Oregon negotiations.

In March, 1845, President Polk's inaugural address stated, "Our title to the country of the Oregon is clear and unquestionable, and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children." It will be noted that the reference is to "the country of the Oregon," and not to the whole territory—not to "fifty-four forty." Though Polk's jingo cry had echoed and re-echoed through the land, and had been yelled so loudly as to reach across the Atlantic, it is noticeable that as soon as he stepped into office his Secretary of State, James Buchanan, in re-opening the negotiations with Pakenham in July, 1845, did not stand upon "all of Oregon." On the contrary he proposed once again that the Oregon Territory be "divided between the two countries by the 49th parallel of north latitude from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific

Ocean, offering at the same time to make free to Great Britain any port or ports on Vancouver's Island, south of this parallel, which the British Government may desire." Now Pakenham took a strange step; instead of referring the proposition to his Government for instructions, he peremptorily rejected it, saying that after the exposition of his views it would not be surprising to the American plenipotentiary to hear that he did not feel at liberty to accept the proposal. He then went on to express the hope that "some further proposal for the settlement of the Oregon question more consistent with fairness and equity, and with the reasonable expectations of the British Government," would be offered. At once Buchanan went into high dudgeon, and in a letter dated August, 1845, after stating that the proposal had only been made because of a sincere desire to maintain peace and against the President's own opinion of the rights of his country, he categorically withdrew the offer. This was a very embarrassing predicament; it left the British Government to submit a new proposition voluntarily, and without any invitation or assurance from the United States—a position not the most pleasant, in view of the heated feelings in that country.

President Polk's message in December, 1845, stated that, all attempts at compromise having failed, Congress must consider proper measures to protect American citizens in Oregon, which would not conflict with the stipulations of the treaty of 1827. He advised that the year's notice required by that treaty be given, that American laws be extended over American citizens in Oregon, that an Indian agency be established beyond the Rockies, that stockades and block-houses, properly garrisoned, be erected to protect the Oregon trail, and that a monthly mail service to Oregon be inaugurated. Then were speedily introduced into Congress, a resolution to give the notice necessary to terminate the treaty of 1827, and bills "to organize and arm the militia of Oregon," "to organize a territorial government for Oregon," "to establish a line of stockade and block-house forts along the Oregon trail," "and to protect the rights of American citizens in the territory of Oregon until the termination of the joint occupancy of the same." "On those various measures," says Marshall, "such a flood of oratory was let loose as has rarely been heard in Congress, no less than ninety-eight Representatives and thirty-four Senators speaking on them." While these were being discussed, Pakenham tried hard

to have the question of an equitable division of Oregon submitted to arbitration, but without success. The bills never became law, but the resolution for abrogation of the treaty, after being made more conciliatory in tone and amended so as to authorize the President "at his discretion" to give the notice, was passed. This was approved by President Polk on April 27, 1846, and the notice was given on the following day, being despatched to Mr. McLane, the Minister at London, who, on May 21, 1846, delivered it to Lord Aberdeen. The latter acknowledged its receipt on May 22, 1846, stating that "In conformity with its tenor, Her Majesty's Government will consider the convention of the 6th of August, 1827, abrogated accordingly from the 21st of May, 1847."

In the discussions upon the question in the public press, and in the pamphlets, many of which were circulated, there had gradually grown up a feeling amongst the rational men on both sides that the continuation of the 49th parallel to the Gulf of Georgia, with some deflection to avoid cutting off the lower end of Vancouver Island, upon which stood Fort Victoria, the principal depot of the Hudson's Bay Company on this coast, would be a fair and equitable adjustment. Some such line as this had been first suggested by Mr. Huskisson, the British plenipotentiary in 1826; repeatedly suggested by Edward Everett in November and December, 1843, April, 1844, and February, 1845; by William Sturgis in his lecture dated January 22, 1845; by the London *Examiner*, April 25, 1845; and the Edinburgh *Review*, July, 1845. Lord Aberdeen now instructed Mr. Pakenham: "You will accordingly propose to the American Secretary of State that the line of demarkation should be continued along the 49th parallel, from the Rocky Mountains to the sea-coast, and from thence, in a southerly direction, through the centre of King George's Sound and the Straits of Juan de Fuca, to the Pacific Ocean, leaving the whole of Vancouver's Island, with its ports and harbours, in the possession of Great Britain."

Accompanying this suggestion was the draft of a treaty, the first article of which delineated our southern boundary as it exists today. President Polk, well satisfied with the outcome, yet afraid to "eat his own words" so publicly, instead of signing the proposed treaty, sent it on June 10, 1846, to the Senate with a message requesting their advice as to the proper action to take. The reply came quickly and

decisively; by a vote of 38 to 12 the Senate on June 12, 1846, advised the President to accept the British proposal; and on June 15, 1846, the treaty was signed by Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Pakenham. The remaining articles of the treaty dealt with the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, granting it the free navigation of the Columbia, preserving to it and all British subjects their possessory rights and confirming to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company (an off-shoot of the Hudson's Bay Company) its farms, lands, and other property. It is worthy of remark in closing this episode that Benton, who was one of the most earnest in the struggle for Oregon, always regarded the claim of  $54^{\circ} 40'$  as wholly unfounded, and the flimsiest pretence. The same may be said of many other leading Americans, as, for example, J. C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster. Professor Meany of the University of Washington is of the opinion that the cry of "fifty-four forty or fight" was a piece of pure Yankee bluster and in this he is, doubtless, right.

Reference has been made to certain persons, Lieutenant Slacum, Lieutenant Wilkes, and later Lieutenant Howison, sent out to report upon Oregon to the United States authorities. Great Britain also sent out representatives to spy out the land; but not until the discussion had reached a very acute stage. In the earlier portion she had been satisfied to rely upon the information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company. Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour accompanied Peter Skene Ogden from Red River to the Columbia during the summer of 1825. Their mission was secret, and so well was it kept that Bancroft surmises that they were in Oregon for the purpose of reporting upon Dr. John McLoughlin, the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company. This gentleman by reason of his kindly treatment of the American immigrants, who were reaching the forts of the company in an almost starving condition was subjected to a persecution, so strong that he was ultimately forced to resign. However, we have now what Bancroft had not—the official correspondence in connection with the mission of these military officers which shows that they were to examine into the possibility of taking troops overland to Oregon, of fortifying Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the Columbia, and to report generally upon the steps necessary to render the posts in Oregon territory safe against attack. The strange circumstance is that Father De Smet, the ubiquitous, who met Ogden and

these engineer officers near Lake Kalispell on August 9, 1845, knew and recorded their purpose. In a letter dated from the Flat Bow (Kootenay) River on August 17, 1845, after speaking of his pleasure at this fortunate *rencontre*, the worthy Father says: "La question de l'Orégon me parut quelque peu inquiétante. Ce n'était ni la curiosité, ni le plaisir qui pouvaient engager ces deux officiers à traverser tant de régions désolées et à hâter leur course vers l'embouchure de la Columbia. Ils avaient reçu de leur gouvernement l'ordre de prendre possession du cap de Désappointement, d'y arborer l'étandard anglais, et d'élever une forteresse pour être maîtres de l'entrée de la rivière en cas de guerre. Dans le question de l'Orégon, John Bull atteint son but sans de grand discours, et s'assure la partie la plus importante du pays, pendant que l'Oncle Sam débite un torrent de paroles, s'emporte et tempête. Plusieurs années ont été consumées en débats et en disputes inutiles, sans qu'il soit résulté un seul effort pratique pour faire reconnaître ses droits réels ou prétendus." Father De Smet further informs us that in May, 1846, as he was making his way through the Athabasca Pass towards the Boat Encampment, he met the Hudson's Bay Company's express outward bound. It was in charge of M. Ermatinger. Accompanying him were the "deux officiers distingués de l'armée anglaise, les capitaines Ward et Vavasseur que j'eus l'honneur de rencontrer l'année dernière près du grand lac Kalispel." Though these gentlemen made a very exhaustive examination and submitted lengthy reports, yet events moved so fast in the latter stages of the trouble that the Oregon treaty was settled before they were received.

During the summer of 1845, Captain Gordon, a brother of Lord Aberdeen, visited the colony in command of H. M. S. *America*. There is a hoary tradition that the British relinquished Oregon because the salmon in the Columbia would not rise to a fly. This harmless little fiction has passed current so long that it is to be feared it may obtain the stamp of genuineness if allowed to circulate much longer unchallenged. Considering that this officer was here in June, 1845, and remembering the very slow—painfully slow—means of communication of those days, it is extremely doubtful whether any report he might have made would have reached England in time to affect the situation; further than that it is very plain that in England this western coast was regarded as of small moment and so long as

Britain had a portion of this coast the home authorities seemed satisfied. We will now offer our readers a quotation never before in print, from Mr. Roderick Finlayson's manuscript history of Vancouver Island in the Archives of the Province of British Columbia. This will show how the story, in all probability originated.

EXCERPT FROM RODERICK FINLAYSON'S HISTORY OF VANCOUVER ISLAND  
MANUSCRIPT IN PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES

"In 1845 a fleet of five whalers visited this place. They belonged to the States and called here for supplies, &c. They got what they wanted & left on their canoe Northwards & among the whalers there happened to be curiously enough the very vessel which fetched me from England to New York. They called yearly after that year '45 until the Sandwich Islands were found more convenient for a port of call. In the same year we had a visit from H. M. S. *America*, Capt. Gordon, brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, then prime Minister of England. She visited Port Discovery near Port Townsend. Esquimalt and Victoria were comparatively new then. In passing up the Straits a dispatch was sent to the officer in charge here to proceed on board of the vessel. I was in charge & leaving to go on board, I placed the 2nd officer in charge. Proceeding to the vessel I went on board accompanied by the officers sent for me, remained three days and during that time I gave the commander all the information I could about the country. The object of the vessel coming here was to obtain full information concerning the country & report to the English Government previous to the settlement of the boundary line. During my stay on board Capt. Parke of the Marines; Lieut. Peel, a son of Sir Robert Peel were sent across to the Columbia River to obtain information & to report on the country in relation to its value to Great Britain. Capt. Gordon crossed with me to Victoria in a launch, where he remained some time. We had some fine horses for the use of the Captain & his officers & we paid them every attention. We went out on one occasion to Cedar Hill to shoot about the first of June. The country looked beautiful, carpeted as it was with beautiful wild flowers. Capt. Gordon was a great deer stalker. We met a band of deer & had a chase after them on horseback. The deer

ran for a thicket into which the horses with their riders could not penetrate and of course no deer were had.

"The Captain felt much disappointed & was anything but happy. I said to him that I was very sorry we had missed the deer &c, and also remarked how beautiful the country looked. He said in reply—'Finlayson I would not give the most barren hills in the Highlands of Scotland for all I see around me.' We went back to the fort. I was then a bachelor, had a cot slung in the bare walls which I handed over to the Captain, whilst I and the officers slept on the floor. In the morning we had a nice salmon for breakfast. The Captain seemed somewhat surprised & asked where the salmon was had. O! We have plenty of salmon was the reply. Have you got flies & rods, said the Captain. We have lines & bait was the answer & sometimes the Indians take them with the net &c. No fly, no fly, responded our guest. So after breakfast we went to fish with the line, from a dingey. When we came back we had four fine salmon, but he thought it an awful manner in which to catch salmon. Capt. Gordon felt greatly dissatisfied because he could not have the use of a rod fly.

"After they remained here for a week or 10 days the Captain & his officers returned to Port Discovery to the vessel. By this time Messrs. Parke & Peel had returned from the Columbia river. Their report of the country was not very encouraging, at least that was the inference at the time. Mr. Douglas (the late Sir James) came across from Fort Vancouver to the Demon of War. He remained some little time, & the vessel left shortly afterwards for the South. This was the end of the *America*.

"In 1846 Mr. Polk was President of the U. States & the Cry used to be 54°40' or fight. There was a great hue and cry in England to the effect that British interests were going to be swamped, & so forth. Several ships of war were ordered up from the South. Among them were the *Fisguard*, Capt. Duntze; the *Herald*, Capt. Kellett; the *Pandora*, Capt. Wood. The two last mentioned were used as surveying ships. There were also the *Constance*, Frigate, Capt. Courtney, & the *Inconstant*, Capt. Shepherd. Before these was the *Cormorant*,—another Capt. Gordon. These were all here in 1846. I was constantly on board to dinner & the officers used to chaff us about being here. They only wanted to be sent & that they could take the whole of the Columbia country in 24 hours."

In concluding this chapter a word may be added showing how the treaty was viewed by the American settlers in Oregon and by the Hudson's Bay Company. Lieutenant Howison, who was in Oregon when the news of the treaty arrived, gives us an idea of the feeling: "In the excited state of public feeling which existed among the Americans upon my arrival, the settled conviction on the mind of everyone that all Oregon belonged to us and that the English had long enough been gleaning its products, I soon discovered that, so far from arousing new zeal and patriotism, it was my duty to use any influence which my official character put in possession of to allay its exuberance, and advise our countrymen to await patiently the progress of the negotiations at home." Then speaking of the Hudson's Bay Company's employees, he says "although when news of the boundary treaty arrived, they undoubtedly were much mortified, they soon recovered their composure, and I believe were very well satisfied with their future prospects. Mr. Douglas," he goes on to say, "loyal to King and country from principle, observed that John Bull could well afford to be liberal to so promising a son as Jonathan, for the latter had given proofs of abilities to turn a good gift to the best account."

Douglas himself in his letter to Dr. W. F. Tolmie gives his views very shortly. The following extract from two letters of November 4, 1846, and April 19, 1847, are illuminating:

"It appears that the Oregon Boundary is finally settled, on a basis more favourable to the United States than we had reason to anticipate. We forward this copy of a communication from Sir George Seymour Commander in Chief in the Pacific to our agents at the Sandwich Islands which contains all that is at present known to us relative to the Boundary Treaty. Business will of course go on as usual, as the treaty will not take effect on us for many years to come."

.....

"About the Treaty, I cannot say much, the Government and Committee appear satisfied, perhaps *par nécessité*, with the provision made for the protection of British interests, and they being satisfied so am I.

"All things considered, the yielding mood of the British Ministry, and the concessions made, we have come off better than I expected. I looked for nothing short of an utter sacrifice of our interests."

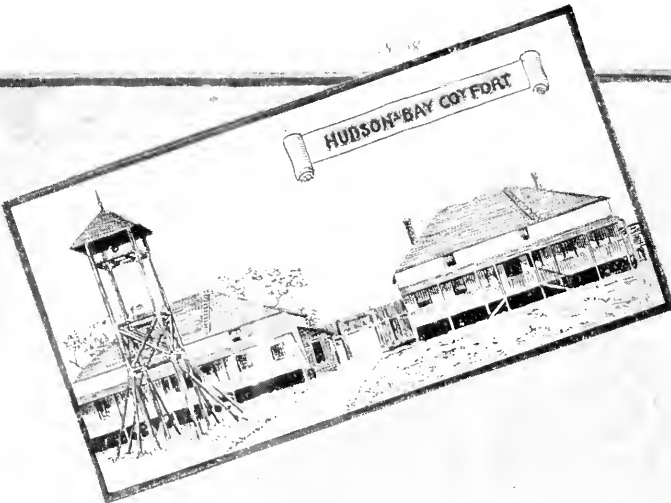




A COLONIAL RESIDENCE—THE HOME OF DR. W. F. TOLMIE







TOP PICTURE—Earliest view of Government street, Victoria, showing old Bastion of Hudson's Bay Company's Fort

MIDDLE PICTURE—Haida Indians in canoe. From contemporary drawing, dated 1793.

BOTTOM PICTURE—Interior view of Fort Victoria

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE FOUNDING OF VICTORIA

In the final stages of the Oregon boundary dispute, it was borne in upon the Hudson's Bay Company that, after all, it was within the range of probability that the boundary line between the British and American possessions on the Pacific seaboard of North America might not follow the Columbia River. In the event of the selection of the 49th parallel as the dividing line, the company's posts on the Columbia River and Puget Sound, as well as all the forts in the interior to the south of that line, would come under the jurisdiction of the United States. There is little doubt that the Hudson's Bay Company did everything in its power to induce the British Government to take a firm stand with regard to the Oregon Territory—a perfectly legitimate and natural course when one considers all that the company had at stake. The action of the company in this respect helped to preserve for Great Britain an outlet on the Pacific Ocean, and it may be said in all truth that its officers played no unimportant part in rounding out the British possessions in North America. Whatever the faults of the great monopoly, disloyalty to the Crown was certainly not one of them.

In case the boundary line should follow the proposed compromise of the 49th parallel, the Hudson's Bay Company wished to be prepared for such a decision, which would involve a radical change in the organization and administration of its Western Department. It would be impossible to maintain indefinitely the posts below the 49th parallel in face of the opposition of the American settlers and, what was more to the purpose, of the American Government. Therefore, at all costs a strong post must be built in the north to take the place of Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, so long the great furtrading emporium of the west. Fort Vancouver lies in the midst of a rich agricultural district; Dr. McLoughlin had

taken full advantage of its situation and beyond the stockade of the fort there stretched many a fertile field and rich pasture. The product of the farm and the dairy found a ready market in Alaska, where, owing to the prevailing climatic conditions, no farms or gardens were tilled. In order to hold their trade in agricultural products, as well as to provide for the wants of the different posts, the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company were anxious to find a place—with a safe and accessible harbour—where farming operations could be begun without the heavy expense involved in clearing land. As it happened there was only one spot on the coast to the northward of Puget Sound that in any way corresponded to the river lands in the neighbourhood of Fort Vancouver—and that spot was the southern end of Vancouver Island. Even here the amount of arable land ready for the plow was insignificant in comparison with that contained in the great valley of the Columbia. The journals of the early maritime furtraders, who plied up and down the coast in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, frequently refer to its forbidding appearance and its lack of places adapted to agriculture. James Douglas, who knew the whole seaboard from personal inspection, once remarked: "The Coast presents one continuous outline of dense forests, swamps and rugged mountains and has everywhere a most unprepossessing appearance." Of the coast region then the southern end of Vancouver Island apparently offered the best inducements to the settler, and this did not escape the vigilant officers of the company stationed in Oregon.

Fort Langley, on the Fraser River, established in 1827, was too far from the coast and out of the track of the whalers who it was thought at the time would make the new post a regular port of call. Otherwise Fort Langley would have admirably served the purpose of the company, for it stood in the heart of a fertile district. A large farm was cultivated there, the product of which was used in the Alaskan trade.

Sir George Simpson, the redoubtable governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, having decided to establish a new post, Dr. McLoughlin was instructed to carry out the undertaking. Early in the year 1842, in pursuance of this policy, James Douglas left Fort Vancouver for Nisqually, where he embarked with a party of six men on the schooner *Cadboro* and proceeded to explore the coast of the southern end of Vancouver Island, from Sooke to Victoria.

After a careful and somewhat extended survey of several harbours in this vicinity, Douglas reports: "I made Choice of a Site for the proposed new Establishment, in the Port of Camosack (Camosun), which appears to me decidedly the most advantageous situation for the Proposed Establishment within the Straits of De Fuca." In the course of his voyage Douglas examined Sooke Harbour, Pedder Bay, the roadstead of Metchosin and the port of Esquimalt, but none of these places seemed as eligible for settlement as Camosack, or Camosun, long since named Victoria.

In his description of Camosun Douglas declares that "As a harbour it is equally safe and accessible and abundance of timber grows on it for Home consumption and exportation. There being no fresh water stream of sufficient power, Flour or Saw mills may be erected in the Canal of Camosack at a Point where the Channel is constricted to the breadth of Forty-seven Feet by Two Ridges of Granite projecting from either bank into the Canal, through which the Tide rushes out and in with a Degree of Force and Velocity capable of driving the most powerful Machinery, if guided and applied by mechanical Skill." The place here referred to is that now known as "The Gorge," which has long been the favourite holiday resort and picnicking ground of successive generations of Victorians.

Douglas, in continuing his description, enlarges upon the advantages of Camosun. "In the several important Points just stated," he says, "the Position of Camosack can claim no Superiority over some other excellent Harbours on the South Coast of Vancouver's Island; but the latter are, generally speaking, surrounded by Rocks and Forests, which it will require Ages to level and adapt extensively to the Purposes of Agriculture, whereas at Camosack there is a Range of Plains nearly Six Miles Square, containing a great Extent of valuable Tillage and Pasture Land equally well adapted for the Plough or for feeding Stock. It was this Advantage and distinguishing Feature of Camosack which no other Part of the Coast possesses, combined with the Water Privilege on the Canal, the Security of the Harbour, and Abundance of Timber around it, which led me to choose a Site for the Establishment at that Place, in preference to all others met with on the Island."

In view of the fact that Douglas' reconnaissance paved the way for the occupation of this particular locality by the Hudson's Bay Company, directing attention for the first time to a spot which is

now of the first importance geographically and politically; also, because it illustrates the thorough and painstaking manner in which the Hudson's Bay Company's officers performed their duty, his report invites and deserves the particular attention of the chronicler of these early beginnings. It is true that the Spaniards had explored the southern end of Vancouver Island as early as the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, but the full narratives of their voyages have never been published in English, nor are they generally available even in manuscript form. Therefore no excuse is offered for quoting at length from Douglas' report, which was written at Fort Vancouver and bears the date July 12th, 1842.

It would be well to preface the detailed consideration of the young officer's able memorandum with the explanation that his "Sy-yousung" is the modern Sooke, "Point Gonzalo" is Point Gonzales, and "Is-whoy-malth," Esquimalt. "Whyring" presumably is Pedder Bay, and "Camosack," of course, is a variation of Camosun, the Indian name of the arm of the sea on the shores of which Victoria stands.

After making the observations upon "Camosack" which have just been quoted, Douglas continues the account of his reconnaissance in the following words: "I will now proceed to describe the most prominent Features of the other Ports visited during this Cruise, in order that you may know and weigh the Grounds of my Objections to them as eligible Places of Settlement.

"The finest and only District of Vancouver's Island which contains any considerable Extent of Clear Land is situated immediately on the Straits of De Fuca, beginning at Point Gonzalo, the South-east Corner of the Island, and running Westward from it to the Port of Sy-yousung; from whence, to the South-west Point of the Island opposite Cape Flattery, there are no safe Harbours for Shipping, and the Country is high, rocky, and covered with Wood, presenting in its outline the almost unvarying Characters of the Coast of North-west America, to which it unfortunately bears a too faithful Resemblance.

"On the contrary, the former District of the Island, extending from Port Sy-yousung to Point Gonzalo, is less elevated, more even, and diversified by Wood and Plain. The Coast is indented with Bays and Inlets; there are several good Harbours, with Anchorage at almost every Point, where Vessels may bring up in Calms. To



this Part of the Coast I directed much Attention; and having travelled over almost every Mile of it, I will here state the Result of my Observation beginning with Port Sy-yousung, the most West-erly Harbour deserving of Notice.

"Sy-yousung is a spacious Inlet, extending more than Two Miles into the Country, where Shipping may lie at all Seasons of the Year in perfect Safety, as it is protected from every Wind; there is, however, a strong Current setting through the Entrance with the Flood and Ebb that might detain and prove inconvenient to Vessels entering or leaving Port, otherwise it is unexceptionable as a Harbour. A shallow Rivulet, Thirty Feet wide, which takes its Rise from the Lake in the Interior of the Island, falls into the North End of the Inlet, remarkable as being the largest and only fresh water Stream capable of floating a canoe that we found on this Part of the Island.

"It can, however, hardly be called navigable, as during a short Excursion I made upon it we had to drag our Canoe over Banks of Gravel that traversed the Bed of the Stream at every one hundred Yards. An extensive Mud-flat also lies off its Mouth, which is nearly dry and impassable in the smallest Craft at Low Water. It has also the reputation of being a good Fishing Stream; and, as far as I could learn from the Natives of the Place, a considerable Quantity of Salmon is caught there annually, a Consideration which would make it exceedingly valuable to an Establishment. These are the only good Points of this Harbour, which the Character of the Country in its Vicinity render of no Avail, as the Place is totally unfit for our Purpose, the Shores being high, steep, rocky, and everywhere covered with Woods. In ranging through the Forest we found One small Plain, containing 300 or 400 Acres of Land, at the Distance of One Mile from the Harbour; but the rest of the Country in its Neighbourhood appeared to consist either of Wood Land or Rocky Hills.

"Eight Miles East of Sy-yousung is the Port of Whyring, divided from the former by a Ridge of Woody Hills extending from the Coast to the central high Land of the Island. This is a pretty good Harbour, but has nothing further to recommend it, as a single glance at the high broken Hills of naked Granite which form the East Side of the Basin, and the equally sterile Character of the West Shore, satisfied me that this Place would not answer our Purpose.

"In One of our Excursions we found a narrow Plain, nearly a

Mile long, at the same Distance from the Harbour, which is the only clear Land in this Vicinity.

"Metchosin is an open Roadstead, One and a Half Mile East of the former Port. It is a very pretty Place, and has a small fresh water Run near it. There is, however, no Harbour and the Anchorage is exposed, and must be insecure in Rough Weather. In addition to that Disadvantage, the Extent of clear Ground is much too small for the Demands of a large Establishment, and a great Part of what is clear is poor, Stony Lands with a rolling Surface, so that on the whole it would not do for us.

"Is-whoy-malth is the next Harbour to the Eastward, and appears on the Ground Plan accompanying this letter. It is one of the best Harbours on the Coast, being perfectly safe and of easy Access, but in other respects it possesses no Attractions. Its appearance is strikingly unprepossessing, the Outline of the Country exhibiting a confused Assemblage of Rock and Wood. More distant appear isolated ridges, thinly covered with scattered Trees, masses of bare Rock; and the View is closed by a Range of low Mountains, which traverse the Island at the Distance of about Twelve Miles. The Shores of the Harbour are rugged and precipitous, and I did not see One level Spot clear of Trees of sufficient Extent to build a large Fort upon; there is in fact no clear land within a Quarter of a Mile of the Harbour, and that lies in small Patches here and there on the Acclivities and Bottoms of the rising Ground. At a greater Distance are Two elevated Plains, on different Sides of the Harbour, containing several Bottoms of rich Land, the largest of which does not exceed Fifty Acres of clear Space, much broken by Masses of Limestone and Granite.

"Another serious Objection to this Place is the Scarcity of fresh Water. There are several good Runs in Winter, but we found them all dried up, and we could not manage to fill a single Beaker in the Harbour.

"The next Harbour, about One Mile and a Half East of the former, is the Port and Canal of Camosack, which, as already said, I think the most advantageous Place for the new Establishment. From the general Description here given, I fear you will not discover many Traces of the level champaign Country so fancifully described by other travellers who preceded me in this Field; and you will also observe, that there is one important Objection which

applies to all the Places except 'Camosack,' mentioned in the Sketch, namely, the Absence of any Tract of clear Land sufficiently extensive for the Tillage and Pasture of a large agricultural Establishment. It would also be difficult to find a convenient Situation for an Establishment on the rugged high Shores of any of the other Harbours, and, moreover, these latter Places with the Exception of 'Sy-you-sung' and 'Metchosin,' are all scantily supplied with fresh Water.

"On the contrary, at Camosack, there is a pleasant and convenient Site for the Establishment within Fifty Yards of the Anchorage, on the Border of a large Tract of clear Land, which extends Eastward to Point Gonzalo at the South-east Extremity of the Island, and about Six Miles interiorly, being the most picturesque and decidedly the most valuable Part of the Island that we had the good Fortune to discover.

"The accompanying Ground Plan shows pretty correctly the Distribution of Wood, Water, and Prairie upon the Surface, and to it I beg to refer you for Information upon such Points.

"More than Two Thirds of this Section consist of Prairie Land, and may be converted either to—Purposes of Tillage or Pasture, for which I have seen no Part of the Indian Country better adapted; the rest of it, with the Exception of the Ponds of Water, is covered with valuable Oak and Pine Timber. I observed, generally speaking, but Two marked Varieties of Soil on these Prairies, that of the best Land is a dark vegetable Mould, varying from Nine to Fourteen Inches in Depth, overlaying a substratum of greyish clayey Loam, which produces the rankest Growth of native Plants that I have seen in America. The other Variety is of inferior Value, and to judge from the less vigorous Appearance of the Vegetation upon it, naturally more unproductive.

"Both Kinds, however, produce Abundance of Grass, and several Varieties of Red Clover grow on the rich moist Bottoms.

"In Two Places particularly, we saw several Acres of Clover growing with a Luxuriance and Compactness more resembling the close Sward of a well-managed Lea than the Produce of an uncultivated Waste.

"Being pretty well assured of the Capabilities of the Soil as respects the Purposes of Agriculture, the Climate being also mild and pleasant, we ought to be able to grow every Kind of Grain raised in England. On this Point, however, we cannot speak confidently

until we have tried the Experiment and tested the Climate, as there may exist local Influences destructive of the Husbandman's Hopes, which cannot be discovered by other means. As, for instance, it is well known that the damp Fogs which daily spread over the Shores of Upper California blight the Crops, and greatly deteriorate the Wheat grown near the Sea Coast in the Country. I am not aware that any such Effect is ever felt in the temperate Climate of Britain, nearly corresponding in its insular Situation and geographical Position with Vancouver's Island, and I hope the latter will also enjoy an Exemption from an Evil at once disastrous and irremediable. We are certain that Potatoes thrive and grow to a large Size, as the Indians have many small Fields in cultivation which appear to repay the Labour bestowed upon them, and I hope that the other Crops will do as well.

"The Canal of Camosack is nearly Six Miles long, and its Banks are well wooded throughout its whole Length, so that it will supply the Establishment with Wood for many Years to come, which can be conveyed in large Rafts, with very little Trouble, from one Extreme of the Canal to the other.

"I mentioned in a former Part of this Letter that I proposed to erect any Machinery required for the Establishment at the Narrows of this Canal, about Two Miles distant from the Site of the Fort, where there is a boundless Water-power, which our Two Millwrights, Crate and Fenton, think might, at a moderate Expense, be applied to that Object. A fresh-water River would certainly be in many respects more convenient, as the moving Power could be made to act with greater Regularity and be applied to Machinery at probably less Labour and Expense than a Tide Power; besides the Facilities and immense Advantage of having a Water Communication, instead of a tedious Land Transport for the Conveyance of Timber from a Distance, after exhausting that growing in the immediate Vicinity of the Mill Seat. But I saw no Stream that would fully answer these Purposes, not even excepting the one in the Harbour of 'Sy-yousung.' We must therefore of Necessity have recourse to the Canal, or select a Mill Seat on the Continental Shore, a Step that I would not advise until we have gained the Confidence and Respect of the native Tribes.

"The natural supply of fresh Water will probably be found scanty enough for the Establishment in very dry Seasons; but I think

that between a small Stream at the Distance of 300 Paces, and its Feeder, a Lake 800 Yards from the Site of the Fort, we may always depend on having at least a Sufficiency of this indispensable Element. The Labour of carting it from a Distance of even 800 Yards would, however, be very great, and I would therefore recommend that Wells should be dug within the Fort of sufficient Depth to yield a constant and regular Supply at all Times. This, I have no Doubt, will be found the cheapest Plan in the End, besides the Importance of having Water at hand in Cases of Fire, or in the event of any Rupture with the Natives."

Douglas concludes his long report with the following review: "It is unnecessary to occupy your Time with any further Details on the Subject of this Cruise, as the present Sketch will enable you to form a correct Estimate of the Advantages and Disadvantages of the several Places visited; and I think your Opinion cannot vary much from my own respecting the decided Superiority of Camosack over the other Parts of the Island or of the Continental Shore known to us as a Place of Settlement. The Situation is not faultless, or so completely suited to our Purposes as it might be; but I despair of any better being found on this Coast, as I am confident that there is no other Seaport North of the Columbia where so many Advantages will be found combined."

In a communication to the governing committee to the Hudson's Bay Company, dated at Red River Settlement, June 21, 1844, Sir George Simpson represents the site of Fort Victoria "as peculiarly eligible for a depot in every respect, except the possible scarcity of water in very dry seasons." It was hoped to overcome that objection, however, by sinking a well to supply the immediate wants of the post. It was also pointed out in this connection that abundance of water could always be obtained from a never-failing stream about a mile and a half from the establishment. The Governor adds, the country and climate are described as remarkably fine, the harbour excellent and "the means of living abundant, say fish, venison, domestic cattle and agricultural produce." The Governor then ventures the prophecy that, the harbour being easy of access at all times, "Fort Victoria will in all probability become available as a port of refuge and refreshment for any vessels frequenting this sea." It was also pointed out that the natives were not so numerous or so formidable as the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were led to believe,

being "perfectly peaceable and well disposed." In one respect, however, the natives did not favourably impress Governor Simpson;—"Judging from the Quantity of Furs brought in," he says, "it does not appear that they are very active, either as Traders or Hunters, or that their Country is rich in that Way." In a later despatch (June 18, 1846) Sir George Simpson remarks that "Fort Victoria promises to take a very important Place, and is decidedly better adapted, as regards Situation, to be the great depot for the country, than any other of our establishments on the coast." The Governor is emphatic upon this point, stating that the port is "easy of Access at all Seasons, and so far distant from the disorderly Population of Columbia that we have little Cause for apprehension from that quarter."

While the location of Fort Victoria is under consideration, and especially as Sir George Simpson, Dr. McLoughlin and James Douglas were so well pleased with their choice, it is interesting to recall that Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour in their report upon their famous tour of Oregon take exception to the site. "The position," they state, "has been chosen solely for its agricultural advantages, and is ill adapted either as a place of refuge for shipping, or as a position of defence." They were more impressed with the fine harbour of Esquimalt, or "Squinal" as they termed it, which afforded "anchorage and protection for ships of any tonnage."

The early operations of the fort builders of the west are too often veiled in obscurity. And in this case unhappily the journals which were kept so religiously day by day, year in, year out, are but in a few fortunate cases, available to the modern historian, who has therefore to rely upon odd letters and fragmentary records for information concerning that formative era. No materials are more worthy of preservation than these frail memorials of a bygone day and generation; and none perhaps have been treated with less respect. Some day the great company, which did so much to preserve this territory for the Empire, will open its secret archives to the student of western affairs. The journals of the different posts were generally forwarded to headquarters and there many of them are doubtless immured. It is otherwise greatly to be feared that many records which would throw light upon men and events of early days have been lost through careless ignorance. Now and again, however, letters and diaries have found their way into safe repositories, where



WHARF STREET, 1867



FORT STREET





they may yet be seen by those interested in the matters of which they treat.

In the blurred pages of these old letters and diaries one may catch a glimpse of the furtrader at work and in so doing gain some idea of the strange vicissitudes and stirring episodes of his career in the days when the vast territory, stretching from the western confines of Rupert's Land to the Pacific Ocean, was held by the Hudson's Bay Company under the license of 1821, which in 1838 was extended for a further period of twenty-one years. For instance, the lack of available contemporaneous records relating to the founding of Victoria is particularly noticeable, yet a few odd documents have escaped the ravages of time. Of these by far the most important is the all too brief note book of the founder himself—James Douglas—a name fundamentally and forever associated with the early history of British Columbia.

From the few pages of rough pencilled notes, written by James Douglas while building the fort on Camosun Inlet, it is learned that the expedition, consisting of some fifteen men, left Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River on the first of March, 1843. The party proceeded by way of the Cowlitz River and arrived at Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound on the ninth of the same month. At ten o'clock, on the morning of the thirteenth, Douglas embarked on the steamer *Beaver*, anchoring at dusk a few miles south of Port Townsend. On the following day the *Beaver* ran into Captain Vancouver's port of New Dungeness, where Douglas landed to inspect the place. He visited a large village of Clallam Indians, from whom he purchased an acceptable supply of fresh fish. The Indians cultivated small gardens on the plain adjoining the village in which, he tells us, they grew "very fine potatoes." The *Beaver* thence proceeded to Camosun, anchoring off Shoal Point at about four o'clock in the afternoon. Douglas lost no time in setting about the work in hand, as is shown by the entry in his journal of March 15th, which reads: "Went out this morning with a boat and examined the wood of the north shore of the harbour; it is not good, being generally short, crooked and almost unserviceable. On the south shore the wood is of a better quality, and I think we will have no difficulty in getting enough for our purpose. Small wood for picketing is scarce, particularly cedar, which answers better than any other kind for that purpose from its

lightness and greater durability under ground. We will probably have to bring such as we require from a distance."

In order to avoid the transporting of supplies, it was always the policy of the company to make the different posts self-supporting. It was therefore one of the first and chief duties of Douglas to find out what were the resources of the country in this respect. The Indians informed him that herring and salmon were taken in great abundance along the coast and in the harbour. The salmon, they said, ascended the Straits in August and continued to run until September; but they yielded large catches until well on in September, when the great run was over. One variety, however, called by Douglas the "bad" salmon, was taken until November, and an "excellent" salmon, evidently the spring salmon, was taken by trolling until the middle of February. Douglas remarks that the salmon could be bought at Cape Flattery for two leaves of tobacco each, while at Camosun the price was two charges of ammunition. He naturally considered information respecting the food supply of the new post a very important matter, and he gives a rather minute description of the fish, including their measurement, colour and weight. He did not even forget to count their teeth in the upper and lower jaw. Douglas summarizes his own observations and the reports of the Indians as follows:

"Salmon	All winter	Quayt chin	Enter Camosack.
	June	Suk kuy	Do not enter Camosack.
	June	Hun nún	Do not enter Camosack.
	June	cKud-jucks	Enter Camosack in greatest numbers.
	June	Quaa'l ough	Enter Camosack in greatest numbers."

Trout were taken all winter by the Indians with weir and basket, and the pilcherd and herring came in in April and were also caught in Camosun harbour.

Douglas was undecided, at first, where to build, as there were several positions almost equally eligible. "I am at a loss," he records in his journal, "where to place the Fort, as there are two positions possessing advantages of nearly equal importance, though of different kinds. No. 1 has a good view of the harbour, is upon clear

ground and only 50 yds. from the beach, on the other hand vessels drawing 14 feet cannot come within 130 feet of the shore. We will therefore either have to boat cargo off and on at a great destruction of boats, and considerable loss of time or be put to the expense of forming a jetty at a great amount of labour. No. 2, on the other hand, will allow of vessels lying with their sides grazing the rocks, which form a natural wharf, whereon cargo may be conveniently landed from the ship's yard, and in that respect would be exceedingly advantageous. But, on the other hand, an intervening point intercepts the view so that the mouth of the Port cannot be seen from it, an objection of much weight in the case of vessels entering and leaving Port. Another disadvantage is that the shore is there covered by thick woods to the breadth of 200 yards, so that we must either place the Fort at that distance from the landing place, or clear away the thickets, which would detain us very much in our building operations." Douglas concludes his observations: "I will think more on this subject before determining the point."

Under date of Thursday, March 16th (1843), Douglas records, in the careful manner of the furtrader, that the weather was clear and warm—the gooseberry bushes growing in the woods were already beginning to bud. Six of the men were told off to dig a well and six others to square timber. On this day he addressed the Indians and informed them of his intention of building a fort in their territory. That intimation appeared to give them great satisfaction, as they immediately offered to help to procure pickets for the stockade. The offer was gladly accepted by Douglas, who promised to pay the labourers a two-and-a-half-point blanket for every forty pickets, each twenty-two feet by thirty-six inches in circumference. In order that the work might be carried on as rapidly as possible, Douglas lent his native allies three large axes, half a dozen square-headed and ten half-round headed ones. "To be returned hereafter," added the careful Scotsman, "when they have finished the job."

The entry in the diary of Friday, March 17th, gains additional interest because it records a phenomenon which startled the little party. "Saw a luminous streak," says Douglas, "in the heavens this evening which lasted from dusk until nine o'clock, when the moon rose and obscured it. Its highest altitude was at Betelgeux in Orion, due south from the position we occupied at the time of its appearance, and it extended from thence in a continuous line to the south-

west point of the horizon, forming an arc of about 90 degrees." Douglas could not account for this phenomenon, but suggests that it was produced by the reflection of the waters in the Strait of Juan de Fuca; but, he adds: "It was difficult to account for its existence even on any such principle." The sign in the heavens appeared for five consecutive nights. Bancroft, in recording the incident, seems equally at a loss to account for the phenomenon. If that author, who never lost an opportunity to sneer at the men who laid the foundations of British Columbia, had but taken the trouble to examine the astronomical records of that period he would have found that the "luminous streak" was the great comet of 1843, which was visible from the Northwest Coast on the 27th of February and for seven weeks afterwards. This comet was the brightest of the century up to that time and one of the largest ever observed. Its tail was said to be one hundred and sixty millions of miles in length. In the records of the time it is described as "sublime and beautiful." "Few of its kind," one authority remarks, "have been so splendid and imposing."

It should be mentioned that the expedition was accompanied by the zealous Roman Catholic missionary, J. B. Z. Bolduc, who claims to have been the first priest to set foot on Vancouver Island. No doubt that claim was advanced in ignorance, for it was unlikely that the worthy missionary had ever heard of the priests who accompanied the Spanish expedition to Nootka half a century before. Father Bolduc afterwards wrote an account of his work in the Oregon Territory, in which he alludes to his visit to Victoria. His efforts were successful, if judged by the number of baptisms; but it is scarcely likely that the natives who flocked to his ministrations realized their import. It is on record, however, that they extended to the missionary a hospitable welcome. On Sunday, March 19th. Father Bolduc celebrated mass in an improvised chapel. A boat's awning made the ceiling and branches of fir trees the walls. Father Bolduc then transferred his attention to Whidbey Island, where he pitched his tent beside the cross planted there by Blanchet in 1840. "Before the sun went down," writes Bancroft, "he had shaken hands with a file of savages numbering with those so favoured on the following day over one thousand." The natives, to show their gratitude, built a log church, roofed with cedar bark, and tapestried with rush mats. On the 3d of April the good missionary left for Nisqually, naively

remarking, so writes the author already quoted, that although the heathen had gladly received the word, he was not sure that they fully comprehended it; for when he attempted to reform their morals they straightway relapsed into indifference.

The journal of Douglas breaks off suddenly on Tuesday, the 21st of March. Presumably he continued his voyage northward in the *Beaver* to dismantle Fort Durham at Taku Inlet and Fort McLoughlin on Millbank Sound, in accordance with instructions to that effect. Sir George Simpson had decided that the trade of the territories which had been supplied by these posts was in future to be conducted by the steamer *Beaver*. The men and supplies at Taku were shipped on board the vessel, which then shaped her course for Fort Simpson, where Mr. Roderick Finlayson embarked and another officer took his place. Leaving Fort Simpson, Douglas called at Fort McLoughlin, where, as at Taku Inlet, the men, goods and stores were shipped, after which the *Beaver* sailed for Camosun, arriving there on the 1st of June (1843).

Turning to the late Roderick Finlayson's manuscript, entitled "History of Vancouver Island and the Northwest Coast," it is found that the men and stores from the two abandoned forts were duly landed at Camosun on the date aforesaid, where a few log huts were erected for their accommodation. A large number of natives had encamped on the scene and, as all of them were armed, their good intentions were open to suspicion. It was noticed that no women or children were in the encampment, a fact which aroused further uneasiness. The combined force stationed at Camosun now numbered fifty armed men, far too strong a body for the natives to attack with impunity, so they contented themselves with annoying the party by picking and stealing whatever they could lay hands upon. Mr. Ross, the officer, who had been in charge of Fort McLoughlin, was placed in command of the party and of the fort, with Mr. Finlayson as his lieutenant. As showing the varied accomplishments of Douglas, it is worthy of notice that, in addition to his other duties he assumed, in connection with the dismantling of these forts and the building of Camosun, the duties ordinarily performed by trained auditors or inspectors.

Three months after the arrival of the northern party at Camosun the fort was ready for occupation. The name Camosun, it may be mentioned, according to Mr. Roderick Finlayson, signifies, in the

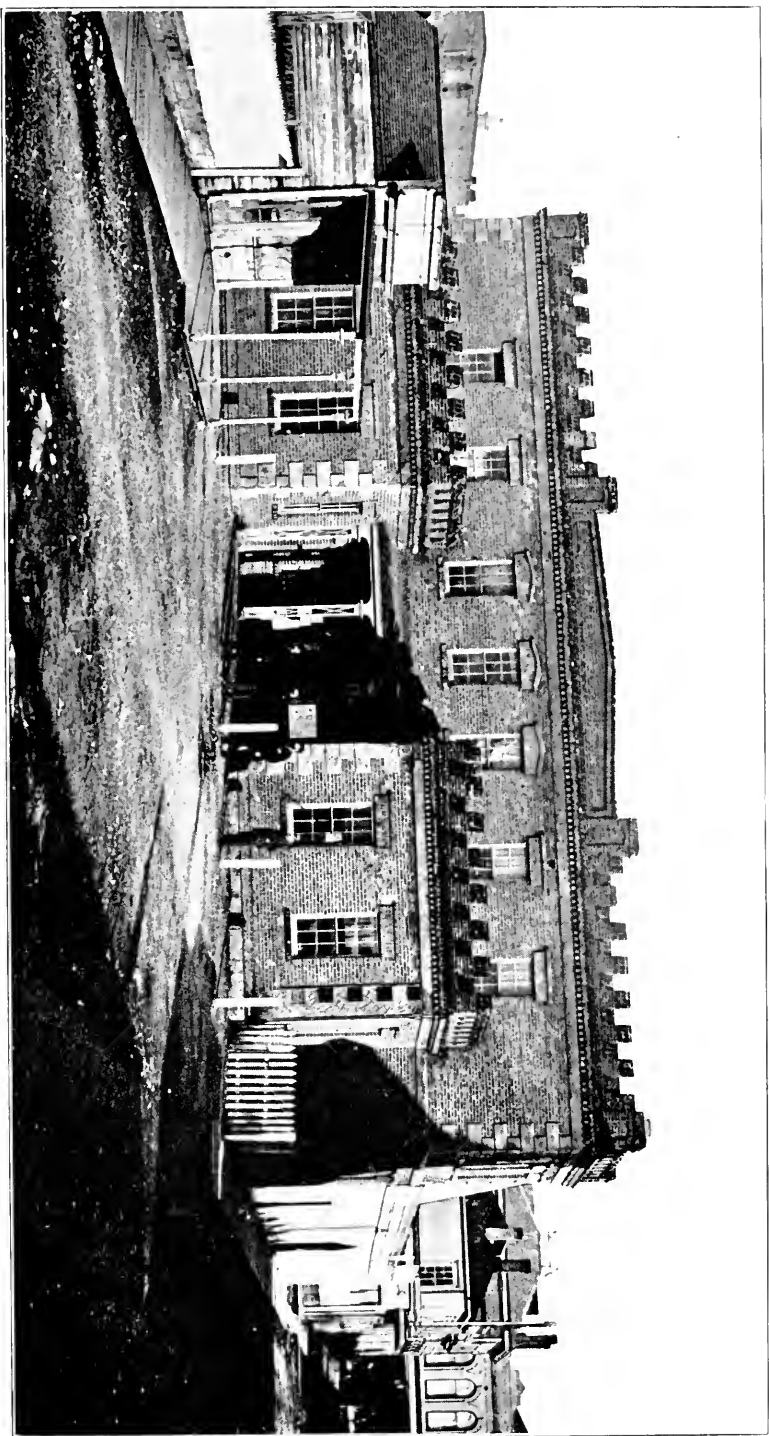
local Indian dialect, the rush of the waters, which, if so, is obviously descriptive of the beautiful and interesting spot, well known to sight-seers of the present day as "The Gorge"—a natural conservation of tidal water-power which for the first time was brought conspicuously into notice by the original Douglas report, recently cited, and described in its primitive simplicity as "the narrows" of the "Canal of Camosack." On the other hand, Paul Kane, author of "The Wanderings of an Artist in North America," suggests that the place takes its name from the plant camass, an edible root which grows in abundance in the locality.

The fort comprised an enclosure of one hundred yards square, surrounded by a stockade erected in the usual manner, with bastions at the angles mounted with cannon. Within the stockade were store houses, offices and men's quarters of convenient form and size, and this work being completed and the party placed in a position to defend themselves from attack, James Douglas again sailed for the north, after having first brought over from the plains of Nisqually a shipment of horses and wild "Spanish cattle," in taming which it appears, no little difficulty was experienced, then and afterwards.

In the spring of 1844, Mr. Ross died and Mr. Finlayson assumed command of the post. Mr. Finlayson at once despatched an express, by way of Nisqually, to Fort Vancouver to announce the sad news. Upon receipt of this intelligence the authorities at headquarters immediately authorized him to continue in charge, promising at the same time to send another officer to assist in carrying on the operations at Vancouver Island. Even at this early date the new post had become one of considerable importance.

The negotiations respecting the Oregon Boundary, dropped in 1842, had now, in 1844, been reopened, and there seemed some prospect that the dispute was in a fair way of settlement. Hence, no doubt, the anxiety of the authorities at Fort Vancouver to enlarge the establishment at Camosun. In the event of the line following the 49th parallel, that post would necessarily take the place heretofore held by Fort Vancouver as the capital of the Western Department.

The daily routine of the furtrader's life is rarely one of romance; too often is it a sordid round of trivial duties; nevertheless there are times when passing incidents assume an aspect of absorbing interest. The furtrader spent his days in the wilderness, far from his fellow-men and civilization. From his youth up he was inured to hardship



THE PRISON, VICTORIA

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and danger. In the strange scenes in which his lot was cast he had ever to be prepared for emergencies, and ready at a moment's notice to counter the wiles of the savages upon whose good graces the success of his efforts depended. In this respect the lot of Roderick Finlayson, the second commander of Fort Victoria, in nowise differed from that of other officers in the far west. Thus, shortly after his promotion, he was brought face to face with the native, who was not at that time prepared either to submit to the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company, or to respect its belongings. The incident to which allusion is here made amply illustrates the perils encountered by the founders of Victoria and is typical of the age to which it belongs. It appears that the Indians could not resist the temptation of the company's cattle, which grazed in the woods and meadows about the fort. Finlayson awoke one morning to find, to his chagrin, that some of the best working oxen and horses had been killed and eaten by his native allies. He immediately demanded that the perpetrators of the outrage should be delivered up to justice, or that they should at least indemnify the company for the loss. The Indians, however, refused point blank to do either the one or the other, whereupon the energetic commander promptly suspended the trade and bluntly declared that he would have no further dealings with them until the matter was settled. This declaration availed nothing; in fact, it only had the effect of provoking the enmity of the chiefs, who forthwith sounded the tocsin of war and called the neighbouring tribes to their assistance.

Upon receipt of intelligence of this gathering of the tribes Finlayson immediately armed his men and set watches, night and day, to prevent further surprises. Meanwhile, he endeavoured by negotiation to settle the dispute peaceably; but the Indians were obdurate and exhibited every sign of hostility. Quite without warning they opened fire upon the fort, riddling the stockades and the roofs of the houses with their musket balls. This so exasperated the company's men that it was with the greatest difficulty they could be restrained from returning the fire. After this one-sided battle had waged for half an hour, Finlayson called a parley and informed the chief that whilst he was fully prepared to carry on war, unprovoked as it was on his part, yet he did not wish to destroy life without affording the natives one more chance of making the restitution due. A conference ensued; and while it was in progress, the commander adopted

a ruse which, as the sequel shows, was successful in averting a catastrophe. The Indian interpreter was instructed to leave the fort, making it appear as though he had escaped, but really in order to clear one of the Indian houses of its inmates; for Finlayson had decided to blow the lodge to pieces with a cannon-shot from one of the bastions. Having accomplished his object, the interpreter returned by a back entrance. Whereupon, the Indians still remaining obdurate and showing no signs of coming to terms, a nine-pounder carronade loaded with grape shot was fired at the lodge with startling effect, completely demolishing the structure, the dry cedar boards of which were sent flying in fragments in all directions. "After this," says the resourceful Finlayson, "there was an immense howling among them from which I supposed a number were killed. But my plan, I was happy to find, had the desired effect."

The astonished Indians, who had never seen the effect of grape shot before were completely demoralized and sent a deputation of chiefs, to the fort, two of whom were afforded permission to enter, which, however, they declined to do until two of the company's men had been sent as hostages for their safety to the Indian encampment. Finlayson then explained to the chiefs that he had it in his power to destroy all their houses and to kill as many of them as he pleased, but that he did not desire or intend to adopt such a course; it was, he added, by good fortune alone that no one had so far been injured. He repeated his demand that the offenders should be punished, or that payment should be made for the animals stolen. Finlayson's narrative goes on to say that the Indians, finally elected to reimburse the company and before the evening drew in, furs to the full value of the animals were delivered at the gate. They also promised never to molest the company's cattle in the future. Then, says the victor, after a pipe of peace, "we parted good friends and trade was resumed as formerly." For the time being the promise of the tribe was duly observed and no more animals were killed; but not many years elapsed before one of the shepherds was murdered in cold blood—but that story belongs at a later date.

The night apparently brought council to the chiefs, since the following day they displayed a sudden access of diplomatic, albeit belated friendliness, expressing a thoughtful and tentative curiosity, with an ardent desire to see the effect of the big guns under safer and less sultry conditions. Their primitive subtlety was promptly

met with an equivalent on the part of Finlayson, by whom they were forthwith directed to anchor an old canoe in the harbour as a target, an order with which they readily complied—one of the cannon was then loaded with ball trained upon this mark and fired. The missile passing through the little boat, ricocheted over the harbour and fell into the woods beyond. The wonderful news of the devastating power of the great guns of the white men spread like wildfire, far and wide, and the effect produced upon the native intelligence of the island was of a distinctly salutary and restraining nature; so much so that the Indians thereafter evinced great respect for the white men and their ways.

The next difficulty arose when a band of Indians, from Whidbey Island, who had left the fort with the goods they had obtained in trade, were waylaid and robbed by the Songhees before they could reach their canoes, which were left within a short distance of Camosun. The victims came hurrying back to the fort, where they were received with every kindness. Finlayson sent at once for the chief of the tribe responsible for the robbery, and demanded that every article should be restored within one day, failing which trade would be stopped and the Whidbey Indians kept at the fort, at the expense of the Songhees, until their property was returned. In this manner Finlayson declared and illustrated the time-honoured policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, namely, that the monopoly undertook to protect all Indians within its gates, no matter to what tribe or what place they might belong; the company had nothing whatever to do with tribal or individual quarrels or disputes, but dealt out even-handed justice impartially to all.

"Seeing I was determined to assert my point," writes Finlayson apropos of the stolen goods, "the property was restored in full, after which I sent those foreign traders away under convoy of four of our men."

So this affair also was settled without bloodshed and again the white man and the Indian smoked the pipe of peace. As a matter of fact Finlayson's action in this affair was a master stroke of policy. It served to secure the trade and earned the good will of all the neighbouring tribes—even of those on the opposite side of the Strait,—who afterwards traded regularly at Camosun.

After this combined display of force and diplomacy, which convinced the Indians that the white men were both able and determined

to hold their own, all hands at the fort turned to the work of clearing land, in which operation the Indians were gradually induced to join for regular pay in goods. By the end of 1847 two large dairies, each with seventy milch cows, were in full operation, and it is worthy of notice that some of Finlayson's erstwhile "wild Indians" now acted as assistant dairy men.

The field just outside the stockade, whereon the business section of Victoria stands today, was cleared in 1847 and no less than three hundred acres were placed under cultivation. The land was very rich and yielded as much as forty bushels of wheat to the acre. The butter and most of the produce raised at Victoria was disposed of to the Russians at Sitka.

For the sake of local enlightenment, it is to be noted that, in the year 1845, the name of the place was changed from Fort Camosun to Fort Albert, in honour of the late Prince Consort. The new name, however, did not long survive, for, in the following year, in accordance with instructions from England to that effect, it was again changed to that of Victoria. It is recorded that on each occasion the baptism was performed with the usual ceremony and royal salutes.

In 1845 Fort Victoria became a depot for the Northern Coast and the company's outward bound ships from England, called there to land the supplies needed for the coast trade, after which they passed on to the Columbia River with the remainder of their cargoes. Manifestly Fort Victoria was rapidly rising in importance.

The annals of the year 1846, memorable because it marked the end of the long diplomatic struggle between Great Britain and the United States over the Oregon Territory, record the significant fact that six British line-of-battle ships anchored at Esquimalt. Their visit reveals the strained relations existing at the time between the two powers and the imminence of war. The Oregon treaty was concluded in June and ratified in July of the same year, which obviated all necessity for any naval demonstrations. Their presence at Esquimalt, however, brought grist to the company's mill. Finlayson records that the ships were provided with cattle, flour and vegetables from the farms at Victoria, so successful had become the agricultural operations in this quarter.

When Sir George Simpson authorized the establishment of Fort Camosun, he was under the impression that the post would be largely used as a place of refreshment by the whaling fleet of the North

Pacific; but the Governor's expectations of a lucrative trade with the whalers were not destined to be realized. It is true that from time to time whalers called there, but Victoria could hardly offer the same attractions as California and the Sandwich Islands in this respect, and consequently San Francisco, Honolulu, and other stations in the mid-Pacific archipelago monopolized the trade. Nor does it appear that Victoria ever became a regular refitting place for the ships engaged in the whale fishery of the Northwest Coast, although Finlayson relates that a few such vessels called here in 1845, and continued to do so for some years.

In this year the first of the company's vessels to enter the port of Camosun direct from England was the *Vancouver*. The Company had in its employ three vessels—the *Vancouver*, the *Cowlitz*, and the *Columbia*—which plied between London and the Northwest Coast, making yearly voyages with twelve months' supplies for the trading posts.

From time to time, for the officers and men stationed at Victoria, the monotony of life was relieved by visits from British warships, and now and again a traveller of repute would drop in to pay his respects to the officers in charge. One of the earliest visitors thus mentioned, was Captain Gordon, of H. M. S. *America*, a brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, the then Prime Minister of Great Britain. He arrived at Victoria in the summer of 1845 and was welcomed and entertained by Mr. Finlayson with the usual hospitality. Captain Gordon was sent out by the British Government to report upon the Oregon territory. Mr. Finlayson spent three days on board the *America* and gave the commander the advantage of all that he knew about the country. During his stay on board Captain Park, of the *Marines*, and Lieutenant Peel (the son of the great statesman, Sir Robert Peel), were sent to the *Columbia* to reconnoitre. Captain Gordon then paid a return visit to Finlayson, with whom he remained several days. Finlayson had some of his best horses brought in for the use of his guests and paid them every possible attention. Apparently, however, the peaceful beauty of the surrounding country with its great natural parks of wood and meadow, set in the silver waters of the Straits, failed to arouse the admiration of the British commander. It stands on record that Finlayson took Gordon, whose favourite sport was deer stalking, to Mount Douglas, on the first of June, when the land was at its loveliest. The furtrader declares

in his memoirs that the day was fine and the country carpeted with beautiful wild flowers. Presently deer were seen; but before the horsemen could get within range they disappeared in an impenetrable thicket. Thereupon Captain Gordon expressed great disappointment and seemed anything but happy. Telling the story, Finlayson says that he expressed his regret that the deer had made their escape, and then in a burst of enthusiasm exclaimed "how beautiful the country looks." "Finlayson," replied Gordon, "I would not give the most barren hill in the Highlands of Scotland for all I see around me."

In one respect, at least, the visit of Captain Gordon is historic, for it gave rise to the celebrated fiction that Oregon was lost to Great Britain because the salmon of the Columbia River would not rise to the fly. That story (already recounted in Finlayson's own words) has been repeated so often that it has gained a certain credence amongst those who are gullible enough to believe such things without inquiring as to their truth or probability. It seems that, breakfasting one day at Fort Victoria, Captain Gordon, to his great surprise, found fresh salmon on the table.\* He immediately asked where it came from and was told that the waters of the Strait abounded with salmon. The Captain's sporting instincts were aroused. He called for tackle-rod, line and fly—but was told that the fish were taken with the troll or net—that they would not rise to the fly. However, after breakfast, Gordon and Finlayson went trolling in the bay and soon caught four fine salmon. Captain Gordon, however, was not to be appeased, and he gave vent to his disgust by saying that it was an "awful manner" in which to catch so lordly a fish. Hence the time honoured fable, too often accepted as fact—alike by the wise and foolish—that Great Britain lost Oregon because, forsooth, the salmon of that country did not know enough to take the fly.

After remaining for a week or ten days, Captain Gordon and his officers returned to Port Discovery, where H. M. S. *America* lay at anchor. Meanwhile, Captain Park and Lieutenant Peel had returned from the Columbia River. Their report, says Finlayson, was not very encouraging—at least such was the inference at the time. Mr. Finlayson closes his reference to Captain Gordon with the humorous remark that James Douglas was summoned from

Fort Vancouver to satisfy the official curiosity of "the demon of war."

But, of all the early visitors to the fort, none aroused more curiosity or attracted greater attention than certain wild looking men who landed from a strange vessel early in 1849 to purchase supplies. Finlayson at first mistook them for pirates and ordered his people to arms, but was soon made aware of his mistake. The California miners—for such they were—had, moreover, leather bags, full of gold nuggets which they offered in exchange for merchandise. The worthy furtrader, who had never before seen native gold hesitated whether to accept it or not. To satisfy his doubts, he asked the blacksmith to strike one of the nuggets on the anvil, as he had heard pure gold was malleable. A few blows of the hammer flattened the nugget as thin as a wafer. Finlayson then offered to trade the gold at eleven dollars an ounce. The offer was readily accepted, whereat he was rather perturbed thinking that the strangers would not be willing to part with the precious metal for so little, if it were genuine. However, having given his word, trading was commenced, but Finlayson was not altogether at ease about the matter until he heard from Fort Vancouver that the nuggets were true gold and that the rate of exchange was *entirely satisfactory*. Other miners followed this pioneer band of traders, with the result that this year a large remittance of gold was sent to London in addition to the usual consignment of fur.

It is by no means an easy task at this late date to picture Fort Victoria as it was in the forties; yet with the aid of odd letters and reports, written at the time, one may see with the mind's eye that little establishment which played so large a part in the history of the West. Many a traveller enjoyed the hospitality of the fort, and more than one of these wayfarers records his impressions of the place. For instance Lieutenant Warre and Lieutenant Vavasour, the two British army officers, whose presence in Old Oregon gave rise to so much talk and conjecture, visited Fort Victoria in the course of their travels. Lieutenant Vavasour, in a despatch to Colonel Holloway, his superior officer, has this to say of the little post at the southern end of Vancouver Island:

"Fort Victoria is situated on the southern end of Vancouver's Island, in the small harbour of Cammusan, the entrance to which is rather intricate. The fort is a square inclosure of 100 yards, sur-

rounded by cedar pickets, 20 feet in height, having two octagonal bastions, containing each six 6-pounder iron guns at the north-east and south-west angles; the buildings are made of squared timber, eight in number, forming three sides of an oblong. This fort has lately been established; it is badly situated with regard to water and position, which latter has been chosen for its agricultural advantages only.

"About three miles distant, and nearly connected by a small inlet, is the Squimal Harbour, which is very commodious, and accessible at all times, offering a much better position, and having also the advantage of a supply of water in the vicinity.

"This is the best built of the Company's forts; it requires loop-holing, and a platform or gallery, to enable men to fire over the pickets; a ditch might be cut around it, but the rock appears on the surface in many places."

Captain Courtenay in command of H. M. S. *Constance* brought his ship to anchor in Esquimalt harbour in the summer of 1848. He was instructed, like Captain Gordon before him, to gather particulars relating to the Hudson's Bay Company's territories. His remarks on Vancouver Island and its infant colony are most interesting, as the following excerpt therefrom shows:

"The Hudson's Bay Company's Settlement of Fort Victoria is only three miles from Esquimalt, so that we got our daily supplies of Beef without much trouble. The Company have 300 acres under tillage there, & a dairy farm of 80 Cows, together with numerous other cattle & 24 brood Mares, the whole under the superintendence of a Civil but hard Scot, named Finlaison, who has about 30 people of all descriptions under him. They are likewise building a Saw Mill at the head of Port Esquimalt which will be ready for work at the end of the year.

"Altogether the Company's affairs appear to be exceedingly well and particularly economically managed; & my opinion is the sooner they give up their Settlement in Oregon & retire within our frontier, the sooner an end will be put to their bickerings with the Americans, but I fear that the large amount of gain annually flowing into their coffers, from being the chief Merchants and Purveyors there, will cause them to remain as long as they can, and to cry Wolf, until, like the Shepherd's Boy in the Fable, they are not listened to."



Amongst the many descriptive documents which have been cited with the object of determining and conveying, by the mouth of many witnesses, a word picture, as exact as may be of the true position on Vancouver Island in the initial stages of the early days, by no means the least interesting is that of James Deans, whose record covers a period of Victoria's history dating from his arrival there on the 16th of January, 1853.

Deans was one of two hundred settlers who came out under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company in their barque, the *Norman Morrison*, under terms of agreement to work for the Company for the first five years. On landing he was employed, first in the store and afterwards divided the balance of his term between the Craigflower farm and the Lake Hill sheep station.

Describing Victoria of that day, he mentions that, upon his arrival, what is now Victoria was nothing but a Hudson's Bay Fort, with two bastions, one at the north and one at the south corner. The bastions were of huge logs, some thirty feet in height and were connected by palisades about twenty feet high. Within were the stores, numbered one to five, and a blacksmith's shop, besides dining hall, cookhouse and chapel. Six or eight guns were mounted on each bastion and, as a protection against the Indians, the place might be considered as pretty nearly impregnable. Regular watch was kept day and night.

At another point the narrative touches with more detail upon the settlement, which is now the City of Victoria. Dean's interesting notes show that the site of the fort was what he graphically describes as "an oak opening," the ground to the extent of an acre was cleared and enclosed by a palisade, forming a square, on the north and south corners of which was a tower containing six or eight pieces of ordnance each—the north one served as a prison, the south one for firing salutes whenever the Governor visited the place officially. In the centre of the east and west sides were main gateways, each had a little door, to let the people out or in after hours. On the right, entering by the front, or south gate, was a cottage in which was the postoffice; it was kept by an officer of the Company, a Captain Sangster. Next in order was the smithy. Next and first on the south side, was a large store house, in which fish oil and other commodities were stowed away. Next came the carpenter's shop. Close to this was a large room provided with bunks, for the Com-

pany's men to sleep in. Next and last on that side, was a large building, a sort of barrack, for new arrivals. Between this corner and the east gate was the chapel and chaplain's house. On the other side of the gate was a large building which served as a dining room for the officers; adjoining this was the cookhouse and pantry. On the fourth side was a double row of buildings, for storing furs, previous to shipment to England, and goods, before taking their place in the trading store. Behind these stores was a fireproof building used as a magazine for storing gunpowder. On the lower corner was another cottage in which lived Mr. Finlayson with his family. He was then Chief Factor. On the other side, at the front or west gate, was the flag staff and belfry. The central part of the enclosure was open and always kept clear. Through this enclosure ran the main road, leading from the two gates. On one side of this road was a well in which a lamentable accident happened early in the gold rush of 1858, when an Indian, sent down to recover a lost kettle was crushed to death by the falling in of the masonry. The brief and simple description concludes with the following somewhat pathetic note: "Only one of all the old buildings now (1878) remain, which is the store known as number three. It is at present used as a theatre."

Two other accounts of early Victoria are worthy of a place even in the briefest annals of that period. They are especially interesting from the fact that they are written by able and observant men, both of them distinguished, the one as a naturalist and the other as an artist. Berthold Seemann and Paul Kane, the men referred to, visited Victoria in 1846 and 1847 respectively. Their memoirs contain charming and valuable descriptions of Victoria, the natives of Vancouver Island, and the Hudson's Bay Company's administration. Seemann was naturalist to the expedition which sailed in *H. M. S. Herald*, under the command of Captain Henry Kellett, C. B., during the years 1845-51, in the course of which no less than three cruises were made to the Arctic regions in search of the unfortunate Sir John Franklin. The *Herald* anchored off the harbour of Victoria in the evening of June 27, 1846, and Mr. Finlayson had again an opportunity to extend hospitality to British naval officers, a duty which, from all accounts, he was both ready and admirably fitted to perform.

The account which follows is taken from Seemann's graphic narrative, descriptive of the occasion. He says in part: "The Hudson's Bay Company selected Victoria from the excellent nature of the soil, and, anticipating the surrender of the Oregon territory to the United States, intended to make it their chief settlement on this coast. In walking from Ogden Point round to Fort Victoria, a distance of little more than a mile, we thought we had never seen a more beautiful country; it quite exceeded our expectation; and yet Vancouver's descriptions made us look for something beyond common scenery. It is a natural park; noble oaks and ferns are seen in the greatest luxuriance; thickest of the hazel and the willow, shrubberies of the poplar and the alder, are dotted about. One could hardly believe that this was not the work of art; more particularly when finding signs of cultivation in every direction—enclosed pasture-land, fields of wheat, potatoes and turnips. Civilization had encroached upon the beautiful domain, and the savage could no longer exist in the filth and indolence of mere animal life. The prospect is cheering, the change gladdening; for after making every allowance for the crimes of civilization, still man in a savage state exists in all his grossness, and in more than all his grossness. While had elapsed since the settlement was made, yet all the necessities uncivilized man, with all the intelligence, ingenuity, cunning, and skill of his class, seems in general to be uncleanly, to revel in filth.

"The fort of Victoria was founded in 1843, and stands on the east shore of the harbour, or rather creek, about a mile from the entrance. The approach is pretty by nature, though somewhat rude by art. The first place we came to was the dairy, an establishment of great importance to the fort, milk being their principal drink; the rules of the company in a great measure debarring the use of wine and spirits. The attendants are generally half-caste. We were astonished at all we saw. About 160 acres are cultivated with oats, wheat, potatoes, turnips, carrots, and other vegetables, and every day more land is converted into fields. Barely three years had elapsed since the settlement was made, yet all the necessities and most of the comforts of civilized life already existed in what was a wilderness. The company, when forming an establishment such as Victoria, provide the party with food for the first year, and necessary seed for the forthcoming season; after that time it is expected that the settlements will provide completely for their future

subsistence. Of course the settlers have many facilities—the fertility of a virgin soil, an abundant supply of the best seed, and that great inducement to industry, the desire of independence, and the assurance, almost amounting to certainty, that success will attend their endeavours.”

The learned author then gives a spirited though brief description of the establishment, of which he observes: “The fort itself is a square enclosure, stockaded with poles about twenty feet high and eight or ten inches in diameter, placed close together, and secured with a cross piece of nearly equal size. At the transverse corners of the square there are strong octagonal towers, mounted with four nine-pounder guns, flanking each side, so that an attack by savages would be out of the question, and, if defended with spirit, a disciplined force without artillery would find considerable difficulty in forcing the defences. The square is about 120 yards; but an increase, which will nearly double its length from north to south, is contemplated. The building is even now, though plain to a fault, imposing from its mass or extent, while the bastions or towers diminish the tameness which its regular outline would otherwise produce. The interior is occupied by the officers’ houses,—or apartments, they should rather be called,—stores, and a trading house, in which smaller bargains are concluded, and tools, agricultural implements, blankets, shawls, beads, and all the multifarious products of Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, are offered at exorbitant prices. There being no competition, the company has it all its own way; it does not profess to supply the public; indeed, although it does not object to sell to people situated as we were, yet the stores are for the trade in furs, to supply the native hunters with the goods which they most value, as also for the use of its own dependants, who, receiving little pay, are usually in debt to the company, and are therefore much in its power. In fact, the people employed are rarely those to whom returning home is an object; they have mostly been taken from poverty, and have at all events food and clothing. The work is hard, but with health and strength this is a blessing rather than otherwise.”

Seemann continues his highly entertaining and instructive narrative with an all too brief reference to the officer in charge of the post, who at all times worthily represented the great company. “Mr. Finlayson,” says the author, “the gentleman in charge of the

establishment, appears to be an intelligent man, who by perseverance and a uniform system of adhering to his word and offering stated prices in barter, never receding or offering less, seems to have succeeded in impressing the natives with a considerable degree of respect for himself and the fort. Only one brush has the company had with the Indians, but it ended in a day or two; the gates of the fort having been closed, a nine-pounder fired several times to show what could be done, and judicious and conciliatory advances made to the chief, the peaceable intercourse—from which sprang blankets, hatchets, knives, fish-hooks, and harpoons—was speedily re-established."

The naturalist concludes his description of Victoria and vicinity as follows: "On the opposite side of the harbour is a large native village; the distance across is only 400 yards, and canoes keep up a constant communication between it and the fort. Certain supplies to the chiefs keep them in good humour with their intruding visitors. Although all is not done that might be effected, yet some good must result even from this intercourse. The present generation will not change, but their descendants may do so, and improvement will be the consequence. The houses are dirty in the extreme, and the odour with which they are infested almost forbids close examination; but they are built with solidity, the climate rendering it necessary to guard against the cold,—and arranged with some degree of order in streets or lanes with passages running up between them. Several families occupy the same house—one large shed, little better than an open cow-house or stable in an indifferent inn, the compartments or walls hardly excluding the sight of one family from another. There are chests and boxes rudely made, in which blankets, furs, and smaller fishing gear are kept; indeed the natives seem to resemble their forefathers, as Captain Cook describes them, as much as it is possible for one set of men to resemble another."

On the 17th of June, 1845, a young Canadian artist left Toronto for the far west to wander from fort to fort and from tribe to tribe as fancy or the means of transportation dictated. He had no companions but his portfolio and colour-box, a gun and a stock of ammunition. Paul Kane, for such was his name, possessed, as he confesses, neither means nor influence, but nevertheless he started on his travels with a determined spirit and a light heart—a good equipment for the arduous undertaking he had projected, which was

no less than the painting of a series of pictures illustrative of the manners and customs of the Indian tribes and scenery of western North America, a subject in which he had felt a deep interest from his boyhood. The wandering artist, as he describes himself, was fortunate at the outset of his career to earn the good opinion and to procure the assistance of Sir George Simpson, the autocrat of all the Hudson's Bay Company's territories from Rupert's Land to the Pacific Ocean. With the passports issued by that officer, Paul Kane was armed for an invasion of the sacred precincts of the Company's western domain, and assured of a hospitable welcome by the officers.

What, it may be asked, has the historian of British Columbia to do with this young artist's travels? That, however, is a question easily answered. Paul Kane's notes as well as his paintings possess a peculiar interest for the curious, but also a real intrinsic value alike for the historian and the ethnologist of this particular part of British North America, since he visited many places, well-known and famous in local annals. Besides, his faithful and careful observations throw much light upon that transitional period, in which the peoples of two great neighbouring powers were adjusting themselves to the new order of things brought about by the clear definition of their respective spheres of influence. The artist wandered through the territory made historic by the rivalries of the Hudson's Bay Company, the North-West Company, and the X Y Company. His track lay through the vast region bordering on the great chain of American Lakes, the Red River Settlement, the valley of the Saskatchewan and its boundless prairies; thence across the Rocky Mountains, down the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver and on to Puget Sound and Vancouver Island.

Interesting as it is, this is neither the time nor the place to follow in detail the track of Paul Kane. Suffice it to say that, after many exciting adventures by flood and field he arrived at Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound. What follows is best related in his own words; for the artist's pen is no less facile than his brush. He is wrong, of course, in some particulars—for instance, he confuses the old name of Fort Victoria, Camosun, with that of Esquimalt; and then again his account of the origin of the clover which grew so luxuriantly at Victoria is obviously at fault; for Douglas in his report of 1842 remarks upon the rank growth of the plant in the

vicinity of Camosun. But much may be forgiven to one who has bequeathed to posterity the work entitled "Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America, from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again," which covered the years 1845, 1846, 1847 and 1848.

"I left Nasqually this morning," writes Paul Kane, under date of April 8, 1847, "with six Indians in a canoe, and continued paddling on, the whole day and the following night, as the tide seemed favourable, not stopping till 2 P. M., when we reached Fort Victoria on Vancouver's Island, having travelled ninety miles without stopping.

"Fort Victoria stands upon the banks of an inlet in the Island about seven miles long and a quarter of a mile wide, forming a safe and convenient harbour, deep enough for any sized vessel. Its Indian name is the Esquimelt, or, Place for gathering Camas, great quantities of that vegetable being found in the neighbourhood. On my arrival I was kindly welcomed by Mr. Finlayson, the gentleman in charge. He gave me a comfortable room, which I made my head-quarters during the two months I was occupied in sketching excursions amongst the Indians in the neighbourhood and along the surrounding coasts.

"The soil of this locality is good, and wheat is grown in considerable abundance. Clover grows plentifully, and is supposed to have sprung from accidental seeds which had fallen from the packages of goods brought from England; many of which are made up in hay.

"The interior of the Island has not been explored to any extent except by the Indians, who represent it as badly supplied with water in the summer, and the water obtained from a well dug at the fort was found to be too brackish for use. The appearance of the interior, when seen from the coast, is rocky and mountainous evidently volcanic; the trees are large, principally oak and pine. The timbers of a vessel of some magnitude were being got out. The establishment is very large, and must eventually become the great depot for the business of the company. They had ten white men and forty Indians engaged in building new stores and warehouses."

But the chief interest in Paul Kane's narrative centres upon his faithful portrayal of the life and characteristics of the natives, in

dealing with whom he displayed that keen observant attitude of mind which, throughout, enhances the value of his work. The following extract gives, in part, his fascinating account of the primitive peoples amongst whom he passed:

"On the opposite side of the harbour, facing the fort, stands a village of Clallums Indians. They boast of being able to turn out 500 warriors, armed chiefly with bows and arrows. The lodges are built of cedar like the Chinook lodges, but much larger, some of them being sixty or seventy feet long.

"The men wear no clothing in summer, and nothing but a blanket in winter, made either of dog's hair alone, or dog's hair and goose-down mixed, frayed cedar-bark, or wildgoose skin, like the Chinooks. They have a peculiar breed of small dogs with long hair of a brownish black and a clear white. These dogs are bred for clothing purposes. The hair is cut off with a knife and mixed with goosedown and a little white earth, with a view of curing the feathers. This is then beaten together with sticks, and twisted into threads by rubbing it down the thigh with the palm of the hand in the same way that a shoemaker forms his wax-end, after which it undergoes a second twisting on a distaff to increase its firmness. The cedar-bark is frayed and twisted into threads in a similar manner. These threads are then woven into blankets by a very simple loom of their own contrivance. A single thread is wound over rollers at the top and bottom of a square frame, so as to form a continuous woof through which an alternate thread is carried by the hand, and pressed closely together by a sort of wooden comb; by turning the rollers every part of the woof is brought within reach of the weaver; by this means a bag is formed, open at each end, which being cut down makes a square blanket. The women wear only an apron of twisted cedar-bark shreds, tied round the waist and hanging down in front only, almost to the knees. They however, use the blankets more than the men do, but certainly not from any feeling of delicacy.

"This tribe flatten the head, but their language varies very much from the Chinook; however, the same patois used on the Columbia is spoken by many of them, and I was thus enabled to communicate easily with them. I took a sketch of Chea-clach, their head chief, of whose inauguration I heard the following account from an eyewitness. On his father becoming too old to fulfil the duties of head chief, the son was called upon by the tribe to take his place, on which



occasion he left the mountains for the ostensible purpose of fasting and dreaming for thirty days and nights; these Indians, like all other tribes, placing great confidence in dreams, and believing that it is necessary to undergo a long fast whenever they are desirous of inducing one of any importance. At the end of the period assigned, the tribe prepared a great feast. After covering himself with a thick covering of grease and goosedown, he rushed into the midst of the village, seized a small dog, and began devouring it alive, this being a customary preliminary on such occasions. The tribe collected about him singing and dancing in the wildest manner, on which he approached those whom he most regarded and bit their bare shoulders or arms, which was considered by them as a high mark of distinction, more especially those from whom he took the piece clean out and swallowed it. Of the women he took no notice.

"I have seen many men on the North-west coast of the Pacific who bore frightful marks of what they regarded as an honourable distinction; nor is this the only way in which their persons become disfigured. I have myself seen a young girl bleeding most profusely from gashes inflicted by her own hand over her arms and bosom with a sharp flint, on the occasion of losing a near relative. After some time spent in singing and dancing, Chea-clach retired with his people to the feast prepared inside a large lodge, which consisted principally of whale's blubber, in their opinion the greatest of all delicacies, although they have salmon, cod, sturgeon, and other excellent fish in great abundance."

This valiant knight-errant of the brush and pen, imbued with the sporting proclivities of his race, then goes on to describe with a regard for detail worthy of a fisherman of the old school, the methods and proficiency of the natives in the piscatory art upon which they rely so extensively for their staple food. In this connection Paul Kane writes:

"All the tribes about here subsist almost entirely upon fish, which they obtain with so little trouble during all seasons of the year, that they are probably the laziest race of people in the world. Sturgeon are caught in considerable numbers, and here attain an enormous size, weighing from four to six hundredweight; this is done by means of a long pointed spear handle seventy to eighty feet in length, fitted into, but not actually fastened to, a barbed spearhead, to which is attached a line, with which they feel along the bottom of the river

where the sturgeon are found lying at the spawning season. Upon feeling the fish the barbed spear is driven in and the handle withdrawn. The fish is then gradually drawn in by the line, which being very long, allows the sturgeon to waste his great strength, so that he can with safety be taken into the canoe or towed ashore. Most of their fishing lines are formed of a long seaweed, which is often found 150 feet long, of equal thickness throughout the whole length, and about as thick as a black lead-pencil; while wet it is very strong. Their fish-hooks are made of pine roots, made something in the shape of our ordinary hooks, but attached differently to the line; the barb is made of bone.

"Clams are in great plenty, and are preyed on in great numbers by the crows, who seize them in their claws and fly up with them to some height, and then let them drop on the rocks, which of course smashes the shell to pieces. I have watched dozens of them at this singular employment. A small oyster of a fine flavour is found in the bays in great plenty. Seal, wild ducks and geese, are also in great numbers.

"The Indians are extremely fond of herring-roë, which they collect in the following manner:—Cedar branches are sunk to the bottom of the river in shallow places by placing upon them a few heavy stones, taking care not to cover the green foliage, as the fish prefer spawning on anything green. The branches are all covered by the next morning with the spawn, which is washed off into their waterproof baskets, to the bottom of which it sinks; it is then squeezed by the hand into small balls and dried, and is very palatable."

The versatile author here pauses to expatiate, in a vividly graphic manner, upon the savage customs of the native tribes of Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland regions. In the course of his remarks he describes the cruel system of slavery practiced by them. "Slavery," he says, "in its most cruel form exists among the Indians of the whole coast, from California to Behring's Straits, the stronger tribes making slaves of all the others they can conquer. In the interior, where there is but little warfare, slavery does not exist. On the coast a custom prevails which authorises the seizure and enslavement, unless ransomed by his friends, of every Indian met with at a distance from his tribe, although they may not be at war with each other. The master exercises the power of life and death over his

slaves, whom he sacrifices at pleasure in gratification of any superstitious or other whim of the moment."

In proof of his words, Paul Kane relates a personal experience, which affords a vivid insight into the inherent viciousness of the Camosun Indians: "One morning while I was sketching, I saw upon the rocks the dead body of a young woman, thrown out to the vultures and crows, whom I had seen a few days previously walking about in perfect health. Mr. Finlayson, the gentleman in charge of Fort Victoria, accompanied me to the lodge she belonged to, where we found an Indian woman, her mistress, who made light of her death, and was doubtless the cause of it. She told us that a slave had no right to burial, and became perfectly furious when Mr. Finlayson told her that the slave was far better than herself. "I," she exclaimed, "the daughter of a chief, no better than a dead slave!" and bridleing up with all the dignity she could assume, she stalked out, and next morning she had up her lodge and was gone. I was also told by an eye-witness, of a chief, who having erected a colossal idol of wood, sacrificed five slaves to it, barbarously murdering them at its base, and asking in a boasting manner who amongst them could afford to kill so many slaves."

It will be amply evident to the reader, in perusing the succeeding excerpts from Paul Kane's story, that he assuredly made the best of the opportunities which his brief visit to Vancouver Island afforded him; and, indeed, the graphic manner in which he pictures the native customs, their peculiar barbarity, their ceremonial dances, religious beliefs—or rather superstitions—their houses and the general entourage of the people, not forgetting the periodical potlach, leaves very little of the ground in this regard uncovered by his prolific pen.

"These Indians also flatten their heads, and are far more superstitious than any I have met with. They believe, for instance, that if they can procure the hair of an enemy and confine it with a frog in a hole, the head from which it came will suffer all the torments that the frog endures in its living grave. They are never seen to spit without carefully obliterating all traces of their saliva. This they do lest an enemy should find it, in which case they believe he would have the power of doing them some injury. They always spit on their blankets, if they happen to wear one at the time.

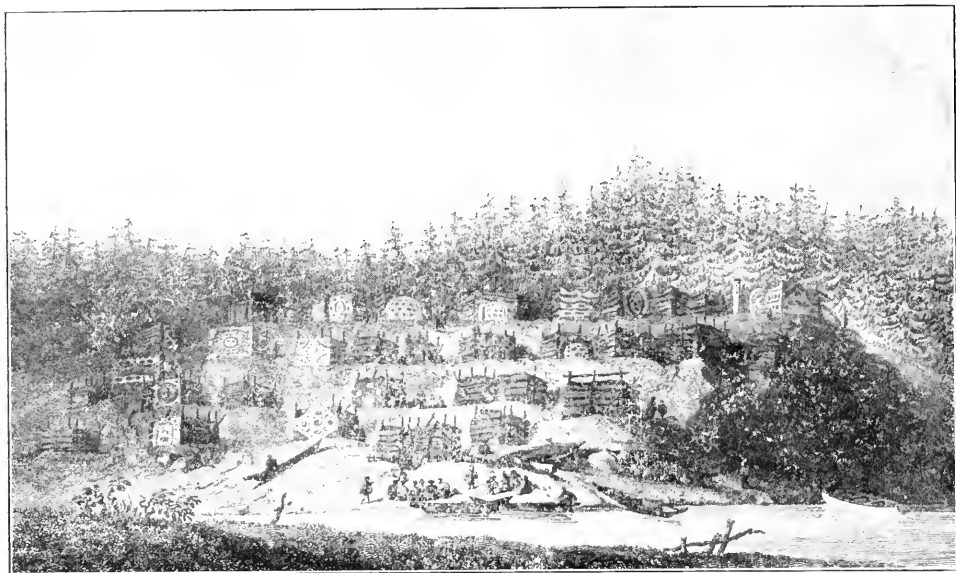
"I was indebted to the superstitious fears which they attached to my pictures for the safety and ease with which I mingled amongst them. One of them gave me a great deal of annoyance by continually following and watching me wherever I went, for the purpose of warning the other Indians against my sketching them, telling them that it would expose them to all sorts of ill luck. I repeatedly requested him to desist, but in vain. At last I bethought me of looking steadily at himself, paper and pencil in hand, as if in the act of taking his likeness; when he became greatly alarmed, and asked me what I was about. I replied, 'I am taking a sketch of you.' He earnestly begged of me to stop, and promised never to annoy me again.

"These Indians have a great dance, which is called 'The Medicine Mask Dance'; this is performed both before and after any important action of the tribe, such as fishing, gathering Camas, or going on a war party, either for the purpose of gaining the good will of the Great Spirit in their undertaking, or else in honour of him for the success which has attended them. Six or eight of the principal men of the tribe, generally medicine-men, adorn themselves with masks cut out of some soft light wood with feathers, highly painted and ornamented, with their eyes and mouth ingeniously made to open and shut. In their hands they hold carved rattles, which are shaken in time to a monotonous song or humming noise (for there are no words to it) which is sung by the whole company as they slowly dance round and round in a circle.

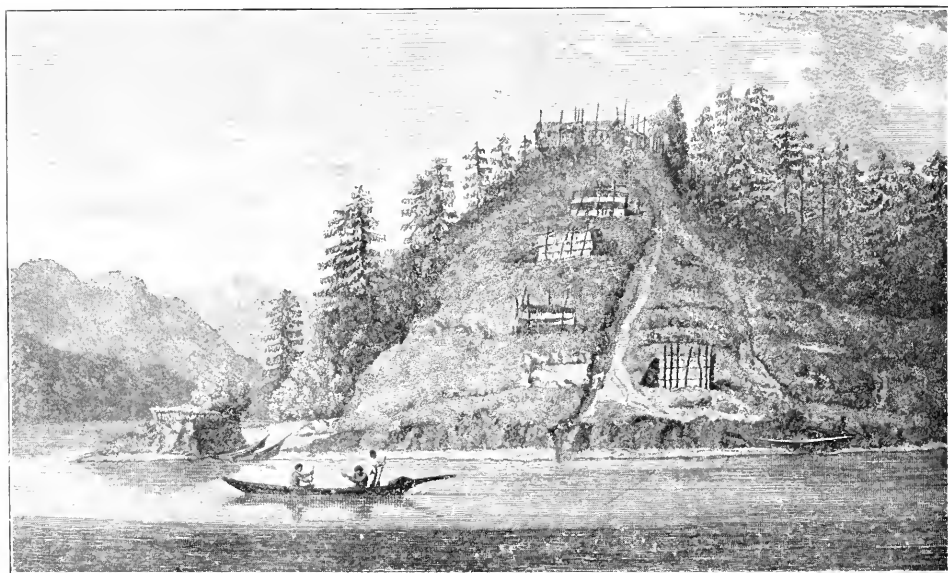
"Among the Clal-lums and other tribes inhabiting this region, I have never heard any traditions as to their former origin, although such traditions are common amongst those on the east side of the Rocky Mountains. They do not believe in any future state of punishment, although in this world they suppose themselves exposed to the malicious designs of the skoooom, or evil genius, to whom they attribute all their misfortune and ill luck.

"The good spirit is called Hias-Soch-a-la-Ti-Yah, that is, the great high chief, from whom they obtain all that is good in this life, and to whose happy and peaceful hunting-grounds they will all eventually go to reside forever in comfort and abundance. The medicine-men of the tribe are supposed to possess a mysterious influence with these two spirits, either for good or evil. They form a secret society, the initiation into which is accompanied with great ceremony and much expense. The candidate has to prepare a feast





CHESLAKEE'S VILLAGE IN JOHNSTONE'S STRAITS



VILLAGE OF THE FRIENDLY INDIANS AT THE ENTRANCE OF BUTE'S CANAL

for his friends and all who choose to partake of it, and make presents to the other medicine-men. A lodge is prepared for him which he enters, and remains alone for three days and nights without food, whilst those already initiated keep dancing and singing round the lodge during the whole time. After this fast, which is supposed to endue him with wonderful skill, he is taken up apparently lifeless and plunged into the nearest cold water, where they rub and wash him until he revives: this they call 'washing the dead.' As soon as he revives, he runs into the woods, and soon returns dressed as a medicine-man, which generally consists of the light down of the goose stuck all over their bodies and heads with thick grease, and a mantle of frayed cedar-bark, with the medicine rattle in his hand. He now collects all his property, blankets, shells, and ornaments, and distributes the whole amongst his friends, trusting for his future support to the fees of his profession. The dancing and singing are still continued with great vigour, during the division of the property, at the conclusion of which the whole party again sit down to feast, apparently with miraculous appetites, the quantity of food consumed being perfectly incredible.

"Their lodges are the largest buildings of any description that I have met with amongst Indians. They are divided in the interior into compartments, so as to accommodate eight or ten families, and are well built, considering that the boards are split from the logs with bone wedges; but they succeed in getting them out with great smoothness and regularity. I took a sketch one day while a party were engaged in gambling in the centre of the lodge. The game is called lehallum, and is played with ten small circular pieces of wood, one of which is marked black; these pieces are shuffled about rapidly by the player between two bundles of frayed cedar-bark. His opponent suddenly stops his shuffling, and endeavours to guess in which bundle the blackened piece is concealed. They are so passionately fond of this game that they frequently pass two or three consecutive days and nights at it without ceasing.

"Saw-se-a, the head chief of the Cowitchins, from the Gulf of Georgia, an inveterate gambler, was engaged at the game. He had come to the Esquimelt on a friendly visit. This chief was a great warrior in his younger days, and received an arrow through the cheek in one of his battles. He took many captives, whom he usually sold to the tribes further north, thus diminishing their chance of

escaping back through a hostile country to their own people, the northern tribes making slaves only of those living south of them. He possessed much of what is considered wealth amongst the Indians, and it gradually accumulated from tributes which he exacted from his people. On his possessions reaching a certain amount it is customary to make a great feast, to which all contribute. The neighbouring chiefs with whom he is in amity are invited, and at the conclusion of the entertainment, he distributes all he has collected since the last feast, perhaps three or four years preceding, among his guests as presents. The amount of property thus collected and given away by a chief is sometimes very considerable. I have heard of one possessing as many as twelve bales of blankets, from twenty to thirty guns, with numberless pots, kettles, and pans, knives, and other articles of cutlery, and great quantities of beads, and other trinkets, as well as numerous beautiful Chinese boxes, which find their way here from the Sandwich Islands. The object in thus giving his treasures away is to add to his own importance in the eyes of others, his own people often boasting of how much their chief had given away, and exhibiting with pride such things as they had received themselves from him."

It must not be supposed that the Paul Kane, to whom the historian of British Columbia owes so much, confined his attention solely to Vancouver Island. On the contrary, he made excursions through the Haro Strait and beyond, even voyaging as far as the mainland coast. In the course of his search for subjects for his brush he had many exciting adventures, witnessed strange scenes and gathered much of the Indian folk-lore of the country. Thus, on one occasion, in an Indian encampment on the mainland coast, he was privileged to see the medicine-man at work. Gruesome as it is, the artist's account of that performance is worthy of notice; for it illustrates, in a quite remarkable manner, the savage customs which prevailed amongst the Indians of that day. The narrative runs:

"About 10 o'clock at night I strolled into the village, and on hearing a great noise in one of the lodges I entered it, and found an old woman supporting one of the handsomest Indian girls I had ever seen. She was in a state of nudity. Cross-legged and naked, in the middle of the room sat the medicine-man, with a wooden dish of water before him; twelve or fifteen other men were sitting round the lodge. The object in view was to cure the girl of a disease affect-



ing her side. As soon as my presence was noticed a space was cleared for me to sit down. The officiating medicine-man appeared in a state of profuse perspiration from the exertions he had used, and soon took his seat among the rest as if quite exhausted; a younger medicine-man then took his place in front of the bowl, and close beside the patient. Throwing off his blanket, he commenced singing and gesticulating in the most violent manner, whilst the others kept time beating with little sticks on hollow wooden bowls and drums, singing continually. After exercising himself in this manner for about half an hour, until the perspiration ran down his body, he darted suddenly upon the young woman, catching hold of her side with his teeth and shaking her for a few minutes, while the patient seemed to suffer great agony. He then relinquished his hold, and cried out he had got it, at the same time holding his hands to his mouth; after which he plunged them in the water and pretended to hold down with great difficulty the disease which he had extracted, lest it might spring out and return to its victim.

"At length, having obtained the mastery over it, he turned round to me in an exulting manner, and held something up between the finger and thumb of each hand, which had the appearance of a piece of cartilage, whereupon one of the Indians sharpened his knife, and divided it in two, leaving one end in each hand. One of the pieces he threw into the water, and the other into the fire, accompanying the action with a diabolical noise, which none but a medicine-man can make. After which he got up perfectly satisfied with himself, although the poor patient seemed to me anything but relieved by the violent treatment she had undergone."

On June 10, 1847, Paul Kane bade farewell to Victoria and started on his homeward way. He reached Toronto in October, 1848. "The greatest hardship I had to endure," he writes after his return, "was the difficulty I found in trying to sleep in a civilized bed." It is only just to say, in concluding this reference to a remarkable man, that what Catlin did in art for the Indians of the middle and southern states, Kane did, but with a more skillful hand, for those of the region of the Great Lakes, the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, the States of Oregon and Washington, and parts of British Columbia. These pictures, the product of his brush and brain, were originally in the possession of the Honourable G. W. Allen, from whose estate they were purchased by Mr. E. B. Osler,

M. P. A few were painted for the Hudson's Bay Company, and twelve were purchased by the old Legislature of Canada. Of these some were destroyed when the buildings at Quebec were burned in 1854, and the remainder are now in the buildings at Ottawa.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE COLONY OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

Scarcely had the ink dried upon the Oregon Treaty, when Sir John H. Pelly, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, sought to extend the sway of the Adventurers of England, even as far as the Pacific Ocean. On September 7, 1846, he addressed a diplomatic note to Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "With the view of ascertaining the intentions of Her Majesty's Government as to the acquisition of Lands or Formation of Settlements to the North of Latitude Forty-nine." He was also anxious to know whether the Hudson's Bay Company would be confirmed: "In the possession of such lands as they may find it expedient to add to those which they already possess." Clearly it was the intention of the Company to obtain, if possible, from the Crown, a Grant of the western territories of British North America, in order to prevent such occurrences as had proved so disastrous to their several undertakings in the valleys of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers. What Sir George Simpson had termed in a moment of disgust or petulance "the unruly population" of that quarter, ought not to be allowed to obtain a foot hold on Vancouver Island. So far, the mainland was safe enough, because the exclusive trade of that region was assured to the Company by the terms of the Licence of 1838, which had extended for a further term, the agreement of 1821, in which the amalgamated Hudson's Bay and North West Companies had been granted the exclusive trade of the Indian territories. These agreements were generally known as the licences of exclusive trade.

Early in October, 1846, Earl Grey replied to Sir John Pelly's letter. He requested the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company to apprise him with as much exactness as possible: "What is the extent and what are the natural or other limits of the Territory in the

Possession of which they (the Company) desire to be confirmed, pointing out what may be known regarding the Soil, Harbour, and navigable Streams comprised within it." Earl Grey also wished to be informed by the Company: "Whether they are advised that their Right is clear in point of Law to receive and hold in their corporate Capacity any Lands within the Dominions of the British Crown Westward of the Rocky Mountains." In reply to the Colonial Secretary's note, Sir John Pelly, on October 24th, transmitted Chief Factor James Douglas' report of July 12, 1842, and pointed out that the reports of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour dated November 1, 1845, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that of Lieutenant Vavasour to Colonel Holloway of the Royal Engineers, dated March 1, 1846, contained the information desired by Earl Grey.

The Colonial Secretary was also advised that the Company held that its right was clear in point of law to receive and hold in its corporate capacity any lands within the dominions of the British Crown west of the Rocky Mountains—a claim which was based upon the Royal Charter of 1670, and the licence of May 13, 1838, which, however, reserved to the Crown the right of establishing colonies within these territories, or of annexing any part thereof to any existing colony or colonies. This letter concluded with the following paragraph: "It would be a superfluous task to enter into the detail of the reasons which render the colonization of Vancouver Island a subject of grave importance; I shall at present merely submit to Earl Grey's consideration, whether that object, embracing as I trust it will the conversion to Christianity and the civilization of the native population, might not be most readily and effectually accomplished through the instrumentality of the Hudson's Bay Company, either by a grant of the island on terms to be hereafter agreed upon, or in some other way in which the influence and resources of the Company might be made subservient to that end." <sup>1</sup>

These and other letters addressed by Sir John Pelly to Earl Grey, exhibited the keen desire of the Hudson's Bay Company to obtain control of the territory now definitely determined to belong to Great Britain. The Company indeed wished to obtain a grant of

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<sup>1</sup> Vide Correspondence between the Chairman of the Hudson's Bay Co. and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, relative to the Colonization of Vancouver Island. 1849. p. 18.

the whole territory lying between the country drained by the rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay, and the Pacific Ocean. In a communication dated March 5, 1847, Governor Pelly observed that "if her Majesty's ministers should be of opinion that the territory in question would be more conveniently governed and colonized (as far as that may be practicable) through the Hudson's Bay Company, the Company are willing to undertake it, and will be ready to receive a grant of all territories belonging to the Crown, which are situated north and west of Rupert's Land."

In making this sweeping request, however, the Governor overreached himself. It was quite impossible in view of the state of public opinion in England, for any public man to bring forward such a proposal. Earl Grey, in reply, suggested that the Company should submit "another scheme which should be more limited and defined in its object, and yet embrace a plan for the Colonization of Vancouver's Island."

This definite request narrowed the scope of the negotiations. Yet, even in the face of the decided opinion expressed by the Colonial Secretary, Sir John Pelly pressed for a grant of the whole of the territories west of the Rocky Mountains. The Governor was astute and diplomatic enough to assure Earl Grey that the Company was not particularly anxious to take over the territories asked for in the first instance, adding that he had merely suggested that the whole should be included in a grant to the Hudson's Bay Company, because—"I was persuaded that the colonization would be much more successfully conducted under the auspices of the Company, than it would be in any other manner."

If that proposal should not meet with the approval of her Majesty's Government, the Company were quite willing that the lands should be limited to "the territory north of  $49^{\circ}$ , bounded on the east by the Rocky Mountains, or even Vancouver's Island alone." The Company, however, did not wish to be called upon to pay Royalties to the Imperial Government, because, "all moneys received for lands or minerals would be applied to purposes connected with the improvement of the country, and, therefore, if the Grant is to be clogged with any payment to the Mother country, the Company would be under the necessity of declining it."

Earl Grey replied that he deemed it advisable in the first instance,

that the Grant should be confined to Vancouver Island. He was prepared to entertain any such proposal that the Company might think proper to submit to him for this purpose, proceeding on the principle that the Company should not derive any pecuniary profit from their undertaking. All funds arising from the sale of lands, or minerals, he suggested should be applied towards the colonization and improvement of the island.

After many conferences, proposals, and counter-proposals, it was at last decided to grant Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, and by the Royal Proclamation, of January 13, 1849, the island was ceded to that corporation, under certain terms and conditions—exactly eleven years after the granting of the Royal licence for exclusive trade in the Indian territories, which bears the date of May 13, 1838. The latter monopoly, therefore, would hold good for nine years, unless revoked in the meantime.

As the terms and conditions of the Grant gave rise to much discussion in the House of Commons, and seriously affected the fortunes of the Colony of Vancouver Island, they are worthy of being set forth in full. After a long preamble, reciting the Royal Charter of King Charles II., of the second day of May, 1670, and the different Acts that had been passed for the regulation of the furtrade and the punishment of offences in "certain parts of North America" (which expression referred to the lands afterwards known as the Indian Territories, and the Oregon Boundary Treaty of June 15, 1846), the Royal Grant set forth that:—

"Whereas it would conduce greatly to the maintenance of peace, justice and good order, and the advancement of colonization and the promotion and encouragement of trade and commerce in, and also the protection and welfare of the native Indians residing within that portion of Our territories in North America, called Vancouver's Island, if such Island were colonized by settlers from the British dominions, and if the property in the land of such island were vested for the purpose of such colonization in the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay; but nevertheless, upon condition that the said Governor and Company should form on the said island a settlement or settlements, as hereinafter mentioned, for the purpose of colonizing the said island, and also should defray the entire expense of any civil and military estab-

lishments which may be required for the protection and government of such settlement or settlements (except, nevertheless, during the time of hostilities between Great Britain and any foreign European or American power) :

“And further We do, by these presents, for Us, Our heirs and successors, make, create and constitute the said Governor and Company for the time being, and their successors, the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the same territories, limits and places, and of all the other premises (saving always the faith, allegiance and sovereign dominion due to Us, Our heirs and successors for the same) ; to have, hold, and possess and enjoy the said territory, limits and places, and all and singular other the premises hereby granted as aforesaid, with their and every of their rights, members, royalties and appurtenances whatsoever to them, the said Governor and Company, and their successors for ever, to be holden of Us, Our heirs and successors, in free and common soccage, at the yearly rent of Seven shillings, payable to Us and Our successors for ever, on the First day of January in every year :

“Provided always, and We declare, that this present grant is made to the intent that the said Governor and Company shall establish upon the said island a settlement or settlements of resident colonists, emigrants from Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or from other Our dominions and shall dispose of the land there as may be necessary for the purposes of colonization; and to the intent that the said Company shall, with a view to the aforesaid purposes, dispose of all lands hereby granted to them at a reasonable price, except so much thereof as may be required for public purposes; and that all monies which shall be received by the said Company for the purchase of such land, and also from all payments which may be made to them for or in respect of the coal or other minerals to be obtained in the said island, or the right of searching for and getting the same, shall (after deduction of such sums by way of profits as shall not exceed a deduction of 10 per cent. from the gross amount received by the said Company from the sale of such land, and in respect of such coal or other minerals as aforesaid) be applied towards the colonization and improvement of the island; and that the Company shall reserve for the use of Us, Our heirs and successors, all such land as may be required for the formation of naval

establishments, We Our heirs and successors, paying a reasonable price for the same; and the said Company shall, once in every two years at the least, certify under the seal of the said Governor and Company, to one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, what colonists shall have been from time to time settled in the said island, and what land shall be disposed of as aforesaid:

“And We further declare, that this present grant is made upon this condition, that if the said Governor and Company shall not, within the term of five years from the date of these presents, have established upon the said island a settlement of resident colonists, emigrants from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or from other Our Dominions; and it shall at any time after the expiration of such term of five years, be certified to Us, Our heirs and successors, to inquire into the condition of such island, that such settlement has not been established according to the intent of this Our grant, or that the provisions hereinbefore mentioned respecting the disposal of lands and minerals, have not been respectively fulfilled, it shall be lawful for Us, Our heirs and successors, to revoke this present grant, and to enter upon and resume the said island and premises hereby granted, without prejudice nevertheless, to such dispositions as may have been made in the meantime by the said Governor and Company of any land in the said island for the actual purpose of colonization and settlement, and as shall have been certified as aforesaid to one of Our Principal Secretaries of State:

“And We hereby declare, that this present grant is and shall be deemed and taken to be made upon this further condition, that We, Our heirs and successors, shall have, and We accordingly reserve unto Us and them, full power, at the expiration of the said Governor and Company’s grant or licence of or for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians, to re-purchase and take of or from the said Governor and Company the said Vancouver’s Island and premises hereby granted, in consideration of payment being made by Us, Our heirs and successors, to the said Governor and Company, of the sum or sums of money theretofore laid out and expended by them in and upon the said island and premises, and of the value of their establishments, property and effects then being thereon.”

With the exclusive privilege of trading with the natives on the mainland, and the Royal Grant of Vancouver Island, the Hudson’s



Bay Company occupied an impregnable position in Northwestern America. However, the grant of the Island was not altogether unencumbered. Before it had been made, Earl Grey had signified that it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to provide for the Government of the Colony and to make provision for the establishment of legislative authority among the settlers, on whom were to be conferred the same powers of local self government usually granted to new colonies. A governor was to be appointed who would be directed to summon an assembly elected by the general vote of the inhabitants, to exercise in conjunction with himself and a council, the law-making power. At the same time the Colonial Secretary intimated that he was quite ready to be guided in the selection of her Majesty's representative by the wishes of the Company. Sir John Pelly, did not fail to avail himself of the opportunity to bring a name to Earl Grey's notice. Naturally enough he suggested that James Douglas should receive the appointment. "Mr. Douglas," observed Sir John, "is a man of property, a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a member of the board at Fort Vancouver for managing the Company's affairs of the country westward of the Rocky Mountains." He added "I do not propose this as a permanent appointment, but merely as a temporary expedient, until the colony can afford to pay a governor unconnected with the Hudson's Bay Company."

In the same letter he submitted the names of fourteen gentlemen whom he considered well qualified to hold commissions of the peace, under the Act of 1 & 2 Geo. IV. All of these men were connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, and all of them were well known in the Oregon Territory, where many of them had achieved distinction. The Reverend Robert Staines, was the chaplain at Fort Victoria; Peter Skene Ogden, joint manager with James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs west of the Rocky Mountains; James Douglas, a protege of the great Doctor John McLoughlin and a man who had already distinguished himself in the service of the Company; John Work, Chief Factor, who had lived in the Oregon territory for a quarter of a century; Archibald McKinley, later a member of the Indian Reserves Commission; Doctor William Fraser Tolmie, a polished gentleman of the old school, a physician of repute, and manager of the Puget Sound Agricultural Com-

pany's estate on the Nisqually plain; Alexander Caulfield Anderson, a well known Chief Factor, who had distinguished himself in exploring the interior of New Caledonia and in establishing the route from Fort Hope to Fort Kamloops followed by the great brigades; James Murray Yale, John Tod and Dugald McTavish, Chief Factors who had distinguished themselves in the west, and Richard Grant, Donald Mason, George T. Allan and John Kennedy, also well known throughout the Oregon territory and New Caledonia. These were the men proposed as justices of the peace in the new colony.

The appointments were made, and in due course Sir John Pelly's nominees received their commissions, duly signed by the Queen. But although the Colonial Secretary in a letter to Sir John, of September, 1848, acquiesced in the suggestion that James Douglas should be appointed Her Majesty's representative, some hitch must have occurred, for the honour of being the first governor of Vancouver Island, fell to the lot of Mr. Richard Blanshard, an estimable English barrister, who had seen service under the Colonial office in other parts of the Empire. Blanshard received the appointment in 1849, shortly after the Royal Grant of Vancouver Island had received the assent of her Majesty.

It must not be supposed that the grant of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company was passed without opposition. As a matter of fact the Government was severely criticized, not only in the Imperial Parliament, but by men who for one reason or another opposed the grant. Nor was the Hudson's Bay Company, although the official returns to Parliament of that period do not reveal the fact, the sole aspirant for the concession. While Sir John Pelly was pressing his claim upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a determined effort was made by one James Edward Fitzgerald, to obtain a grant of the Island. His efforts, however, were of no avail; nor does it appear that his application was even seriously considered. He proposed to form a company to take over the Island on generous terms, but as he could give no guarantee, such as that offered by a corporation of such high standing in the financial world as the Hudson's Bay Company, the Ministry could not in fairness listen to his proposals. Fitzgerald, apparently soured by his defeat and feeling that he had been injured, bitterly attacked the Company in a work entitled "Vancouver Island and the Hudson's Bay Company," which created some little stir at the time.

In Parliament the late Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone objected to the policy of the Colonial Office and was inclined to view with disfavour the granting of further special privileges to the Company. Nor was public opinion in favour of the proposal. It was not to be expected then that the action of the Government in this particular would escape criticism, yet, in looking back, it does not appear that any other course could have been followed with advantage at that particular time. The Hudson's Bay Company was already in possession of the land; its officers had penetrated it in all directions and they were well versed in the Indian character; for years, the Company with a handful of men had successfully managed the whole territory and held the natives in check. Moreover, it was beyond question that the Company had held the western territory for Great Britain. These qualifications and services could not well be overlooked and the Hudson's Bay Company was charged with the settlement of the Colony. For the first time in its history that great organization had undertaken a purely colonial enterprise. Heretofore, with the exception of the Red River settlement—a venture of a different nature from that of the colonization of Vancouver Island—the Company had no experience along that line. Until the reorganization of the Company in 1863, when a large majority of the proprietors disposed of their shares to the International Financial Society, Limited, the Court of Proprietors had opposed the formation of settlements in the territories under their control. The policy of the Company up to that time is clearly expounded by Alexander Dallas (who had succeeded Sir George Simpson as Governor in America) in a letter bearing date April 16, 1862, and having reference to the proposal of the government of Canada that a practicable line of communication should be built across the continent. In that letter Dallas took occasion to observe that “while fully admitting the force of the above arguments (as to the public importance of such communication) and the immediate necessity of some arrangement being come to, I am reluctantly compelled to admit my inability to meet the Government of Canada in this forward movement, for the following reasons:—

“1st. The Red River and Saskatchewan Valleys, though not in themselves fur-bearing districts, are the sources from where the main supplies of winter food are procured for the northern posts from

the produce of the buffalo hunts. A chain of settlements through these valleys would not only deprive the Company of the above vital resource, but would indirectly in many other ways so interfere with their northern trade as to render it no longer worth prosecuting on an extended scale. It would necessarily be directed into various channels, possible to the public benefit, but the Company could no longer exist on its present footing.

"The above reason against a partial surrender of our territories may not appear sufficiently obvious to parties not conversant with the trade or the country; but my knowledge of both, based on personal experience, and from other sources open to me, point to the conclusion that partial concessions of the districts which must necessarily be alienated would inevitably lead to the extinction of the Company."<sup>2</sup>

But to return to Vancouver Island and the Hudson's Bay Company. It appears that Earl Grey while listening to the overtures of Sir John Pelly, sought information in another quarter respecting the monopoly's management of the Oregon Territory. Lieutenant Adam D. Dundas, of the Royal Navy, who had lately returned to London from the Northwest coast, was requested to report with regard to the advantages or disadvantages that would accrue to a colony on Vancouver Island, under the jurisdiction or superintendence of that organization. Dundas' report was unfavourable and because it sets forth very lucidly the case against the Company it is worthy of being reproduced here:—

"Having during my late period of Service in the Pacific been for upwards of two years employed on that part of the Northwest coast generally known as the Hudson's Bay Territory, the greater part of which has been spent within the limits of Fort Vancouver, their great Western Depot, I have had every opportunity of observing, not only how all their arrangements were managed but the spirit which pervaded their whole system, and which I have no hesitation in saying would be wholly, and totally inapplicable to the nursing of a young Colony, with the hopes of ever bringing it to Maturity. And my opinion only accords with that which I have heard universally expressed by all disinterested individuals who have had an

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<sup>2</sup> F. N.—Canada and British Columbia return to an address of the House of Commons, July 15, 1863, page 5.

opportunity of visiting not only these regions, but their Settlements in Hudson's Bay and on the Red River.

"There has always appeared to me an overbearing illiberal usurpation of power on the part of the H. B. Co. to which every better feeling has invariably been Sacrificed, and which has rendered their line of conduct in many instances most irregular and unjustifiable; however necessary this System may have been found when dealing with Savages, it could not but prove repugnant to the feelings of the Colonists and the facility which in this case would be offered them of leaving the island, would doubtless be taken advantage of, and the Colony after dwindling into insignificance would become but another dependance wholly at the mercy of the Hudson's Bay Co.

"That this powerful Company have the ability to form advantageous Settlements in these unfrequented parts, there is not a doubt, but when their trade is wholly carried on with the Aborigines, is it to be Supposed, that they would aid in the advancement of Civilization when from time immemorial it has been proved that the progress of the one has ever been made at the expense of the other? And should the Natives cease to exist, why, their occupation is gone. It is only a natural conclusion then to arrive at that the efforts which the Hudson's Bay Company are putting forward to obtain either a direct or indirect influence in Vancouver Island are with the Sole motive of protracting to as late a period as possible a monopoly which they have so long enjoyed and which could not benefit the country, the only object of establishing a Settlement in Such a distant quarter. The Puget's Sound Company are doubtless equally anxious for Hudson's Bay jurisdiction, but it must be at the same time remembered that these two Companies are wholly incorporated in each other, and their interests are mutually blended, their object being to engross all those other available Sources of revenue to which the furtrade is not immediately applicable."

With regard to the natural advantages of the Island, Lieutenant Dundas went on to say:—

"My impression is that they are highly favourable for the establishment of a Colony, the climate is a most desirable one, and comparing it, with that of this Country infinitely more equable, it is as healthy as could be wished for and seems to suit the European Con-

stitution admirably, and though fever and ague are very prevalent on the Mainland yet from the absence of low and marshy ground they are unknown here. Water however is not wanting and can always be obtained in sufficient quantity, as a proof of which there are beaver on the island, whose aquatic propensities are too well known to be commented on.

"To give correct description of the island would entail a task, which I do not hesitate to confess I am incompetent of performing, as its interior has never been explored, and in fact it has only been penetrated at one point to the extent of twenty miles, the Shores however have been very frequently visited, in the course of trafficking with the Indians and from such sources of information a very satisfactory conclusion may be arrived at.

"Vancouver's is an island about two hundred and fifty miles long, and sixty-five its extreme breadth at any part, although in many places it does not exceed the half of that, in its general appearance it is mountainous and thickly wooded, the Western or Sea coast being the most precipitous.

"As the Straits of De Fuca are entered its wild aspect gradually diminishes until within some fifteen or twenty miles of Victoria, the Company's only Settlement on the island; here it presents a most favourable view, the dark pine forest giving way to plain and open park land studded with fine oaks. This continues with some exceptions along the Coast bordering the Canal de Arra (Haro) and Gulph of Georgia, running up in a North Westerly direction offering many eligible spots for Agricultural operations, the Navigation here is considered difficult at times even for steam vessels, owing to the rapidity and irregularity of the Currents, but when it is remembered that Vancouver found his way through here in safety, it cannot be doubted but that these difficulties will disappear before advancing civilization and science. To compensate however for the casual disadvantages in the navigation, the whole coast abounds in most excellent harbours which can scarcely be equalled in any island of similar extent, and where the most secure inlets are wanting numerous small islets afford the Mariner a safe anchorage and protection from the weather. With regard to the minerals, as yet coal is only known to exist here, but sanguine hopes are entertained that there are others, lead and tin having been discovered on Queen Char-

lotte's Island which is a little more than a degree to the Northward. The coal was quite accidentally discovered from the vein having been seen on the beach at low water, a quantity of this although taken almost from the surface has been satisfactorily tried on board the Company's Steamer *Beaver* on several occasions, the situation of this mine is about twenty miles from the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and could be reached by sailing vessels with perfect ease, entering from the Northward. The timber which is here to be met with consists almost exclusively of the gigantic pine in different varieties, there are also oak, ash and such other trees as are to be met with in this country, although they bear but a small proportion. The pine is most available for ship spars and the more Northerly the climate the more valuable they are

"I have as yet said nothing about the Soil; there are conflicting opinions as to its being very available for agricultural purposes and I have very lately seen it publicly stated that there was such a thin surface over rock as to render it perfectly unavailable, but I think that that is rather a sweeping assertion. That the ground is in many places stony there is no doubt but with a little labour they can be removed, and there remains as rich a soil as the farmer can desire.

"So little being known of the interior of the island, as I have already observed, it would be difficult to form a very correct estimate of the number of its inhabitants, but from the knowledge of the existence of nine tribes on the coast, averaging seven hundred men to a tribe, a sufficiently accurate approximation may be arrived at by stating the whole to amount to about ten thousand which however I should think it did not exceed. They are for the most part generally friendly to strangers although not wholly perhaps to be depended upon, yet a simple demonstration of force has always been found to keep them in check. They subsist chiefly on fish, but likewise take a great quantity of game, all of which are easily procured and are in great abundance; they even venture after the whale in their light canoes, and that animal frequents the Straits of de Fuca, and Gulph of Georgia during the season; great numbers are caught—I was informed on good authority, as many as a hundred had been taken during the year, this of course has been found a very productive sport."

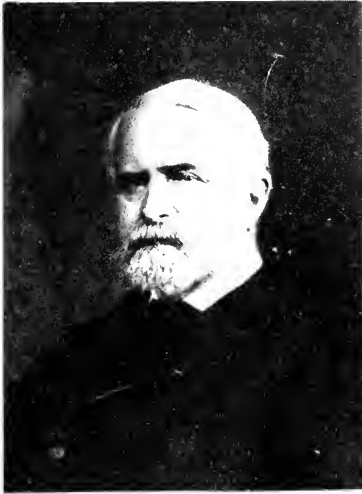
The truth lay midway between the statements of Sir John Pelly

and Lieutenant Dundas. Both perhaps made somewhat extravagant assertions. For instance it is difficult to account for Dundas' criticism of the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company in the valley of the Columbia, because, as contemporary records show very clearly, that administration was generally successful. The Company was under no obligation to colonize the Oregon Territory and it was not to be expected in the circumstances that it would bear with equanimity the encroachments of settlers. For all that, Dr. McLoughlin and other agents of the company had treated the destitute American settlers with great kindness. The great establishment at Fort Vancouver with its fruitful fields and great herd of horses, cattle and sheep, would rather create the impression that the Company could, if it chose, successfully form and administer a colony. On the other hand, Sir John Pelly had perhaps misjudged, not the ability, but the willingness of his Company to foster settlements in territories it had long been accustomed to administer solely with a view to profiting by the furtrade. The settlement of the Willamette had demonstrated the fact that farming and furtrading could not be combined in the same region. However desirous of forming settlements in the neighbourhood of its posts the Company might be, sooner or later the rival interests of the settler and the furtrader were bound to clash. Subsequent events in Vancouver Island proved the truth of this.

Yet, whatever may be said against the Hudson's Bay Company, its services to the Empire can scarcely be overestimated. It was the instrument by which that magnificent territory stretching from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean north of the 49th parallel, was conserved for the British race. With its superb organization, with an administration as effective as it was far-reaching, the Company held the land until, in the fulness of time, it became an integral part of the Empire.

In July, 1849, Richard Blanshard was duly appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Vancouver and its Dependencies, by a commission under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom. The Governor reached Victoria in H. M. S. *Driver* on March 10, 1850. On the following day he landed and read his Commission in the presence of Commander Johnson and the officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. By this simple act,





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- No. 1.—HIS EXCELLENCY RICHARD BLANSHARD—First Governor of Vancouver Island  
 No. 2.—HIS EXCELLENCY ARTHUR E. KENNEDY—Governor Vancouver Island, 1864-1866  
 No. 3.—HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ANTHONY MUSGRAVE—Governor of British Columbia, 1868-1871  
 No. 4.—SIR JAMES DOUGLAS, K.C.M.G.—Governor of Vancouver Island, 1851-1864 and of the Mainland, 1858-1864

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Vancouver Island became the First British Colony in the North Pacific. Hitherto the Northwest coast had known neither settled law nor government. From time immemorial it had been under the sway of the native races. It is true that the Hudson's Bay Company had established some semblance of law and order therein, but not until Governor Blanshard read his Commission at Victoria, on March 11, 1850—scarcely sixty years ago—that it could be said that the common law of England became effective. Perhaps the true significance of that ceremony was not born in upon those who witnessed that ceremony, and, indeed, there was little to show that it inaugurated a new era; but, nevertheless, it was an historic occasion. All that had gone before—the explorations of Cook and of the pioneer furtraders; the seizure of the British ships by the Spaniards in Nootka Sound in 1789; the Nootka Convention of 1790; the survey of the coast by Vancouver; the overland journey by Sir Alexander Mackenzie; the occupation of New Caledonia by the North West Company; the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company; and the founding of Camosun in 1843—had but paved the way for this significant event.

No doubt to the French-Canadian voyageurs and the men who had known no other authority but that of the Great Company, and who had observed no laws but those promulgated by Sir George Simpson, Doctor John McLoughlin, and the other officers in charge of the different posts where they had been stationed, it must have appeared strange, if not ludicrous, that by such a simple act, a greater power than that wielded by the Company for which they worked and lived, could set its seal upon the land. Yet, such was the case. Heretofore the mandate of the Hudson's Bay Company had been supreme throughout the vast extent of the Western Department. The Company entrenched as it was, did not fear the new power that the creation of the little colony of Vancouver Island had established in the land; nor did it show over much respect for her Majesty's representative.

His Excellency, Governor Blanshard, the first duly commissioned representative of the Crown to assume control of any portion of the Northwest coast, did not find his position a pleasant one. At the time of his arrival in the colony, there were not more than thirty settlers, besides the officers and servants of the Company. Victoria, now the

capital of the Western Department and the place of residence of James Douglas, the manager of the Company's affairs west of the Rocky Mountains, was at this time a small post beyond the stockades of which lay pastures and farms. From the fort winding lanes led to the fields and dairies. Although the agricultural operations of the Company's officers had reclaimed, here and there, little patches, the countryside presented generally the aspect of the verdant wild. Game still abounded. The timid deer still roamed in the natural parks. Blue and willow grouse lived in coveys in the thickets and on the rocky eminences of the Gonzales Point, Mount Tolmie and Mount Douglas. Wild fowl were plentiful in the swamps and marshes in the autumn and winter months. The lordly elk had not yet forsaken his familiar haunts and in those days this beautiful animal grazed with the cattle in the fields.

The Governor found no residence awaiting him; nor even apartments in the Fort. He was therefore obliged, during the first few weeks of his rule, to reside on board *H. M. S. Driver*. Then he was lodged in the Fort, and later, a small house and office were built outside the stockade. Blanshard had seen service in the West Indian Islands, in British Honduras and in India, where he had held positions under the Colonial Office, and he was seemingly well qualified to govern an infant colony; but on Vancouver Island he found nothing to govern, because the Hudson's Bay Company, under the terms of the Royal grant, managed affairs as it liked. It was most unlikely that an utter stranger, even clothed with all the power that the Queen's Commission could give him, would be cordially welcomed by the representative of the Great Monopoly, especially in view of the fact that Sir John Pelly had requested Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to appoint their representative, James Douglas to the coveted position. The truth is that Blanshard was not wanted, and the Hudson's Bay Company soon made his position untenable. He found no public affairs to administer, no seat of government, no judiciary and no legislature. There was little indeed he could do except to regulate the disputes between the Hudson's Bay Company's officers and their servants, which disputes were frequent enough. Moreover, the Governor received no salary. He had accepted the position in the expectation that colonists would flock to the country and that every inducement would be offered to

people to settle there; and, that of course, as the colony progressed a civil list would be voted.

He also expected that the sale of land and the royalties on coal would produce a considerable revenue. But these sources of income were controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company, under the terms of the grant, and the monies so derived were expended by its officers. At the celebrated Parliamentary enquiry into the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1857, Blanshard stated that before his departure from England, Sir John Pelly had promised him one thousand acres of land; but when he applied for the grant, he was told by James Douglas that the matter would have to be settled at the head offices of the Company in England, as the grant was merely intended for the use of the Governor for the time being. In view of the high cost of living today, it is interesting to recall that it cost the Governor eleven hundred pounds a year to live and that very quietly, at Victoria. There were three separate prices in the Company's stores at that time; one for the superior officers; another for the servants; and a third which was called the "cash price," at which goods were sold to settlers. The officers received their supplies at the advance of thirty-three per cent upon the cost price, the servants at fifty to one hundred per cent; and the cash price was regulated as nearly as possible by the price in California, where goods of all kinds were exceptionally high owing to the gold excitement. The cash price represented an advance of one hundred per cent upon the prime cost. The Governor was treated as a stranger and was forced to purchase his supplies as such, which meant that he paid about three hundred per cent over the cost price.<sup>3</sup>

An idea of Governor Blanshard's impressions of the colony, of his struggles and disappointments, may be gained from his official correspondence with Earl Grey. His first despatch is an illuminating document; it bears the date of April 8, 1850, and reads:

"Fort Victoria, Vancouver Island,  
"April, 8th, 1850.

"My Lord,

"I beg to inform you of my arrival at Victoria, the settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, on the 10th March

<sup>3</sup> Select committee on Hudson's Bay Co., 1857. Minutes on Evidence, page 288.  
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ultimo, in H. M. S. *Driver*. On the 11th I landed, and read my commission in the presence of Commander Johnson, of H. M. S. *Driver*, and the officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. No lodging being ready for me, I have been compelled to remain on board the *Driver*, during her stay in the colony, and took the opportunity of visiting Fort Rupert, a new settlement which had been formed at Beaver Harbour, for the purpose of working the coals with which the north-eastern part of the Island is said to abound. About six months ago, the Hudson's Bay Company sent a party of Scotch miners to Beaver Harbour, but they have not yet been able to discover coal in any quantity; at the depth of seventy feet the largest seam they had struck was only eight inches in depth, and the surface coal, which former reports describe as being three feet in depth and of excellent quality, nowhere, I am assured by the miners, exceeds ten inches, of which one half is slag. Should they persevere, there is no doubt that a supply of coal may eventually be obtained, which will greatly increase the value of this colony; but the miners are unprovided with proper implements, discontented with their employers and can scarcely be induced to work.

"An application was made to me by Captain Hill, Commandant of the U. S. Military Post at Chelahom, to allow a force to proceed to Vancouver Island to apprehend two men, Military deserters from the United States Army, who had he stated been taken from Chelahom by a schooner belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, incurring thereby a heavy penalty under the local law of the State of Oregon. This I declined to allow, as I conceive that no reciprocal arrangement exists between Great Britain and the United States for the arrest of deserters for purely Military offences.

"The quantity of arable land, or land that can be made arable is, so far as I can ascertain, exceedingly limited throughout the Island, which consists almost entirely of broken ranges of rocky hills, intersected by ravines and valleys so narrow as to render them useless for cultivation. A Mr. McNeill, Agent for the Hudson's Bay Company at Beaver Harbour, who is considered to be better acquainted with the Indian population than any other person, estimates their number at the very largest at ten thousand, and these he considers to be steadily decreasing, although the sale of spirituous liquors has been for a considerable time prohibited, and the prohibition appears to be strictly enforced.

"As no settlers have at present arrived, I have considered that it is unnecessary as yet to nominate a council, as my instructions direct; for a council chosen at present must be composed entirely of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, few if any of whom possess the qualification of landed property which is required to vote for Members of Assembly, and they would moreover be completely under the control of their superior officers; but as no immediate arrival of settlers is likely to take place, and my instructions direct me to form a Council on my arrival, I should wish for a further direction on this point before I proceed to its formation.

"I am &c.,

"(Signed) RICHARD BLANSHARD."

Events moved slowly at that early period. Beyond the daily routine at the post, which went on from day to day with military precision, nothing occurred to disturb the peace of the little community, nor to cause excitement, except wild rumors of the discovery of gold in fabulous quantities in California. Shortly after his first despatch, the Governor reported that: "Nothing of importance has since occurred in the Colony; no settlers or immigrants have arrived, nor have any land sales been effected. Coal has not yet been discovered, though the miners have not yet, I am happy to say, abandoned all hope." He continues:—

"An American Company has commenced running a line of Mail steam packets between San Francisco and Oregon. They have not yet decided what port in Oregon will be their terminus; could coal have been supplied from Vancouver Island they would have chosen Nisqually, in Puget Sound, which would have greatly facilitated the communication between Vancouver Island and England, but as it cannot be obtained they will probably select Portland, on the Columbia River. The Hudson's Bay Company have commenced a survey of the land reserved to themselves, which is bounded by a line drawn nearly due north, from the head of Victoria Harbour to a hill marked on the chart as Cedar Hill or Mount Douglas, and thence running due east to the Canal de Arro. The extent is estimated at about ten miles (square). A tract adjoining, of similar extent, is reserved for the Puget Sound Agricultural Association—the Hudson's Bay Company under another name, for the Association

has no real existence. This last contains the Harbour of Esquimalt, the only harbour in the southern part of the Island worthy notice, as it is of large extent, has good anchorage, is easy of access at all times and in all weather, is well watered, and in many places the water is of sufficient depth to allow ships anchoring along the shore. Victoria Harbour, where Hudson's Bay Company's settlement is established, is very small, the entrance is narrow, tortuous, and shallow; no vessels can enter except at high tide with favourable wind and weather; and there is no water near, the water required for the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company is brought from a distance of two miles, and, during the summer and autumn, they are kept on allowance as at sea.

"I have received news from Oregon of the discovery of very rich gold mines on the Spokane River. The whole population of that territory are flocking to the spot. Should the favourable accounts of these mines prove correct, I fear that it will draw away all the Hudson's Bay Company's servants from Vancouver Island, and at present they form the entire population."

At that time there was only one other settlement on the Island, Fort Rupert, on the northeastern coast. At this place the Company had been for some time searching for the coal that, it was supposed, existed in the neighbourhood. The miners brought out for this purpose, as stated in the despatch already quoted, soon began to chafe at the restrictions placed upon them. The Indians living near Fort Rupert were also exceedingly troublesome. They belonged to one of the most warlike and treacherous tribes then inhabiting the Island. A few months before, the ship *Norman Morrison* had arrived at Victoria from London, bringing several settlers and a number of labourers for the Company. On this ship arrived a young surgeon and physician, John Sebastian Helmcken, who was destined to achieve distinction in his adopted country, not only in his professional capacity but also as statesman and speaker of Parliament. Open-hearted, generous, genial and witty, the doctor's spontaneous good humour and broad sympathies soon endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. Mr. Helmcken, shortly after his arrival was sent to Fort Rupert as surgeon, and shortly after his arrival there he became identified with public affairs. Blanshard, at a loss to find a man unconnected with the Company to act as magistrate, appointed



Doctor Helmcken to that position, as duly recorded in the despatch of July 10, 1850, as hereunder :

“Victoria, Vancouver Island,

“July 10, 1850.

“Sir,

“I beg to enclose a copy of a Letter I addressed to J. S. Helmcken, Esq., Medical Officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Fort Rupert, appointing him to act as Magistrate, provisionally; this is the only appointment I have yet made in the Colony, for as there are no independent settlers, all cases that can occur, requiring magisterial interference, are disputes, between the representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company and their servants. To appoint the former magistrates, would be to make them Judges in their own causes, and to arm them with additional power, which few of them would exert discreetly. Mr. Helmcken has only recently arrived in the Colony from England, he is therefore a stranger to the petty brawls that have occurred, and the ill feelings they have occasioned between the Hudson's Bay Company and their servants; from this and from my knowledge of his character I have great confidence in his impartiality, his situation too, as Surgeon, renders him more free from the influence which might be exercised over another servant of the Company.

“It is moreover highly desirable that there should be a resident Magistrate at Fort Rupert, as the miners and labourers there have shown a disposition to riot, which, if not checked may lead to serious consequences, the Indian population being numerous, savage and treacherous; and the distance from Victoria and the total want of means of communication between the two places increases the inconveniences. I would strongly recommend a duty to be imposed on the importation and manufacture of ardent spirits, as their introduction tends to demoralize the Indians to a most dangerous degree, but I conceive I have not the power to impose such duty, free trade having been declared here, without further instructions, which I would request on this point at your Lordship's earliest convenience.

“I may here mention that the accounts which have been published respecting the barbarous treatment of the Indian population by the Hudson's Bay Company, are both from my own personal observa-

tion, and from all I have been able to gather on the subject, entirely without foundation. They are always treated with the greatest consideration—far greater than the white labourers, and in many instances are allowed liberties and impunities in the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments that I regard as extremely unsafe. No liquor is given them by the Company on any pretence, but it is impossible to prevent their obtaining it from the merchant vessels that visit the coast."

The Governor's official notification of Mr. Helmcken's appointment is as follows:

"You are hereby appointed to act as Magistrate and Justice of the Peace, for the protection of and preservation of order amongst her Majesty's subjects in and about Fort Rupert, and in the adjoining district of Vancouver Island, subject always to her Majesty's approval of your appointment, when your Commission will be formally made out and forwarded to you, till which time this letter shall be a sufficient warranty for your acting as Magistrate of the District, and exercising all powers that belong to that office."

The next despatch portrays very vividly the condition of the colony and affords an insight into the dangers and difficulties that beset the pioneers in the outlying posts: "I have to inform your Lordship," wrote the Governor, on August 18, 1850, "of the massacre of three British Subjects by the Newitly Indians, near Fort Rupert. Want of force has prevented me from making any attempt to secure the murderers; indeed the only safeguard of the Colony consists in the occasional visits of the cruisers of the Pacific Squadron which only occur at rare intervals, and for short calls. The massacre of these men has produced a great effect on the white inhabitants, many of whom do not scruple to accuse the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company of having instigated the Indians to the deed by offers of reward for the recovery of the men (sailors who had absconded) dead or alive. I have not yet been able to inquire into the truth of this report, but it is very widely spread, and men say that they ground their belief on what the Hudson's Bay Company have done before. The establishment at Fort Rupert is in a very critical state. A letter I have received from Mr. Helmcken, the resident magistrate, states that the people are so excited by the massacre, which they charge their employers with instigating; that they have in a body refused

all obedience both to their employers and to him as magistrate; that he is utterly unable to maintain any authority, as they universally refuse to serve as constables, and insist upon the settlement being abandoned; that to attempt such a step would lead to their entire destruction, as they are surrounded by the Quarolts, one of the most warlike tribes on the coast, three thousand in number and well armed. Mr. Helmcken has tendered his resignation as Magistrate, as without proper support the office merely exposes him to contempt and insult; and he further states that being in the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, he cannot conscientiously decide the cases which occur, which are almost invariably between that Company and their servants. This is the very objection I stated to your Lordship against employing persons connected with the Company in any public capacity in the Colony. I am in the expectation of the arrival of one of Her Majesty's ships of war, according to the promises of Admiral Hornby, Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific, when I shall be able to proceed to the North and restore order. In the meantime I have prohibited any persons from leaving Fort Rupert without special permission, as, if the people attempt to abandon the settlement and straggle about the coast, they will infallibly be cut off by the Indians, who are daily becoming more inclined to outrage, and are emboldened by impunity.

"The miners have left the Colony in a body, owing to a dispute with their employers. The seam of coal is consequently undiscovered.

"I have seen a very rich specimen of gold ore said to have been brought by the Indians of Queen Charlotte's Island, but I have at present no further account of it."

On September 18, 1850, the Governor writes in the following strain:

"Vancouver Island, September 18th, 1850.

"My Lord,

"I have nothing of importance to communicate respecting this Colony, as all communication is stopped with the northern part of the Island, and the want of force has prevented me from going there myself to enquire into the late disturbances.

"Some complaints of Indian outrages have reached me from Sooke, about thirty miles from Victoria, where a gentleman of the name of Grant, late in Her Majesty's service, has a small settlement.

He complains of want of protection, which, owing to the distance at which he is located cannot be afforded him; he informs me that he was anxious to settle near Victoria, but was not allowed to do so by the Hudson's Bay Company, who have appropriated all the valuable land in the neighbourhood.

"Future settlers will labour under the same disadvantages, viz: being dispersed at considerable distances from each other, and from the establishment, as well as being exposed to the depredations of the Indians, which no means are afforded me of checking.

"I would beg to press on your Lordship's consideration, the necessity of protecting this Colony by a garrison of regular troops, in preference to a body of pensioners, for as the principal service that they would be called on to perform would be to repress and overawe the natives, a moveable force would be necessary, and I think that Marines would be better calculated for the duty than Troops of the Line. Two companies would be sufficient, of which a detachment would be stationed at Fort Rupert, and the remainder near Victoria; a cantonment might easily be formed on the plains near Esquimalt Harbour, and as timber is abundant there, the Troops if landed in the spring, could easily complete their own barracks before the rainy season, which does not commence till October. The expense of maintaining a garrison would be inconsiderable and there are ample funds for the purpose, as the Hudson's Bay Company have still in their hands the price of the lands they have taken in their own name, and that of the Puget Sound Association. Should your Lordship decide on placing such a garrison, I should recommend that an Engineer Officer should be sent beforehand to select such sites for barracks, &c., as might be most convenient.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) RICHARD BLANSHARD,

"Governor of Vancouver Island."

In the meantime H. M. S. *Daedalus*, under the command of Captain G. Wellesley, arrived at Victoria, and she was immediately commissioned by the Governor to proceed to Fort Rupert to apprehend the murderers, and to overawe the Indians with a display of force.

The operations of the war ship are set forth in the Governor's monthly report of October, 1850:

"Fort Rupert, Vancouver Island,  
"October 19th, 1850.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Her M. S. *Daedalus*, under the command of Captain G. Wellesley, visited this Colony on the 22nd of September last. On my informing Captain Wellesley that three murders had been committed by the Indians, and also of my inability to take any measures for the punishment of the murderers, he consented to proceed with the *Daedalus* to Fort Rupert, near which the murders were committed, to give any assistance that might be required. On my arrival at Fort Rupert, I found that the officer of the Hudson's Bay Company who had been despatched by Dr. Helmcken to make enquiries respecting the murder had on his return given a totally false account of the result of those enquiries, asserting that he owed no obedience except to the Hudson's Bay Company. He shortly afterwards crossed the strait to a post of the Company's and made a declaration of the real facts to Mr. Douglas, a Chief Factor of the Company. Of this statement I was not furnished with a copy till after my arrival here, a few days ago, and not till the investigation was concluded. Thus two conflicting stories were in circulation at once, which, being traced to the same source, raised suspicions of foul play, and caused the report that I have previously mentioned, viz: that the unfortunate men had been murdered by order of the Hudson's Bay Company. A deposition that has since been made me on oath, backed by the evidence of an Interpreter and several of the Indian Chiefs, was perfectly conclusive, not only as to the Tribes, but as to the very persons of the murderers. On the 11th of October, Dr. Helmcken visited the Newitly Camp, about 12 miles distant, and demanded, by name, the murderers for trial; the whole tribe took up arms; they acknowledged the murder, and offered furs in payment, but refused to surrender the guilty parties, declaring themselves hostile, and threatened the lives of the Magistrate and his party, pointing their guns at them. On learning this I applied to Captain Wellesley for assistance, and he dispatched the boats of the *Daedalus* on the 12th, to apprehend the murderers by force, if necessary. They returned on the 13th, and I have the honour to enclose

your Lordship a copy of the report, by which you will see that the whole tribe had deserted their camp, which was burnt by the Officer commanding the boats. I have offered a reward for the apprehension of three of the murderers, the fourth who was present being only a boy of nine years of age.

"The *Daedalus* left me at Fort Rupert, on the 14th inst., to proceed to San Francisco, being unable to remain longer on account of shortness of provisions.

"With regard to the disturbances that had taken place among the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company's servants, they have completely subsided, insomuch so that Dr. Helmcken did not find it necessary to publish the proclamation of which I sent your Lordship a copy. The disturbance had been occasioned by the bad quality of food which had been served out to the English labourers, as well as by two miners being actually placed in irons illegally for some days, for refusing to perform some work.

"The miners made me a written complaint on the subject, demanding redress, but they left the Island before I was able to take any notice of it.

"I regret to say that Dr. Helmcken has declined acting any longer as Magistrate on the ground that the only causes are between the Hudson's Bay Company and their servants; and as being a paid servant of the former he cannot be considered an impartial person. This objection is good against all servants of the Company holding Commissions, as they can be removed from the Colony at a moment's notice by their employers and are kept in the greatest subjection.

"There are at present no settlers at all in the Island, Mr. Grant left for the Sandwich Islands some days ago.

"I am, &c.,

"(Signed) RICHARD BLANSHARD,

"Governor of Vancouver Island."

In due course Earl Grey acknowledged the despatches of the Governor of Vancouver Island. His replies were generally short, and with few exceptions, contained little of value to the historian. On July 16, 1850, the noble Earl observed:

"Sir,

"Downing Street, 16 July 1850.

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 8th April reporting your arrival at Fort Victoria on the 10th of March,

and the public perusal of your Commission as Governor and Commander in Chief in and over Vancouver's Island and its dependencies.

"You have acted correctly in deferring, under the circumstances of the case, the nomination of your first council as it is not incumbent on you to make your appointment to the Board until a sufficient number of settlers shall have arrived to afford you the opportunity of making a proper selection. At the same time it is expedient that no unnecessary delay should take place in constructing your Council, and establishing the prescribed institutions for the Government of the Colony.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

Grey."

And again on March 20, 1851, Earl Grey wrote:

"Downing Street, 20th of March 1851.

"Sir,

"I have to acknowledge your Despatch, No. 6, of September 18th last, conveying the last accounts of the state of affairs in Vancouver's Island up to that date.

"2 I must distinctly inform you, that it is not in the power of Her Majesty's Government to maintain a detachment of regular troops to garrison the Island.

"3 With reference to the murder committed by the Indians on the unfortunate Seaman in the neighbourhood of Fort Rupert. Her Majesty's Government have received intelligence, through Rear Admiral Hornby, of the proceeding which you caused to be taken by Captain Wellesley of H. M. S. *Daedalus* to demand, and if possible, to punish the murderers since the date of your despatch. From information which has thus reached me I by no means feel satisfied of the step which you took in directing this expedition, which appears to have failed in its main object. And at all events it is necessary that I should state for your guidance on future occasions that Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to protect, or attempt to punish injuries committed upon British subjects, who voluntarily expose themselves to the violence or treachery of the Native Tribes at a distance from the settlements. I have no reason to suppose from

the accounts which have reached me both from yourself and other quarters, that the Settlements themselves are in actual danger.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble Servant,

"Grey."

From the despatches of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, it would appear that he scarcely realized the unfortunate position of Governor Blanshard. His letters displayed little cordiality or sympathy; perhaps he was not altogether pleased with Blanshard's lugubrious communications, or, perhaps he repented that he had not in the first place acquiesced to Sir John Pelly's proposal that James Douglas be made Governor of the Island. Be that as it may, when Blanshard tendered his resignation, it was readily accepted in a letter which contained no words of appreciation of his services. It was not so, however, with the independent settlers, as the persons in no way connected with the Company were termed. Without loss of time they prepared a memorial, setting forth their grievances and their fears for the colony if it should be left to the control of the Hudson's Bay Company; and their regret at His Excellency's determination to leave the Island. The memorial was signed by nearly all of the independent settlers, and by the Rev. Robert John Staines, the Company's chaplain at Fort Victoria. It states so succinctly the position of the colonists and sets forth so plainly their idea of the Hudson's Bay Company, in its capacity as a nation builder, that the historian of that period cannot afford to overlook it; it holds an important place among the early State papers of the colony of Vancouver Island that it is worthy of being reproduced in these pages. The document reads as follows:

"To His Excellency RICHARD BLANSHARD, Esquire, Governor of Vancouver's Island:

"May it please your Excellency,

"We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Vancouver Island, having learned with regret that your Excellency has resigned the government of this colony, and understanding that the government has been committed to a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, cannot



but express our unfeigned surprise and concern at such an appointment.

"The Hudson's Bay Company being, as it is, a great trading body, must necessarily have interests clashing with those of independent colonists. Most matters of a political nature will cause a contest between the agents of the Company and the colonists. Many matters of a judicial nature also, will, undoubtedly, arise in which the Colonists and the Company (or its servants) will be contending parties, or the upper servants and the lower servants of the Company will be arrayed against each other. We beg to express in the most emphatical and plainest manner, our assurance that impartial decisions cannot be expected from a Governor, who is not only a member of the Company, sharing its profits—his share of such profits rising and falling as they rise and fall—but is also charged as their chief agent with the sole representation of their trading interests in this island and the adjacent coasts.

"Furthermore, thus situated, the colony will have no security that its public funds will be duly disposed of solely for the benefit of the colony in general, and not turned aside in any degree to be applied to the private purposes of the Company, by disproportionate sums being devoted to the improvement of that tract of land held by them, or otherwise unduly employed.

"Under these circumstances, we beg to acquaint your Excellency with our deep sense of the absolute necessity there is, for the real good and welfare of the country, that a council should be immediately appointed, in order to provide some security that the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company shall not be allowed to outweigh and ruin those of the colony in general.

"We, who join in expressing these sentiments to your Excellency are unfortunately but a very small number, but we respectfully beg your Excellency to consider that we, and we alone, represent the interests of the island as a free and independent British colony, for we constitute the whole body of the independent settlers, all the other inhabitants being, in some way or other, so connected with and controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company, as to be deprived of freedom of action in all matters relating to the public affairs of the colony some indeed by their own confession, as may be proved if necessary. And we further allege our firm persuasion, that the untoward influences

to which we have adverted above are likely, if entirely unguarded against, not only to prevent any increase of free and independent colonists in the island, but positively to diminish their present numbers.

"We, therefore, humbly request your Excellency to take into your gracious consideration the propriety of appointing a Council before your Excellency's departure, such being the most anxious and earnest desire of your Excellency's devoted and loyal subjects.

"(Signed)

"JAMES YATES, Landowner.

"ROBERT JOHN STAINES, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company.

"JAMES COOPER, Merchant and Landowner.

"THOMAS MONROE, Lessee of Captain Grant's Land at Sooke.

"WILLIAM M'DONALD, Carpenter and House-builder.

"JAMES SANGSTER, Settler.

"JOHN MUIR, sen., Settler, Sooke.

"WILLIAM FRASER, Settler, Sooke.

"ANDREW MUIR, Settler, Sooke.

"JOHN M'GREGOR, Settler, Sooke.

"JOHN MUIR, jun., Settler, Sooke.

"MICHAEL MUIR, Settler, Sooke.

"ROBERT MUIR, Settler, Sooke.

"ARCHIBALD MUIR, Settler, Sooke.

"THOMAS BLINKHORN, Settler, Michonsan."

Can it be possible that the prophecy contained in Lieutenant Dundas' report to Earl Grey had already come true? At any rate the memorial of the independent settlers shows very clearly that already their interests had clashed with the interests of the monopoly. It was the first concerted action of the settlers against the Company; and it was an ominous portent of the future. The first settlers were dependent upon the Company for everything that they required—not only for supplies—but for markets and transportation facilities. With the exception of an occasional whaler, or American trader, no ships visited Vancouver Island but those belonging to the Company; hence the Company effectively controlled the avenues of trade beyond the bounds of the colony. The Company had a large trade with the

Russian settlement at Sitka, and to that port it shipped the surplus products of its farms, a trade that was not open to the colonists. Again, the Company was the only purchaser on the island and its store at Fort Victoria was the only market where supplies might be bought or produce sold. The officer in charge of the fort, therefore, regulated the price paid for such things as the settlers might wish to sell. The settlers felt rightly or wrongly that their interests were subordinated to those of the Company.

There was another factor, however, that affected in no small degree the economic condition of the colony, and that was the gold excitement in California. In California high wages were paid at the mines, and merchandise of all kinds fetched high prices and naturally men flocked thither from all parts of the world. The Hudson's Bay Company at that time experienced great difficulty in keeping its men, for the alluring prospects of the gold fields enticed them away, and many of them deserted in consequence.

Yet, perhaps the greatest obstacles in the path of progress were the high price of land, and the Company's reserves. Ten miles square of the best agricultural land then known on the Island, had been reserved by the Company for its own use and for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. As this embraced all land in the immediate vicinity of the Fort, settlers were obliged to buy their farms in the remote districts of Metchosin and Sooke, where they were unprotected from the Indians, and a long distance from their only market. No land could be obtained for less than one pound an acre, and for every hundred acres purchased, a settler was obliged to bring out five men at his own expense.

Captain W. C. Grant, a retired army officer, was the first independent settler to reach the island. He arrived on the *Harpooner*, in June, 1849, and brought with him the first party of colonists under the system inaugurated by the Company. The party consisted of eight men. Captain Grant had been induced to take this step by the Company's advertisement in the London Times. On his arrival he found that all the land in the neighbourhood of Victoria and Esquimalt had been placed under reserve. He was recommended to settle at Metchosin, but not finding the land in that district desirable, he proceeded to Sooke, and there, at a distance of twenty-six miles from Victoria, he settled down. He soon grew tired, however, of life in the wilderness, and a year or two later, left the island in disgust.

In looking back at that period, it seems that the animosities and bickerings that were such a feature of the American settlements in Oregon, were to distinguish the infant British colony. The colonists were dissatisfied with the Company, and the Company's servants were perpetually at unrest; life at the fort was scarcely in keeping with the beauty of its surroundings. His Excellency, the Governor, tired of his exile, and disappointed in his hopes, tendered his resignation, pleading ill health and lack of means as the cause of his wish to be recalled. A year had not elapsed after his arrival in the colony, when he wrote to Earl Grey—"I regret to inform your Lordship that I find myself compelled to tender my resignation as Governor, and solicit an immediate call from this colony, as my private fortune is utterly insufficient for the mere cost of living here, so high have prices been run up by the Hudson's Bay Company, and as for our independent settlers, every requisite for existence must be obtained from them. My health has completely given way under repeated attacks of ague, and shows no signs of amending. Under these circumstances I trust your Lordship will at once recall me, and appoint some person as my successor, whose larger fortune may enable him to defray charges, which involve me in certain ruin. I trust that your Lordship will give directions that I may be furnished with a passage as far as Panama in one of Her Majesty's ships, as my state of health will not bear the long voyage round Cape Horn, and, being compelled to defray the expenses of my passage out by the Hudson's Bay Company, who repudiated the Bills their chairman had authorized me to draw, has so straitened my private means, that I am unable to pay the heavy expenses of the route through California."

The Governor's resignation was dated November, 1850: Grey's letter of acceptance was written on April 3, 1851, and reached Blanshard in August. Thus nearly ten months elapsed between the despatch of the one, and the receipt of the other—a fact that well illustrates the isolated position of Vancouver Island at that time.

## CHAPTER XVI

### REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

The year 1849 is memorable for three notable events in the history of British Columbia. In that year Vancouver Island was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company under certain conditions; the Colony of Vancouver Island was created; and the Hudson's Bay Company completed the transfer of its headquarters from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River to Fort Victoria. During the six years that had elapsed since Victoria was founded in 1843, that place had assumed importance as the emporium of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in the West. In 1849, however, there were, beside the native tribes, only one or two hundred people on the Island, all of whom were connected in some way or other with the monopoly. Richard Blanshard, as related, retired in 1851, being succeeded by James Douglas, who was destined to see vast changes take place in the territory he was called upon to administer in behalf of both the Imperial Government and the Hudson's Bay Company. Upon his promotion Governor Douglas called Mr. Roderick Finlayson to fill his seat in the Council.

From 1851 to 1856 the Colony of Vancouver Island was administered by the Governor with the advice and assistance of the Legislative Council, the members of which were appointed by Royal Commission under the Great Seal of the Realm. The Council so created exercised a restraining influence upon the Legislative Assembly established later and sometimes even modified the policy of the Governor, but James Douglas virtually ruled the Colony. The Council did not hold an annual session, but met for the despatch of public business as occasion required. At first the Governor had no cabinet and it would appear that in some measure the Council performed the duties of Prime Minister and Executive.

It is interesting as well as instructive to peer back into the past

and to look in upon the embryo parliament at work in the Council Hall of old Fort Victoria. The Minute Book of the Governor's advisers shows what questions agitated the little Colony and how they were settled. It also explains the origin and portrays the growth of the public policy of the Colonial administrators. Even that day had its labour issue, its liquor question, and its educational problem, not to speak of such matters as public defence and the administration of justice. The old Minute Book alluded to—which is one of the most valuable of the historical records of that early period—throws much light upon the work of the Colonial legislature.

Peculiarly enough, one of the first matters to receive attention was the labour question. The discovery of gold in California had induced many servants of the Company to desert, with the result that many of the posts were shorthanded, while the men who remained exhibited a tendency to insubordination. The Governor, long accustomed to the stern rule of the furtrader, looked with disfavour upon this new attitude of the voyageur and servant. The matter came to a head on the 28th day of April, 1852, when the Minutes record that "The Governor proposed that a law should be passed adapted to the circumstances of the Colony, regulating the relations of employer and servant, and for punishing offences, such as insolent language, neglect of duty, and absence without leave of the employer by summary infliction of fine or imprisonment." The measure was deemed "highly important and necessary" and was deferred for consideration.

The Governor next submitted a plan for raising a permanent revenue by imposing a duty of five per centum on all imports of British and foreign goods. "I am now preparing a Bill," Douglas observed in one of his despatches to the Colonial Secretary, "for imposing a custom's duty on imports, as a means of meeting the ordinary expenses of Government; but the subject must be approached with caution, as there is a very general feeling in both Council and Assembly against taxation under any form, and I am prepared to encounter much clamour and opposition in carrying so unpopular a measure through the Houses."

The sequel shows that the Governor had correctly appraised the temper of his Council. The proposal was met with the unanswerable objection that it would prove a bar to the progress of "settle-

ment, impose a heavy burden on settlers from England importing implements and furniture, and that in the present state of the Colony, there not being above twenty settlers on the whole Island, the sum arising from the duty would not much exceed the expense of the officers necessary for its collection." Thus a free-trade policy was inaugurated in Vancouver Island,—a policy which afterwards became a recognized principle of the administrators of that Colony. Later on that policy bore fruit in the rivalry of the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, which reached its height when the question of union was being discussed in the years 1864, 1865 and 1866.

The liquor question naturally invited the attention of the legislators and indeed it appeared that the time was ripe for a regulation of the liquor traffic,—if the assertion contained in a private diary is true. "It would almost take," says this record, "a line of packet ships running between here and San Francisco to supply this Island with grog, so great a thirst prevails among its inhabitants."<sup>1</sup> However that may be, early in 1853 the Governor suggested to the Council "the propriety of taking into consideration the best means of restraining the abuse, and excessive importation of spirituous liquors into this Colony." It not being considered properly within the jurisdiction of the Governor in Council without the consent of the representatives of the people to impose customs duties on imports," he proposed that a duty should be charged on all "Licences, granted to Inns, Public or Beer Houses, and it was therefore resolved that there shall be levied, collected and paid upon the Licences hereby authorized the duties following that is to say: For every wholesale licence, the annual sum of one hundred pounds: For every retail licence the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds. The said duties to be under the management of the Governor and Council."<sup>2</sup>

It was further resolved that "a wholesale Licence shall be construed to mean, the sale of Spirits by the Cask or Case as imported, and that a retail licence shall authorize the sale of smaller quantities of Spirits, for reasonable refreshment; to be consumed on the premises. It is provided however, that it shall be lawful for wholesale dealers, notwithstanding what has been resolved, above, to sell

<sup>1</sup> Royal Emigrant's Almanac; Concerning Five Years' Servitude under the Hudson's Bay Company on Vancouver Island. Ms. in Provincial Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Council, Ms., p. 10.

spirituous liquors to Farmers or other persons, possessed of landed property; residing at a distance from any licensed ale house, in any quantities not under two gallons, provided the same be intended to be consumed on the premises for the household use of such Farmers, or their Servants, and not for sale." "

The policy of the administration with regard to regulation of the liquor traffic was embodied in "An Act regulating the importation and sale of spirituous liquors on Vancouver Island," which was a comprehensive piece of legislation. While the measure was being discussed, the Council recorded its views as to the undesirability of a Member engaging in the liquor business in the following resolution: "That we consider it derogatory to the character of a Member of Council to be a retail dealer in spirituous liquors, or to follow any calling that may endanger the peace or be injurious to public morals."

The regulations touching the sale of liquor were evidently not altogether popular, for Mr. James Yates petitioned "that the form of the retail liquor licence might be so altered as to authorize publicans to sell spirits by the bottle to be consumed off the premises."

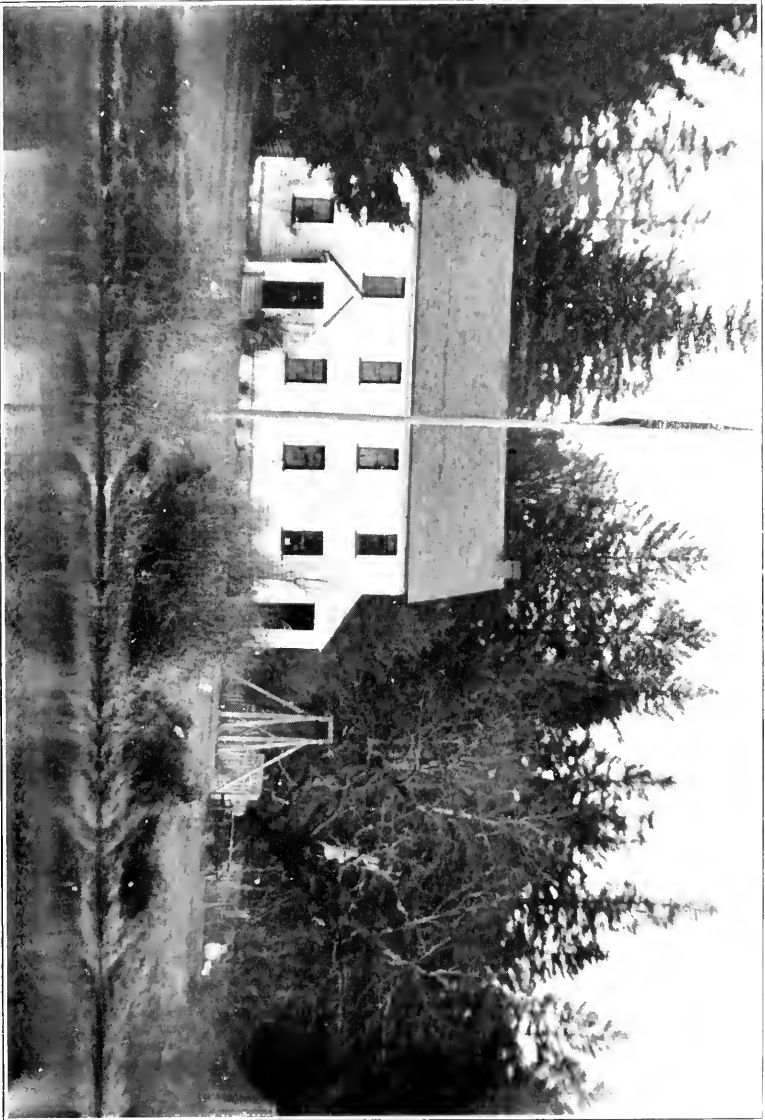
It is worthy of record that in the matter of public instruction the Councillors were actuated by commendable zeal. Considering the meagre resources of the Colony, the schools were generously supported, as the following Minute of March 29, 1853, testifies: "The subject of public instruction was next brought under the consideration of the Council. Applications having been made from various districts of the Country for Schools, it was resolved that two schools should be opened without delay, one to be placed on the peninsula, near the Puget Sound Company's Establishment at Maple Point, and another at Victoria—there being about 30 children and youths of both sexes, respectively at each of those places. It was therefore resolved that the sum of £500 be appropriated for the erection of a schoolhouse at Victoria, to contain a dwelling for the teacher, 2 school rooms, and several bedrooms, and that provision should be made hereafter, for the erection of a House at Maple Point." "

Again, under the date of Tuesday, 31st March, 1853, it is set forth that "The Council then resumed the subject of the school, and fixed upon a site near Minie's Plain, and that the size of the building should be 40 feet long by 40 feet broad."

<sup>3</sup> Minutes of Council, Ms., p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Minutes of Council, 29th March, 1853.





FIRST SCHOOL ON VANCOUVER ISLAND

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As the settlements were scattered and the pupils had to travel long distances, boarding schools were a necessity. Education was free, as it is today, but board and lodging had to be paid for. An insight into the cost of living in early days is afforded by the proposal of the Colonial teacher, Mr. Robert Barr, that the children placed under his superintendence for tuition should be boarded at the rates given below:

To the Officers and Servants of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company, per annum 16 guineas; to the Colonists not Servants of the Hon. Company, 18 guineas; to non-residents on Vancouver's Island, non-servants of the Hon. Company, 20 guineas.

The Council evidently considered these charges too high, for it was resolved that "Mr. Barr be permitted to make the following charges for the board of Pupils, viz:

"For the Children of Colonists residents of Vancouver's Island, and of Servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, 18 guineas per annum; for the Children of non-residents not being Servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, any sum that may be agreed upon, with the parties."

In February, 1856, the Governor recommended that the Reverend Edward Cridge, District Minister of Victoria, should be appointed a member of the committee to enquire into and report upon the state of the "Publick Schools." It was therefore resolved: "That the Reverend Edward Cridge be according to the Governor's recommendation appointed a member of said Committee, and be requested to hold quarterly examinations, and to report on the progress and conduct of the pupils, on the system of management and on all other matters connected with the District Schools which may appear deserving of attention."<sup>5</sup> Thus the late Bishop Cridge became associated with the educational system of the Colony as the first inspector of schools. For many years he served in that capacity and also as schoolmaster, with no small honour to himself and to the great benefit of the community and the State. Few men in early days achieved a wider popularity or rendered more essential service than the indefatigable District Minister, who was respected and beloved by all. The Company's Chaplain was indeed—as the Hon. John Work observed in one of his letters—"a very worthy man."

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of Council, p. 35.

The erection of a Court House, the building of roads and bridges and a parish church next occupied the attention of the Council. It is noteworthy that in July, 1854, the sum of five hundred pounds was appropriated for each of these praiseworthy objects. Shortly thereafter no less a sum than thousand pounds was voted for a hospital. The administration of justice was also discussed and machinery provided for giving effect to the law. Edward E. Langford, of Langford Plains, was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Esquimalt District; Thomas Blenkhorn, for Metchosin; and Thomas I. Skinner and Kenneth McKenzie for the Peninsula, the name given to the tongue of land bounded by Victoria Harbour and Arm, Esquimalt Harbour and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. No resident of Sooke possessing the necessary qualifications, that district had no magistrate until some time later.

It must not be imagined, however, that the Council was solely concerned with parochial affairs. There were larger issues. Thus, when the news that Great Britain had declared war against Russia reached the Colony, the matter was brought before the Council by His Excellency the Governor. On July 12, 1854, the Hon. John Tod, Senior Member, the Hon. James Cooper, the Hon. Roderick Finlayson, and the Hon. John Work solemnly discussed the Crimean War in its relation to the peace and welfare of Vancouver Island.

For a knowledge of what happened on that historic occasion one must turn again to the old Minute Book, so frequently quoted, wherein it is recorded: "The Council then proceeded to consider the state of the country, and the means of defending it against the Queen's enemies, in the case of invasion." It then goes on to relate that "The Governor proposed to call out and arm all the men in the Colony capable of bearing arms and to levy and arm an auxiliary body of native Indians. It was urged as an objection to that measure that the small number of whites in the settlement could collectively offer no effectual resistance against a powerful enemy; and it was considered dangerous to arm and drill the natives, who might then become more formidable to the Colony than a foreign enemy. Several other objections were made to the measure, but the reasons above stated are the most important. It was therefore deemed expedient to leave the defence of the Colony, against the attempts of Russia, to the care of

Her Majesty's Government, and not to call out the militia of the Colony."

It was, however, "Resolved, as a means of protection, to charter the Hudson's Bay Company's Propeller *Otter*, armed and manned with a force of 30 hands, including Captain, Officers and Engineers, and to employ her, in watching over the safety of the settlements, until Her Majesty's Government takes some other measures for our protection; and that arrangements be immediately made to carry that resolve into effect."

A few years later there was a recrudescence of the Russian scare, which resulted in the building of earthworks and emplacements for big guns all along the coast from Duntze Head to Beacon Hill Park.

On more than one occasion the "Northern Savages" menaced the infant settlement. In June, 1855, the Governor represented to His Council that much alarm existed among the Colonists on this account, stating that he was often called upon to settle differences arising between the settler and the savage, and that such differences were often carried to dangerous lengths. He feared that they might lead to serious consequences, involving the loss of life and property. He suggested, therefore, that a force should be raised immediately and placed at his disposal to meet emergencies. The Council readily acquiesced and on June 21, 1855, the Governor was authorized to raise a company of ten to consist of eight privates, one corporal, one sergeant, besides a competent officer to act as commander. The force was to be maintained at the public expense until "the Northern Savages leave the settlements." The pay to be allowed to the persons joining the company was not to exceed the following rates:

Privates—30 dollars per month with rations.

Corporals—31 dollars per month with rations.

Sergeants—33 dollars per month with rations.

In the following year the Governor again directed the attention of the Council to the defence of the country, "which is at present entirely destitute of any military force." The Northern Indians were beginning to arrive in the settlement and it was reported on the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers that a very large body of those savages were to be expected in the course of the summer. The Council again promptly responded to the alarm and a rifle company was formed, consisting of thirty men and officers. It

does not appear, however, that the Colonial forces were ever called upon to repel an attack or to take the field. Thanks to Sir James Douglas's great influence over the natives, there were few massacres such as those which occurred in the Chilcotin country in 1864.

It must be admitted that the Colony owed its safety chiefly to the protection afforded by the Royal Navy. Her Majesty's ships of war frequently visited Esquimalt, and the officers in command were ever ready to assist the Governor to quell disturbances amongst the natives. On several occasions the vessels of the Pacific fleet rendered signal service in this connection. It was during the war with Russia until the withdrawal of the fleet from these waters in 1905. After the disastrous attack of the allied British and French fleets on the [that Esquimalt was made a British naval base and such it remained] Kamschatkan port of Petropavlovsk, it was considered necessary to provide for the requirements of vessels that might be employed in future operations in the North Pacific, and accordingly a hospital and storehouse were erected. The first buildings cost in the neighbourhood of a thousand pounds, and they were built under the personal supervision of James Douglas, who was ever a practical and ardent Imperialist.

In speaking of the Crimean War as it affected the Colony of Vancouver Island one is constrained to observe that it seems peculiar, if not incomprehensible, that, while a determined effort was made to capture the Russian base at Petropavlovsk, Russian America or Alaska was in no way molested. A single line of battleships might have reduced Sitka and taken the whole of Alaska, but nothing of the kind was attempted. There is a very interesting explanation of this apparent neglect of a legitimate opportunity to extend the sphere of British influence in the North Pacific. It appears that at the beginning of hostilities the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company entered into a secret agreement to use their influence with their respective governments to the end that the war should not be carried into Alaska, to the detriment of the furtrade. It speaks much for the power wielded by these monopolies that their secret agreement was endorsed by the British and Russian Governments, and in spite of the war the furtrade of Alaska was carried on as usual.

The Governor and his Council did not control Colonial lands, the Hudson's Bay Company holding the land under the grant of Jan-

uary 13, 1849. After the Royal Grant was annulled, the lands reverted to the Crown and it was not until then that a land policy, if such it may be called, was evolved. From 1849 to 1859 the Company sold the land and issued titles thereto. Of the money arising from the proceeds of such sales, eighteen shillings and six-pence in every pound sterling was to be applied to the benefit of the Colony, one shilling and six-pence in the pound being reserved to the Company as compensation. As soon as the Crown resumed control, the land question came under the notice of the Council, and then it was that an embryo public policy in that particular was framed. The matter formed the subject of a debate in Council on March 26, 1860. Of the speeches delivered on that occasion no full report has survived, but the minutes of Council have this much to say upon the subject:

"The Council are unanimously of opinion that a low price—Say 4/—an acre—combined with occupation and improvement, would conduce to the general settlement of the Country. But the Council recommends that if the price is reduced, such conditions shall be imposed as will prevent large quantities of land being bought for Speculative purposes, to the prejudice of persons of limited means wishing to obtain land at a low price *to cultivate it*.

"A plan of pre-empting land, the Council is of opinion, would also enhance the benefits of a low price of land, as it would enable a Farmer to take immediate possession without having to wait for Surveys; but the land must be so selected as not to leave out Rocks, Swamps, &c., &c.

"The quantity to be pre-empted by each pre-emptor, the Council thinks should be 160 acres.

"Although advocating a low price, the Council would object to tying up *all* the waste land of the Crown under a pre-emption system. They would wish that such a system would be established as would enable a capitalist to procure expensive quantities of land when required for laudable objects. Cases of this sort might be charged *more* than 4/—an acre, and conditions might be attached to them to prevent abuse. Power should be given to some body to regulate such cases."

Under the Commission and Instructions issued to Governor Blanshard, he was directed to summon general assemblies of freeholders, qualified by the ownership of his Council, to make laws and ordinances for the good government of the Island. The same

commission contained another clause professing to empower the Governor to make laws with the advice of his Council only. Perhaps this clause was introduced with the view of creating a legislative body to meet the immediate wants of the community before an elective house could be summoned. From the general tenor of the documents in question, as well as from the expressed intention of Her Majesty's Government at the time they were framed, it seems perfectly clear that it was contemplated that such assemblies should be summoned as soon as practicable. But the Colony did not develop as rapidly as its founders may have expected. In any event the Governor in Council continued to govern the Island, and no thought was given to the establishment of a popular assembly. So affairs of state in the Colony of Vancouver Island followed the even tenor of their way until 1856. In that year, however, Colonial officialdom received a rude shock. Heretofore the few Colonists on the Island had not expressed a keen desire for the inauguration of a representative system. As a matter of fact, they were so few and so scattered that the elective principle seemed impossible of application. Moreover the Governor and Council provided a fairly satisfactory administration. The same instructions as issued to Governor Blanshard were issued to Governor Douglas, and he, likewise, had paid little attention to them.

Judge of the surprise, therefore, of His Excellency the Governor and of the Honourable Members of the Legislative Council when the Right Honourable Henry Labouchere's despatch of February 28, 1856, reached Victoria. Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies remarked: "Considering the small number of established colonists, you thought it advisable to act on the power apparently given to yourself to conduct the affairs of the Island with the advice of your Council only, and to pass certain laws which you considered most required by the exigencies of the time. In doing so, you proceeded on a fair understanding of the authority conveyed to you, and Her Majesty's Government are fully satisfied with the course which you took.

"Nevertheless, it has been doubted by authorities conversant in the principles of colonial law, whether the Crown can legally convey authority to make laws in a settlement founded by Englishmen, even for a temporary and special purpose, to any legislature not elected wholly or in part, by the settlers themselves. If this be the case, the



clause in your Commission on which you relied would appear to be unwarranted and invalid.

"It appears to Her Majesty's Government, therefore, that steps should be taken at once for the establishment of the only legislature authorized by the present constitution of the Island. I have, accordingly, to instruct you to call together an Assembly in the terms of your Commission and Instructions.

"For this purpose it will be within your power, as provided by the ninth clause of your Instructions, to fix the number of representatives, and, if you should consider it essential, to divide the Colony into districts, and to establish separate polling places, although with so small a number of settlers you may find this inexpedient.

"I leave it to your local knowledge and discretion, with the advice of your Council, to suggest to the Assembly, when thus summoned, to pass such measures as you may yourself deem most required, and in particular, such as may be necessary, in order to leave no doubt of the validity of proceedings already taken without the authority of Assembly.

"But it appears to me, that in a community containing so very limited a number of inhabitants, the maintainance of a constitution on the model of those considerable colonies, with a House of Representatives and a Council, may be inexpedient: and that a smaller and more select body will, for the present, and probably for some years to come, perform in a satisfactory manner the functions really required in the present stage of progress of the Island.

"Such a body, however, can be constituted only by enactment of the Legislature, authorized by the Commission, that is to say, of the Assembly and Council, together with yourself. It would be no unusual circumstance for a legislature thus constituted to surrender its powers into the hands of a single chamber. It has been successfully done in some of the smaller West India Islands.

"I leave it to yourself to consider, with the advice of the local authorities, the members and proper qualifications of the members of such a single Council; but in the event of your determining to introduce the elective principle into it, a certain proportion, not less than one third, should be nominated by the Crown. The power of assenting to, or negating or suspending, for the assent of the Crown, the measures passed by such a Council, should be distinctly

reserved to yourself. And it is very essential that a constitutional law of this description should contain a proviso, reserving the initiation of all money votes to the local Government."

Mr. Labouchere went on to say—"An additional reason in favour of the course which I now prescribe (namely, that of calling together the assembly, and then, if the legislature so created think proper, establishing a simpler form of government) is to be found in the circumstance that the relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Crown must necessarily undergo revision before or in the year 1859. The position and future government of Vancouver's Island will then unavoidably pass under review, and if any difficulty should be experienced in carrying into execution any present instructions, a convenient opportunity will be afforded for reconsidering them."

The Colonial Secretary concluded his able despatch with the observation—"I am aware that Her Majesty's Government are imposing on you a task of some difficulty as well as responsibility in giving you these instructions, especially as they have to be carried into execution with so small an amount of assistance as the present circumstances of your settlement afford. But I have every reason to rely on your abilities and public spirit; and you may, on your part, rely on the continuance of such assistance and support as Her Majesty's Government can render you, and on their making full allowance for the peculiarities of your position."

From Governor Douglas' reply to Mr. Labouchere's communication it is easily seen that the Colonial Secretary's proposal came as a bolt from the blue. To the furtrader it must have seemed strange indeed, if not anomalous, that the people of Vancouver Island should be given a voice in the government of the Colony. Douglas—the autocratic chief factor—was not particularly in sympathy with the advanced political views of his day. "It is," he said, "I confess, not without a feeling of dismay that I contemplate the nature and amount of labour and responsibility which will be imposed upon me, in the process of carrying out the instructions conveyed in your despatch. Possessing a very slender knowledge of Legislation, without legal advice or intelligent assistance of any kind, I approach the subject with diffidence; feeling, however, all the encouragement which the kindly-promised assistance and support of Her Majesty's Government is calculated to inspire.

"Under those circumstances I beg to assure you that every exertion on my part shall be made, to give effect to your said instructions, at as early a period as possible.

"I have not had time since the arrival of your despatch, to consider the subjects treated therein as thoroughly as their importance requires; and therefore have not arrived at any definite conclusion, as to the precise plan for carrying your instructions into effect. I will, however, take the liberty of addressing you again on the subject. I observe that the terms of my Commission only empower me to summon and call general assemblies of the inhabitants owning 20 or more acres of freehold land within the said Island, apparently restricting the elective franchise to the holders of 20 acres of land and upwards, to the exclusion of holders of houses and other descriptions of property, a class more numerous than the former."

The Governor then declared:

"I am utterly averse to universal suffrage, or making population the basis of representation; but I think it expedient to extend the franchise to all persons holding a fixed property stake, whether houses or lands in the Colony; the whole of that class having interests to serve, and a distinct motive for seeking to improve the moral and material condition of the Colony."

The Governor at once proceeded to lay the Colonial Secretary's despatch before the Council and the whole matter was freely debated. The members devoted their attention chiefly to the discussion of the property qualification of members of the general assembly, the property qualification of voters, and the right of absentee proprietors to be represented in the legislature. In the end it was decided that the ownership of three hundred pounds of freehold property or immovable estate should constitute the qualifications of a member of the Assembly; that absentee proprietors should be permitted to vote through their agents or attorneys; and that the qualification of voters should be the ownership of twenty acres of freehold land or upwards. The Colony was divided into four electoral districts as follows: Victoria, Esquimalt and Metchosin, Nanaimo, and Sooke. The district of Victoria was to return three members, the district of Esquimalt and Metchosin two members, and Nanaimo and Sooke one each. The returning officers of the first popular election ever held on Vancouver Island were as follows: Andrew Muir, Victoria

district, Herbert W. O. Margary, Esquimalt and Metchosin, Charles E. Stuart, Nanaimo, and John Muir, Jr., Sooke."

In the opinion of the Governor, the division of the settlements into four electoral districts admitted of a more equal representation and gave more general satisfaction to the Colonists than a single poll in any one district. The electors were so few in number that the returns were mere nominations in all the districts with the exception of Victoria, where the contest was "stoutly maintained" by no fewer than five rival candidates. "The elections are now over," said the Governor in his despatch of 22nd July 1856, "and the Assembly is convened for the 12th day of August." Victoria district returned Mr. J. D. Pemberton, Mr. James Yates and Mr. E. E. Langford; Esquimalt district, Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken and Mr. Thomas Skinner; Sooke district, Mr. John Muir; and the electors of Nanaimo District chose Mr. John F. Kennedy as their member.

The House of Assembly, as the first parliament of Vancouver Island was termed, met for despatch of public business on 12th August, 1856. In writing to the Colonial Secretary a few days later, the Governor observed "The affair passed off quietly and did not appear to excite much interest among the lower orders." Doctor J. S. Helmcken was elected Speaker, but no further business was transacted at the first Session because objections had been raised as to the validity of election in one instance, and as to the property qualifications in two cases, leaving four out of seven members for the transaction of the public business. "The House" said Douglas, "therefore, hardly know how to get over the difficulty." The problem was soon solved, however, and the House entered upon its labours in earnest. Mr. E. E. Langford, one of the members against whom objections had been raised on the score of qualification, retired, and Mr. J. W. McKay was duly elected by acclamation to the vacant seat.

The Governor opened the House of Assembly with a notable address, in which he ably reviewed the position of the Colony.

After congratulating the council and House on the occasion, "an event fraught with consequences of the utmost importance to the present and future inhabitants, and remarkable as the first instance

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<sup>6</sup> Proclamation, Government House, Victoria, 16th June, 1856.



Back row: J. W. Mackay, Joseph Despard Pemberton, Joseph Porter, clerk.

First row: Thomas Skinner, John Sebastian Helmcken, James Yates.

FIRST LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF VANCOUVER ISLAND, 1856

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of representative institutions being granted in the infancy of a British colony," the address proceeded:

"The history and actual position of this colony are marked by many other remarkable circumstances. Called into existence by an Act of the supreme government, immediately after the discovery of gold in California, it has maintained an arduous and incessant struggle with the disorganizing effects on labour of that discovery. Remote from every other British settlement, with its commerce trammelled, and met by restrictive duties on every side, its trade and resources remain undeveloped. Self-supporting and bearing all the expense of its own government, it presents a striking contrast to every other colony in the British Empire, and like the native pines of its storm-beaten promontories, it has acquired a slow but hardy growth. Its future progress must, under Providence, in a great measure depend on the intelligence, industry and enterprise of its inhabitants, and upon the legislative wisdom of this assembly." The address paused at this point to refer to the aid and support which the executive power might in the future expect to derive from the "local experience and knowledge of the wishes of the people and the wants of the country," which the members possessed. It then resumed:

"Gentlemen, I am happy to inform you that Her Majesty's government continues to express the most lively interest in the progress and welfare of this colony. Negotiations are now pending with the government of the United States, which may probably terminate in an extension of the reciprocity treaty to Vancouver Island. To show the commercial advantages connected with that treaty I will just mention that an import duty of £30 is levied on every £100 worth of British produce which is now sent to San Francisco, or to any other American port; or, in other words, the British proprietor pays as a tax to the United States nearly the value of every third cargo of fish, timber or coal which he sends to any American port. The reciprocity treaty utterly abolishes those fearful imposts, and establishes a system of free trade in the produce of British colonies. The effects of that measure in developing the trade and natural resources of the colony can, therefore, be hardly overestimated. The coal, the timber and the productive industries of Vancouver's Island will assume a value before unknown; while every branch of trade will start into activity, and become the means of pouring wealth

into the country. So unbounded is the reliance which I place in the enterprise and intelligence possessed by the people of this colony, and in the colony, and in the advantages of their geographical position, that with equal rights and a fair field I think they may enter into a successful competition with the people of any other country. The extension of the reciprocity treaty to this Island once gained, the interests will become inseparably connected with the principles of free trade, a system which I think it will be sound policy on our part to encourage.

"Gentlemen, the colony has been again visited this year by a large party of northern Indians, and their presence has excited in our minds a not unreasonable degree of alarm. Through the blessing of God they have kept from committing acts of open violence, and been quiet and orderly in their deportment; yet the presence of large bodies of armed savages, who have never felt the restraining influences of moral and religious training, and who are accustomed to follow the impulses of their own evil natures more than the dictation of reason or justice, gives rise to a feeling of insecurity which must exist as long as the colony remains without military protection. Her Majesty's government, ever alive to the dangers which beset the colony, have arranged with the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that the *President* frigate should be sent to Vancouver's Island; and the measure will, I have no doubt, be carried into effect without delay. I shall nevertheless continue to conciliate the good-will of the native Indian tribes by treating them with justice and forbearance, and by rigidly protecting their civil and agrarian rights. Many cogent reasons of humanity and sound policy recommend that course to our attention; and I shall, therefore, rely upon your support in carrying such measures into effect. We know, from our own experience, that the friendship of the natives is at all times useful, while it is no less certain that their enmity may become more disastrous than any other calamity to which the colony is directly exposed.

"Gentlemen of the House of Assembly, according to the constitutional usage, with you must originate all money bills; it is therefore your special province to consider the ways and means of bearing the ordinary expenses of the government, either by levying a customs duty on imports, or by a system of direct taxation. The poverty of the country and the limited means of a population struggling against



the pressure of numberless privations, must necessarily restrict the amount of taxation; it should, therefore, be our constant study to regulate the public expenditure according to the means of the country, and to live strictly within our income. The common error of running into speculative improvements entailing debts upon the colony, for a very uncertain advantage, should be carefully avoided. The demands upon the public revenue will, at present, chiefly arise from the improvement of the internal communications of the country, and providing for the education of the young, the erection of places for public worship, the defence of the country, and the administration of justice.

"Gentlemen, I feel in all its force the responsibility now resting upon us. The interests and well being of thousands yet unborn may be affected by our decisions, and they will reverence or condemn our acts according as they are found to influence, for good or for evil, the events of the future."

The first meeting of the first Colonial Legislature was a memorable event in the history of Vancouver Island. It marked the commencement of representative government, and it is notably interesting by reason of the fact that in this instance representative institutions were introduced into the Colony by the express order of Downing Street, before the Colonists themselves had moved in that direction. There was no long-drawn-out fight for the recognition of the principle of representative government, as in other colonies. That battle had already been fought and won in Canada, and by Canada for all the British dominions beyond the seas. Downing Street seemingly had taken to heart the lesson taught by the Papineau affair. The principles of Colonial administration laid down in Lord Durham's famous Report<sup>7</sup> were now recognized as the only proper principles to apply to Colonial dependencies and possessions. Mr. Labouchere recognized these principles and applied them to Vancouver Island without waiting for a mandate therefore from the settlers in that Colony. The new Legislature was inaugurated under peculiarly auspicious circumstances, no religious or bi-lingual or separate school question had ever arisen—or ever did arise—to promote factional discord in the infant settlement in the North Pacific.

<sup>7</sup> Report on the affairs of British North America, from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, 1839.

Naturally enough the House of Assembly was interested in the financial condition of the Colony, the compiling of a budget being essentially the privilege of what the Legislative Council was pleased to term "the Lower House." It was therefore resolved "that respectful application be made, on the part of the House of Assembly, to know what funds are subject to its control (if any), the amount of the same, and from what source derived; also, what fund is the royalty upon coal paid into?" The Governor replied that he was not prepared to give the House definite information upon the subject. He was of the opinion that the House could exercise a direct control only over the revenue raised in the Colony "through the Act of the General Legislature." In view of the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company conducted the land sales, collected royalties and timber duties, appropriating the moneys so derived with his advice and consent, it appeared to the Governor that the revenue derived from licensed houses was the only revenue absolutely at the disposal of the House. The revenue from this source amounted to £220 in 1853, £460 in 1854, and £340 in 1855. So it will be seen that the people of the Colony had little control over public expenditure. The Council and the Hudson's Bay Company built highways and undertook public works, defraying their cost from the general revenue. The first Supply Bill illustrates in a striking manner the financial stringency of the time. That measure, which appropriated the sum of £130, reads as follows:

"A Bill for granting certain sums of money for the use of the House of Assembly of Vancouver's Island.

"Whereas it is necessary that certain sums of money be voted for defraying the unavoidable expenses of the House of Assembly of Vancouver's Island, be it therefore enacted:

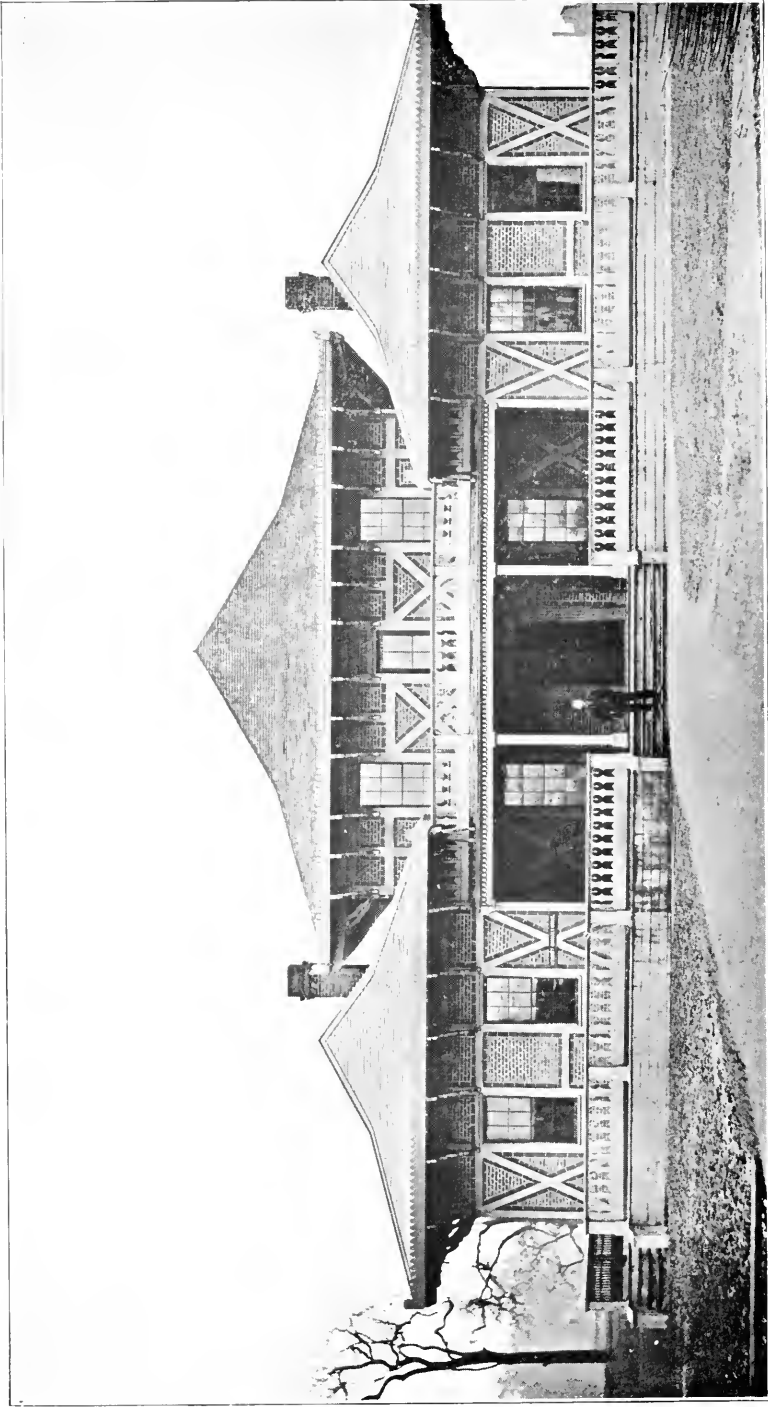
"1st. That 50£ sterling be placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Governor to defray the expenses of copying statistics and documents for the use of this House.

"2nd. That 10£ sterling be granted to Mr. Robert Barr for his past services as clerk of this House.

"3rd. That 5£ sterling be granted to Mr. Andrew Muir for his past service as sergeant-at-arms.

"4th. That 25£ sterling be allowed for the salary of the clerk of the House, for the year 1857.





ORIGINALLY SUPREME COURT, LATER FIRST MUSEUM

"5th. That 15£ sterling be allowed for the salary of the sergeant-at-arms and messenger, for the year 1857.

"6th. That 20£ sterling be granted for lighting, heating, and furnishing the House of Assembly, for the year 1857.

"7th. That 5£ sterling be granted for stationery, for the use of the members of the House of Assembly.

"8th. That the above items be paid out of the revenue derived from licenses of July 16, 1856.

"Read the third time this 18th day of December, 1856 A. D., and ordered to be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor and Council.

"(Signed) J. S. Helmcken, Speaker."

Meanwhile the Governor had provided for the administration of justice in Vancouver's Island. It will be recalled that the Imperial Act of 1849 (12 & 13 Victoria, C.48) repealed the Act of the 43d year of King George III., intituled "An Act for extending the jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice in the Province of Lower and Upper Canada to the trial and punishment of persons guilty of Crimes and Offences within certain parts of North America adjoining to the said Provinces"; and the Act passed in the second year of King George IV., intituled "An Act for regulating the Furtrade, and establishing Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain parts of North America," in so far as they related to Vancouver Island. The Act of 1849 set forth that "It shall be lawful for Her Majesty from Time to Time (and as well before as after such Proclamation) to make Provision for the Administration of Justice in the said Island, and for that Purpose to constitute such Court or Courts of Record and other Courts, with Jurisdiction in Matters Civil and Criminal, and such equitable and ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, subject to such Limitations and Restrictions, and to appoint and remove, or provide for the Appointment and Removal of such Judges, Justices, and such Ministerial and other Officers, for the Administration and Execution of Justice in the said Island, as Her Majesty shall think fit and direct." In pursuance whereof Governor Douglas had in 1854 recommended his brother-in-law, David Cameron, for the position of Judge of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of Vancouver Island. The Colonial Secretary duly confirmed the appointment. In the

Governor's opinion Mr. David Cameron was "undoubtedly the most fitting person I could obtain for that position, he being a man of good business habits, of liberal education, some legal knowledge, and what was equal to all, possessed of a more than ordinary amount of discretion and common sense."<sup>8</sup> Although not a professional lawyer, Mr. Cameron seems to have performed his important duties in a manner that left little to be desired. At any rate, upon the establishment of a Supreme Court of Civil Justice in 1856, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Colony by a warrant issued under the Royal Sign Manual. The Chief Justice received a salary of £100 a year from 1853 until 1860, when a salary of £800 was provided by the local Legislature.

The action of the Governor in appointing his brother-in-law a judge of the Supreme Court was criticized by a section of the people. James Cooper, a Member of the Council, Edward E. Langford, J. P., William Banfield, and James Yates played a prominent part in the discussion that ensued. They circulated a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which set forth "That the said Mr. David Cameron, besides the improperly close family connexion with the Governor, is not a lawyer by profession, and has exhibited notorious and gross partiality, acrimony, malice and indecorum in the capacity of justice of the peace, to such a degree as to have roused the extreme disgust and indignation of the community, and to have brought contempt upon the judicial office; that he is, with the exception of the aforesaid display of his character, an utter stranger to the Colony, having arrived only eight months since from the former slave colony of Demerara; that the community know nothing to recommend him for the appointment save the family connexion before mentioned; that two of the four members of Council have acknowledged that it was solely to this circumstance that the fact of his appointment was owing.

"That, moreover, the said Mr. David Cameron holds a commercial situation as clerk of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company's coal mines at Nanymo, transacting all the business of selling the coals from the said mines, in the transaction of which business, as might be expected, there have been disputes already, so that it might not improbably fall to Mr. Cameron's lot, as judge in a court

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<sup>8</sup> Despatch from Governor Douglas to the Duke of Newcastle, Victoria, 14th of February, 1863.

of equity, alone to adjudicate upon contested cases in which he himself was a principal party."

This petition was signed by James Cooper and sixty-nine others, so it would appear that the matter had to a certain extent aroused public opinion. On the other hand a very influential section of the community rallied to the support of Judge Cameron. A communication addressed to the Governor and signed by John Tod, John Work, Alexander Kennedy, Roderick Finlayson, William H. M'Neill, William F. Tolmie, William Leigh, E. E. Stuart, B. W. Pearse, George Simpson, Richard Golledge, J. D. Pemberton, Charles Dodd, Joseph Millar, and forty others, stated, among other things:

"We, the undersigned, holding landed property, or otherwise interested in the welfare of the colony of which you are Governor, beg leave to protest against the tenor of a petition recently addressed to you, and praying you to annul the appointment of David Cameron, Esq., as Judge *pro tempore*, of a court of equity at Victoria.

"We believe that but few of the subscribers to that petition have property at stake in the Island; that persons were instigated to sign it without having any real grievance to complain of, of whom not a few were absolutely unacquainted with the substance of the petition they signed.

"We are convinced that you, with the advice of counsel, made the appointment in question, because you considered the institution of the office indispensable, and because you felt, as we do, that David Cameron, Esq., a gentleman of business habits and considerable colonial experience, was the fittest man here of those not already professionally occupied to preside in such a court.

"If that gentleman had committed any injustice, we presume, as a matter of course, an appeal to the Governor and Council would have met with proper attention, but so short was his tenure of office previous to the date of that petition, that he has had no equity cases to adjudicate upon, which circumstance alone must stamp the proceedings of the former petitioners as ill-advised and hasty in the extreme.

"We are further of opinion, that if in this Colony, where there is perfect freedom of action, where life and property are as yet secure, where the market is so extensive and remunerative, and where

the produce is so lamentably small, the labouring and industrious classes were to employ their time more in raising wheat and potatoes, constructing houses to live in, &c. &c., and suffer themselves less to be led away into discussions upon abstract political questions, all would gain by the alteration, progress become more decided, and foreigners and visitors, whose good opinion we respect, would say more for our common sense.

"If the unreasonable clamour of a few individuals, who have little or no vested interest in the Island, were found effectual to rescind important enactments framed expressly to protect property, we feel that law and order would be in jeopardy, and therefore sincerely hope that no personal feeling may induce David Cameron, Esq., to resign the duties of an office which we are satisfied he will do his best to exercise for the benefit of all."

Governor Douglas, when called upon for an explanation, after reviewing the whole matter, stated that he had come to the conclusion that the grievances of the Colonists in the matter of the administration of justice were "less real than imaginary, a conclusion strengthened by the present prosperous state of the country. The people, moreover, appear happy and contented, the frugal and industrious are rapidly improving their condition in life; there are no taxes nor public burdens, the laws are justly administered, the means of education are extending, intemperance is on the decrease, and crimes are almost unknown; in short, since the departure of the Reverend Mr. Staines and his coadjutor Mr. Swanston,—(these two men had played a leading part in the agitation for the dismissal of Judge Cameron), I have not heard a complaint from any person in this Colony, except in regard to the sale price of land, which seems to be the only real grievance affecting the colonists generally, and that grievance I have no power to redress."<sup>9</sup>

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies evidently shared the Governor's opinion, because David Cameron was confirmed in his position and two years later he was promoted, as related, to the Chief Justiceship of the Colony. Indeed, the affair seems to have been one of those pretty storms that occasionally sweep over small communities. David Cameron survived the ordeal and proved

<sup>9</sup> Governor Douglas to the Rt. Hon. Sir George Grey, Victoria, 11 Decr., 1854.



himself a man of rare common sense and a sound judge.<sup>10</sup> In 1862 he was again attacked, whereupon he wrote a straightforward and manly letter to the Colonial Secretary concerning the charges preferred against the administration of justice in the Colony and against himself personally, successfully refuting Mr. Langford's accusations. Mr. Langford then renewed his efforts in London, but the Duke of Newcastle—then Secretary of State for the Colonies—refused to listen to his charges against Chief Justice Cameron. And so the matter which had caused so much disturbance was finally laid at rest.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. Edward E. Langford, who took such a prominent part in the proceedings against Judge Cameron, later on attacked Chief Justice Matthew Baillie Begbie of the neighbouring Colony of British Columbia. In that matter he was no more successful than in his attempt to besmirch the character of the first Chief Justice of Vancouver Island. In this latter case, however, it would appear that he had just cause for complaint, for Judge Begbie never specifically denied the charge that he had issued an election squib ridiculing the candidature of Mr. Langford. It will be recalled that the Duke of Newcastle officially rebuked Sir Matthew—as he afterwards became—for interfering in a matter that in no way concerned him.

In fine, Mr. Langford seems to have been one of those well-meaning men whose judgment was not always as good as his intentions. Shortly after his arrival in the Colony—in the capacity of bailiff of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's farm on Langford Plains—he took an active part in public affairs, strongly opposing Governor Douglas and the Hudson's Bay Company. No doubt there was some cause for dissatisfaction. On the whole, however, the Colonial Government was judiciously administered. The fault lay with the large powers conferred on the Company by the Royal Grant of the Island. It was a foregone conclusion that the legitimate desires of the settlers would clash sooner or later with the traditional policy of the Hudson's Bay Company. The celebrated Parliamentary enquiry of 1847 sufficiently revealed the fact that the terms of the Royal Grant interfered in no small degree with representative gov-

<sup>10</sup> Chief Justice Cameron died, after an honourable career in his adopted country. He was buried in the old Quadra Street cemetery, in the same grave as his wife; a solid tombstone marks the resting place of the earthly remains of the first Chief Justice of Vancouver Island.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Cameron to the Colonial Secretary, 2nd February, 1863; Vide Vancouver Island, Return to House of Commons, 13th July, 1863.

ernment in the Colony. The committee—which included such well-known men as Gladstone and Roebuck, the political economist—therefore recommended—for this and other reasons—that the Grant be not renewed. In 1857 the charter of grant expired by efflux of time and the Island reverted to the Crown. The Hudson's Bay Company was generously treated. It was reimbursed for its various outlays (according to the terms of the grant) and a little later its title to certain large holdings was confirmed.<sup>12</sup>

In the meantime the little Colony of Vancouver Island made slow progress. Its remoteness from civilized centres, and the discovery of gold in California, conspired to retard development. It is true that the Hudson's Bay Company attempted to colonize the Island in accordance with the terms of the Royal Grant of 1849, but its action was half-hearted and therefore of little avail. Advertisements were inserted in British newspapers to the effect that land could be acquired in the new Pacific Colony, but there were few men who were willing to pay one pound an acre for wild land in so remote a spot. The first batch of Colonists arrived in June, 1849, the party consisting of Captain Colquhoun Grant, late of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, and the eight men he brought with him. "From that day to this," said Captain Grant, in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society on June 22nd, 1857,<sup>13</sup> "not a single other independent colonist has come out from the Old Country to settle in the Island—all the other individuals, who have taken up land, having been in the employ of the Company and brought out to the country at its expense." In the *Harpooner*, in June, 1849, the Hudson's Bay Company brought out eight miners to work in the coal mines at Fort Rupert at the northeastern end of the Island. These men were to be paid salaries of from fifty to sixty pounds per annum, and, in addition, were to get an extra allowance for every extra quantity of coal mined. Two labourers also came to Victoria by the same vessel. Captain Grant found that all the land in the neighbourhood of Victoria and Esquimalt—comprising some forty square miles, and containing nearly all the available land then known—was reserved by the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies. Metchosin, some twelve miles from Victoria, was pointed out as the nearest district

<sup>12</sup> Hudson's Bay Land Titles, King's Printer, Victoria.

<sup>13</sup> Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, vol. XXVII, 1857.

open for settlement; not approving of this district he proceeded to Sooke, distant twenty-five miles from the Fort. There Captain Grant settled with his men; but after a year or two of solitude and disappointment he left the Colony in disgust.

In 1850 the ship *Norman Morrison* brought out about eighty souls for the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments. This vessel carried Doctor the Honourable John Sebastian Helmcken to the Colony, of which he is the doyen of pioneers. In the following year the *Tory* arrived with about one hundred hired labourers. Of these parties, shipped settlers, the majority found their way to the American side. "Of the four hundred men," said Captain Grant, "who have been imported in all during the past five years, about two-thirds may be said to have deserted, one-fifth to have been sent elsewhere, and the remainder to be at present employed on the Island." According to that authority in 1857 the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies employed forty-five men in the neighbourhood of Victoria, thirty-seven at Nanaimo, and twenty officers and men of Fort Rupert. The population of the Island at the end of 1853 was about four hundred and fifty souls, men, women and children; of these, three hundred were at Victoria, and between that place and Sooke; about one hundred and twenty-five at Nanaimo; and the remainder at Fort Rupert.

The gross quantity of land applied for in the Island up to the end of the year 1853 was 19,807 acres and 16 perches, of which 10,172 had been claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, 2,374 by the Puget Sound Company, and the remainder by private individuals.

One thousand, six hundred and ninety-six acres were occupied by individual settlers, sixteen in number; 937 acres claimed by absentees; 3,052 acres reserved by the Hudson's Bay Company; and 2,574 acres occupied by bailiffs of the Puget Sound Company, four in number. Altogether, under the three above classes, there were fifty-three different claimants of land, about thirty of whom, according to Captain Grant, were *bona fide*, occupying and improving their holdings. The system as at first allowed—payment of a deposit of one dollar per acre,—was abolished, and the purchasers were obliged to pay at the rate of one pound per acre before occupying their claims.

The Hudson's Bay Company, in accordance with the terms of its grant of the Island, was obliged from time to time to submit accounts

of revenue and expenditure. These Statements are particularly interesting because they show to what purposes the monies not under the control of the House of Assembly were applied. Thus in 1856 the Secretary of the Company reported that the expenditure of the Colony for the twelve month ended with the first day of July, 1855, amounted to the sum of £4,107-2/3, of which amount the duty on licensed houses (£340) sales of public land (£334-17/6) and other sources, produced the sum £693-2/10.

Very gradually—at first almost imperceptibly—the material condition of the Colony improved. As the years passed farms were taken up on the beautiful Saanich Peninsula, and hardy pioneers found their way to Metchosin, Sooke and other inviting districts—even as far as Cowichan, then in the wilderness; subsequently other lands, nearer the Fort, were sold to the Company's retired officers, and a small colony of a splendid type of men grew into being. Victoria owed, and owes, much to this. The roll of honour includes such names as Sir James Douglas, Doctor the Hon. J. S. Helmcken, Dr. W. F. Tolmie, the Hon. John Work (sometimes called in early letters—Wark), the Hon. Roderick Finlayson, Chief Justice David Cameron, John Tod, William H. McNeill, Alexander Grant Dallas, Kenneth McKenzie, Joseph Despard Pemberton (Colonial Surveyor), Benjamin W. Pearce, John Irving, John Frederick McKenzie, Charles Dodd, Thomas Skinner, John Munro, and many others, who laid, broad and deep, the foundations upon which future generations were to build. The contemporary letters of eyewitnesses of and participants in events of some consequence are always welcome, because they add a human touch to records that otherwise might be too prosaic. Contemporary unofficial accounts of the early affairs of the little Colony of Vancouver Island are not so numerous that the historian can afford to ignore any one of them. Fortunately a few such memorials have survived to this day, and one of them may well be used to mark the close of this chapter. The letters of Chief Factor John Work—a man of sterling character, who crossed the mountains with Sir George Simpson, Dr. John McLoughlin and Sir James Douglas in 1824, and later, upon retiring from active service, came to reside in Victoria—throw many sidelights on the man and events of his day. On the 8th of August, 1856, the worthy Chief Factor thus unbosomed himself to his friend, Edward Erma-

tinger, formerly in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the west:—

“Victoria, Vancouver Island,  
“8th Augt., 1856.

“Edwd. Ermatinger, Esquire,  
“My Good Old Friend,

“\* \* \* Our affairs, tho great changes have taken place, go on much as usual, the furtrade still does pretty well, notwithstanding many drags upon it and a great departure from the economy of former times, an 85th still brings about £300 a year which is not to be despised as affairs go in the World nowadays.—Our Colony is not increasing in population. I have already told you of the advantages of Soil, climate &c which experience fully realises. The home Government, except in the article of dispatches leaves us to ourselves to get on as best we may. We have had an election lately of Members of a house of Assembly to assemble in a few days. It is to consist of 7 Members chosen by about 40 Voters, the qualification of a Member is fixed property to the amount of £300 and of an elector to own 20 Acres of land, hitherto affairs were managed by the Governor and his Council consisting of four members, Capt. Cooper, Mr. Tod, Finlayson & myself. I have always considered such a Colony & such a government where there are so few people to govern as little better than a farce and and this last scene of a house of representatives the most absurd of the whole. It is putting the plough before the horses. The principle of representation is good, but there are too few people and nobody to pay taxes to cover expenses. We shall see how the affair will Work. Roads are opened in different directions and many improvements made, but we labour under great disadvantage, owing to the bungling of our Government at home not having us included in the reciprocity treaty with your Yankee neighbours. We have no market but California to go to where we have no chance to compete having to pay high duty when our American neighbours have none either there or here.—My farm does as well as my neighbours', but costs me heavy expence annually, fencing buildings &c; could I attend to it myself it would be otherwise, but this duty wont admit. The man I have in charge of it is on sort of shares, in squaring up the first three years accounts, he had about £70 p. annum for his share besides maintenance of himself and family,

and besides what he cheated me of. Knavery when one is not on the spot cant be easily prevented, he is no worse than others. I have often thought, how good such a place would be for many a respectable honest man at home.—Gold has been discovered at Colville and even some found at Thompson's River, and at Fort Hope about 80 Miles above Langley. Some of the diggers are reported to have done well and high expectations are entertained, though it has not created much excitement among our men, and owing to a destructive war that the Oregon and Washington territory citizens got themselves involved in with the Indians which is not entirely over yet it was not safe to go by the Columbia, so that many adventurers from that quarter could not go, but we have lately learned that plenty are on their way and there now and there is grounds to anticipate favourable results should, as is expected, gold be found plentiful. Of your old acquaintances, the old doctor is still alive at Oregon, and old as he is as eager as ever to make Money. David is loafing about doing nothing, Mariah's husband Harvey formerly Miller at Vancouver chiefly manages the doctor's business for him.—Manson is still in New Caledonia, and Yale at Langley, both like myself getting worse of the wear. I believe these are all of your old acquaintances remaining. We have a new church built and have a worthy Man the Revd. Mr. Cridge as Chaplain and Clergyman.—There is also a Catholic Bishop Demers with two priests, and a Schoolmaster; there are also two Colonial Schools, so that for the population there is enough of Spiritual & Secular instruction, at least more than the people avail themselves of. \* \* \*

## CHAPTER XVII

### VANCOUVER ISLAND IN TRANSFORMATION

Victoria in 1857 was a little hamlet of a few hundred souls. The Fort was the centre of all activities. Here the settlers obtained their supplies—as strangers at an advance of three hundred per cent. upon the prime cost in London.<sup>1</sup> In this respect they were not as well off as the settlers of Oregon who were charged but one hundred per cent. upon the London price. Here also the Colonists sold, or obtained credit for, their produce. The Hudson's Bay Company controlled the market and bought or not, according to the demand. There was no communication with the outside world but by the Company's vessels to London, to Alaska, to the Sandwich Islands, or to American ports, and these vessels sailed only as occasion required. There was no commercial intercourse, or any other, with Canada. Between Vancouver Island and the British possessions in eastern North America lay a vast unoccupied wilderness, known only to the furtrader and to the casual explorer. This lack of communication seriously affected the Colonial farmer, who was dependent upon a limited local market entirely in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Beyond the wooden stockade of the Fort were the fields of what might be termed the Company's home farm, which, so it is recorded, yielded more than forty bushels of wheat to the acre. Roads led from the Fort in different directions. An embryo Government Street ran along the east side of the stockade, connecting with the highways leading to Saanich, Esquimalt, Metchosin and Sooke. A winding lane, running eastward by swamp and copse and meadow, afterwards became the important thoroughfare known today as Fort Street. Life in this beautiful spot, guarded by the blue waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Strait de Haro, was idyllic in its

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<sup>1</sup> Report, Select Committee on Hudson's Bay Co., 1857. Evidence.

simplicity, if neither exciting or materially profitable. A little piece of Old England, of the early Victorian era, had been transplanted in this land and it grew and flourished even as the wild roses grew and flourished on the country-side. The Colonists were British and they brought with them a love of British institutions and old-fashioned British methods, which did much to make even so remote a colony characteristically British. The farms were modelled after those of England—the comfortable farm-house, the well-tilled field, and the barns and out-buildings, which were generally built in the form of a square with the farmyard inside—all reminded the settler of his old home and associations. The affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company and local happenings provided the gossip of the day, and English newspapers, many months old, gave the news of the outside world. No doubt the little library in the Fort was well-patronized in the long winter days. The proceedings of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly and of the Court presided over by Judge Cameron also provided topics for discussion. Now and again some question of public policy, or some action or inaction of the Company, would give rise to heated controversies, which divided the community into opposing camps. A generous hospitality marked the relations of the people one with the other. Feast-days and holidays were loyally observed with picnics in summer and indoor gatherings in winter, which were remarkable for bounteous displays of honest Colonial fare. Generally, as the Governor averred on more than one occasion, the people were industrious and happy. Perhaps Gray's beautiful lines might be applied to this little community:

Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,  
Their sober wishes never learn'd to stray;  
Along the cool sequester'd vale of life  
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.

Such was Victoria in the year 1857.

Meanwhile the Mainland slumbered. New Caledonia, as this territory was indefinitely termed, was still under the absolute sway of the Hudson's Bay Company, being held by the Crown Grant of the exclusive trade with the Indians in certain parts of North America. "Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, 30th day of May, 1838."



The forts of the monopoly formed the only settlements there and the only lines of communication from one post to another were the brigade trails and water-routes of the furtrader. The Indian, as from time immemorial, still held his ancient hunting grounds and still adhered to his time-honoured customs. The fertile valleys and great natural pastures of this vast region had not yet attracted the attention of the prospective homebuilder. The potential resources of the country in minerals, timber, fisheries and agriculture were altogether unknown to the outside world. To the furtrader, however, the country was an open book. He had travelled from one end of it to the other and dotted the whole of it with his posts. The old Brigade Trails have long since been abandoned and forgotten, but here and there deep imprints mark the lines of march of the long packtrains which moved up and down these primitive highways with their precious loads of peltries and supplies. Year by year the brigades for the interior left Fort Hope for Fort Kamloops, journeying thither by Anderson's, or the Hope trail over the Cascade Mountains, through the Similkameen country, and by Nicola Lake. From Kamloops the brigade followed the long-established road to Fort Alexandria.

And the old forts—these too have almost wholly disappeared, but many a rising town and many a prosperous community today bear witness to the wisdom of the furtrader in the placing of his posts. Life at Forts Langley, Hope, Yale, Kamloops, Alexandria and at the New Caledonian posts, was as it had been since they were established. Occasionally an Indian brawl—sometimes a murder such as that of the worthy Samuel Black at Kamloops in 1841—would startle the little isolated communities, but generally the trade went on in the even tenor of its way, in accordance with established precedent. Such was the Mainland in 1857.

This peaceful state of affairs might have been continued indefinitely—both on Island and Mainland—but for an event of far reaching import—the discovery of gold in the Fraser River which wrought a sudden and marvelous change. Without warning and as it were overnight the Mainland became the Mecca of the goldseeker and the adventurer. As there were no settlements on the seaboard of the Mainland, the tide of immigration turned in ever-increasing volume to the only British port where supplies and information could be

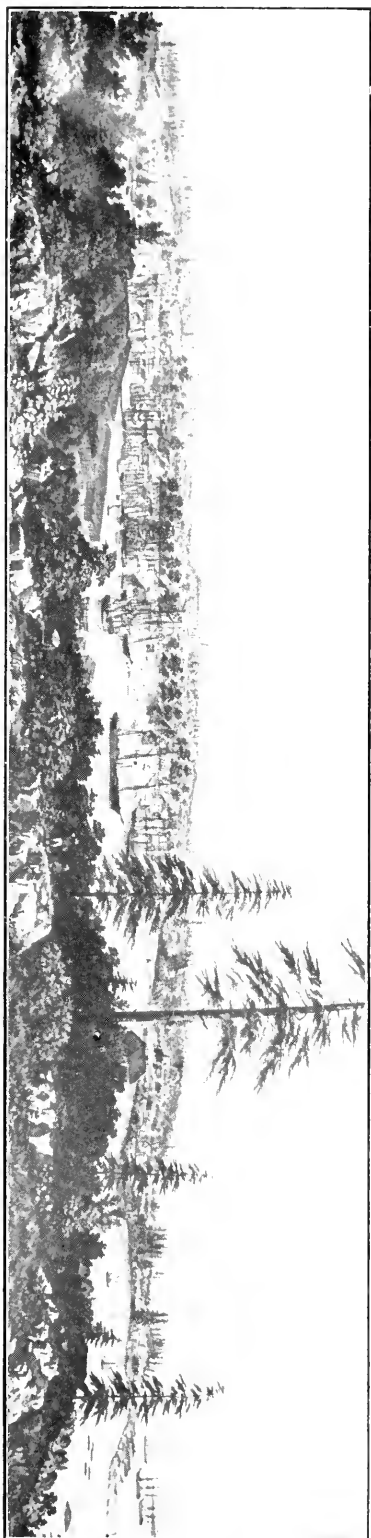
obtained; and Victoria sprang into being as an important and populous center. It has been estimated that no less than twenty thousand miners, merchants, jobbers, speculators and adventurers of all sorts came to Victoria in 1858. In the short space of a few months the place was transformed—the little sleepy hollow giving way for an alert and progressive community. Rival towns sprang up on the shores of Puget Sound—at Port Townsend, Watcom and other points—but those places never seriously threatened the supremacy of the British port which at that time and for several reasons was the most convenient point of departure for the mines of the Fraser River.

Who first found gold in British Columbia and when, is not exactly known. Many accounts of that pregnant discovery have been printed, but they differ so much that it is not an easy matter to arrive at the truth. It is said that a party from Colville, or that neighbourhood, going over the country by the way of Kamloops and the Bonaparte River to the Fraser, prospected on the way and found the precious metal in paying quantities. These men decided to winter in the country in order to try their fortune. The news of their success reached the coast, for such news travels quickly even in a country destitute of regular postal facilities, and spreading to California caused the famous stampede of 1858.<sup>2</sup> A. C. Anderson says that gold was discovered at the mouth of the Thompson River in 1857, but seemingly it had been found at that point before that year.<sup>3</sup> "Gold has been discovered at Colville," so John Work told Edward Ermatinger in a letter bearing date 8th August, 1856, "and even some found at Thompson's River, and at Fort Hope, about 80 miles above Langley. Some of the diggers are reported to have done well and high expectations are entertained. . . ."

A little later the officer in charge of the fort at Kamloops requisitioned the storekeeper at Victoria for iron ladles with which to scoop up the auriferous gravel from the bed of the Thompson River. It would appear, therefore, that the news took sometime to reach California, whence came the great tide of goldseekers in 1858. As for the exact manner and date of arrival of the news in California, it is stated upon good authority, that in February, 1858, the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Otter* reached San Francisco with gold dust to be

<sup>2</sup> Vide Warrington, *Fraser Mines Vindicated* p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Anderson, *History of N. W. Coast*, Ms. in Provincial Archives. P. 47.



VIEW OF VICTORIA IN 1860

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coined or run into bars at the United States Mint in that city. It soon leaked out that this treasure had been obtained from the Indians of the Thompson River, a tributary of the Fraser. A small party of prospectors, among them James Moore of pioneer fame in Cariboo, left for the new field. Ascending the Fraser these hardy explorers reached Hill's Bar, where they found rich diggings. In April, 1858, they sent letters and gold dust to their friends in San Francisco, and the news, being spread abroad, caused the greatest excitement California has ever known. That briefly is the story of the Fraser River excitement in California.<sup>4</sup>

Alfred Waddington—well-known later for his persistent advocacy of a British trans-continental railway—averred that the existence of gold had been known to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company for some years, and he even hinted that they had kept their knowledge secret from ulterior motives. On the other hand, A. C. Anderson—a reliable authority—categorically denied this charge. "An impression has gone abroad," he wrote, "that the existence of gold on the upper Fraser had long been known to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Co.; but that they from motives of policy concealed the fact. Than this statement nothing can be more erroneous; no suspicion of the fact existed, as I can personally aver."<sup>5</sup>

However that may be, very early in 1858 California was thrown into a state of wild excitement by the news from the north that vast auriferous deposits had been found in New Caledonia. For some time it had been known that the more accessible placers of California were playing out and the intelligence of the new Eldorado reached the Golden State at the psychological moment. The news was carried from camp to camp and the oft-repeated story grew in the telling. In a short while nothing was talked of but the surpassing richness of the northern gold field. The population of California was composed of all sorts and conditions of men from all countries of the world. Never was there a greater gathering of adventurers of all nations than that which crowded the thoroughfares of San Francisco. Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotsmen, Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Greeks,—men of all nationalities—jostled each other on the streets, ever ready for excitement or to hazard a throw with fortune.

<sup>4</sup> H. B. Hobson, *First Gold Excitement*. In year book of B. C., by Gosnell, 1897, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> Anderson *History of Northwest Coast*, p. 46.

But none of them knew aught of New Caledonia. "Naturally enough," says an eye-witness of this extraordinary scene, "the greatest ignorance prevailed among the miners respecting the geography of the northern country." New Caledonia—who had ever heard of New Caledonia? Where was it situated and what was it like? "And the Fraser River—where was it? No one knew. It was known only that gold could be found there, and that was enough to send hundreds of men into the wilderness to make their fortunes or to die in the attempt. I must confess, I had no idea of the existence of such a country or such a river. I did not even know that Great Britain had any possessions on the Pacific Coast of North America, and my fellow-miners were no better informed."<sup>6</sup>

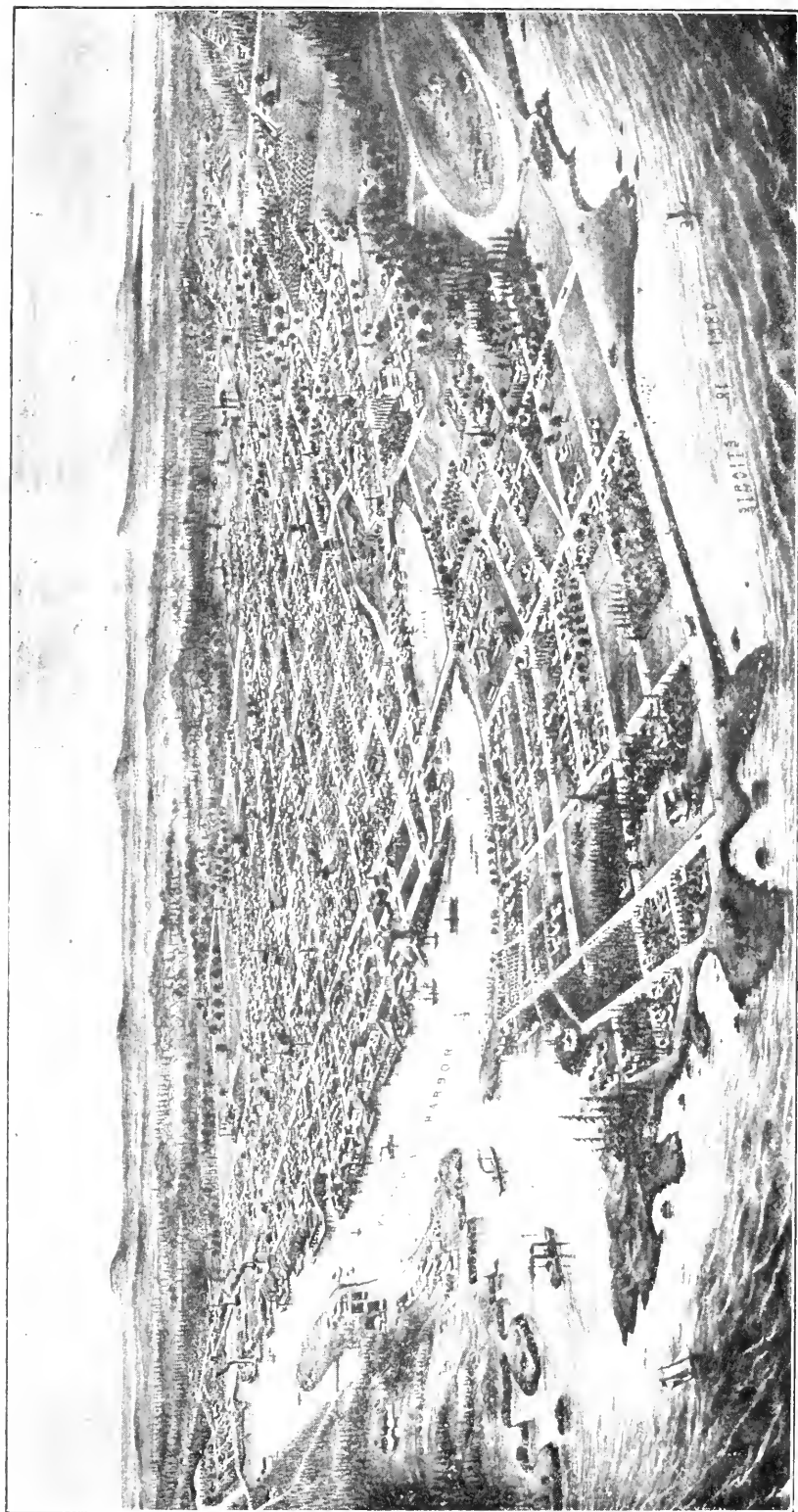
Then began the historic exodus—the gold-seekers leaving California in thousands with their picks, pans and shovels. It was stated at the time by the newspapers of San Francisco that no less than thirty thousand men left that town for the north in 1858. A miscellaneous fleet of odd craft—steamers and sailing ships—plied northward to Esquimalt or Victoria, the only known British ports in that region. Vessel after vessel arrived to unload her human freight. "Never perhaps was there so large an immigration," wrote one of the pioneers, "in so short a space of time into so small a place. Unlike California, where the distance from the Eastern States and Europe precluded the possibility of an immediate rush, the proximity of Victoria to San Francisco on the contrary, afforded every facility, and converted the whole matter into a fifteen dollar trip. Steamers and sailing vessels were put in requisition, and old ships and tubs of every description actively employed in bringing up passengers, something like to a fair."<sup>7</sup>

Victoria—the sleepy little backwoods trading post—was suddenly changed into a populous rendezvous. By the wood-fringed shores of the harbour and of the little arm of the sea called James Bay—since filled in—a city of canvas sprang up, and on either side of the Johnson Street ravine the miners pitched their tents. All was activity and excitement, yet the cosmopolitan throng, little as it had been accustomed to restraint in the mining camps of the south, and although it numbered many turbulent spirits, generally behaved well.

<sup>6</sup> A Miner's Experience on the Pacific Slope, Thos. Seward, *Colonist*, Feb. 26, 1905.

<sup>7</sup> Waddington, *Fraser Mines*, 1858, pp. 16-17.





BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF VICTORIA IN 1878



The miners perhaps were surprised to find law and order and a representative form of government already established in this secluded corner of the world, but they acknowledged the fact and governed themselves accordingly. Now and then, it is true, a few misguided citizens of the United States would talk blatantly of seizing the country, but they soon realized the absurdity of such a notion. The ships of war lying at anchor in Esquimalt Harbour were evidence enough of the power which stood behind the Governor of the little Colony of Vancouver Island.

With that strange assortment of adventures which came to the Colony in 1858 were a number of strong and able men, who achieved distinction in one way or another in their adopted country. One of the first and ablest of this eminent corps of pioneers bore the name Alfred Waddington. From the moment of his arrival at Victoria, where he pursued the avocation of merchant with some success, he displayed an active and intelligent interest in the commercial and political affairs of the island and the mainland. Looking with prophetic eye into the future, he recognized even then the commanding geographical position of what is now Canada's western seaboard; he foresaw a great trans-Pacific commerce which was to enrich cities yet unborn; he realized as a few pregnant minds had done before him, that if British North America were to become a coherent and harmonious whole it would be first of all necessary to weld that vast territory with common ties and mutual interests; and—having the vision—he resolved to devote the remainder of his life to the uniting of the British North American possessions with a band of steel, which was as fascinating a project as it was of the greatest practical value. Waddington, however, like many another man whose noble ideals but not their attainments, are recorded in history, lived in advance of his age. Consumed with zeal, and with his imagination fired with his grand conception, he thought and talked of naught but a British trans-continental railway—while practical men of affairs smiled indulgently at the man's idiosyncrasy, little thinking that that vast enterprise, which then seemed so impracticable, was soon to become an integral part of the policy of Canadian statesmen. It is to be feared indeed that this enlightened advocate of an Imperial highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, came to be looked upon as a well-meaning but visionary fellow, perhaps even something of a bore—

obsessed with an impracticable idea. Nevertheless the visionary triumphed in the end—no one can tell how much Sir John A. Macdonald may have been indebted to him in the framing of his trans-continental railway policy.

Alfred Waddington died at Ottawa, where he had taken up his residence in order the better to promote his object, before the Canadian trans-continental railway became an accomplished fact, but not before the completion of the undertaking was assured by British Columbia's treaty with Canada, familiarly known as the Terms of Union. But had the man never concerned himself at all with such weighty matters, he would still be justly entitled to the respectful consideration of the historian of British Columbia, because in November, 1858, he published an admirable book entitled "The Fraser Mines Vindicated or The History of Four Months," which enjoys the distinction of being the first book printed on Vancouver Island, if the statement in the preface to that effect is reliable.<sup>8</sup> Impartial and accurate descriptions of the extraordinary conditions brought about by the immigration of 1858 are by no means numerous—in spite of all that was written upon the subject at the time—and therefore Waddington's graphic portrayal of Victoria in transformation, and of the character of the men who came from California in the first mad rush, is an important source of information respecting that peculiar era in the history of British Columbia. The author's vivid picture re-creates the little settlement on Vancouver Island at the time of the gold excitement. "On landing in Victoria," he writes, "we found a quiet village of about 800 inhabitants. No noise, no bustle, no gamblers, no speculators or interested parties to preach up this or underrate that. A few quiet gentlemanly behaved inhabitants, chiefly Scotchmen, secluded as it were from the whole world, and reminding one forcibly of the line of Virgil:

*"Et pene toto divisos ex orbe Britannos."*

"Though not perhaps quite so shrewd as Californians, they evidently understood the advantages of the situation, were quietly awaiting the results, and more or less acquainted with the country, seemed rather surprised that a people so sharp as the Californians were supposed to be, should be running after such an impossible air bubble

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<sup>8</sup> This little work came from the Press of the Pioneer Printer, P. de Garro, Wharf Street, Victoria. It was sold at fifty cents a copy, but on account of its extreme rarity it now commands a high price. There are two copies in the Provincial Library.



EARLY VIEW OF GOVERNMENT STREET, VICTORIA  
Looking north from "Brown Jug Corner"



EARLY VIEW OF GOVERNMENT STREET, VICTORIA  
Looking south from "Brown Jug Corner"

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as the Bellingham Bay trail." The author then gives a delightful little picture of Victoria as it was in the golden fifties: "As to business," he says, "there was none, the streets were grown over with grass, and there was not even a cart. Goods there were none, nor in the midst of this 'Comedy of Errors' had a single California merchant thought of sending a single bag of flour to Victoria! The consequence was that shortly after our arrival the bakers were twice short of bread, and we were obliged to replace it, first by pilot bread and afterwards with soda crackers. At the same time flour was worth eight dollars in Watcom."

In the very beginning there was a marked inclination on the part of the American miners and adventurers to give preference to the American ports on Puget Sound, seemingly in order to avoid British territory. Port Townsend, the port of entry for the Sound, was the first place chosen, and forthwith streets were laid out, houses were built, and "everyone flocked to Port Townsend,"<sup>9</sup> where lots were sold and resold at high prices. Other speculators were busy elsewhere. These wished to build a city at Watcom and bitterly attacked Port Townsend, finding little difficulty in exposing the faults of that place—"her open roadstead, her uncertain anchorage in the stream, and above all her distance from Fraser River." Watcom was certainly nearer the goal, but that in itself would have made little difference, if some clever speculator had not launched the idea of the "Bellingham Bay Trail," which was to lead directly to the new goldfields—a clear path to the placers of the Fraser and Thompson. This trail deserves some mention because of all the extraordinary ideas, that of cutting a perilous road through an almost impassable country in order to avoid a navigable river, was the most extraordinary. Many people, misled by promoters of the trail, not only believed it practicable but superior to the route by the Fraser River. The whole scheme was launched under "the spacious cover of American patriotism," to induce miners to buy their supplies at Watcom in order to build up a city at that point. The California newspapers, without knowledge of the country, supported the proposal and in so doing added to the disappointments of the miner from California.<sup>10</sup>

In the meantime adventurers of all sorts began to assemble at

<sup>9</sup> Waddington, *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, pp. 8-9.

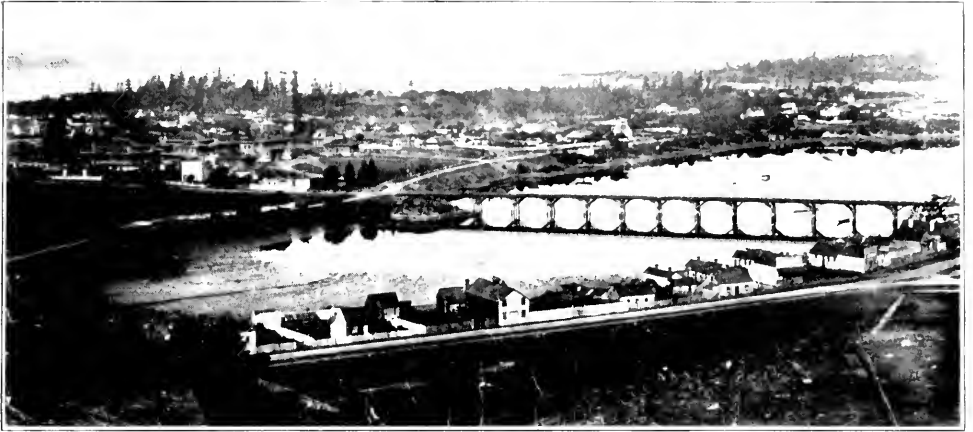
<sup>10</sup> Waddington, *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, pp. 8-9.

Port Townsend and Watcom. Watcom, in spite of its mud-banks and other disadvantages, became the more popular of the two, especially when the enterprising residents annexed Sehome so as to provide better docking facilities. Other places on Puget Sound or adjacent waters—Semiahmoo, for instance—perhaps the best site of all—attracted the attention of the American speculator, but none of them ever attained the size or importance of Port Townsend or Watcom. As a matter of fact none of these places would have been thought of as clearing houses for the trade of the placer mines of British Columbia, if it had not been for the strong desire of the American press and people to build up a distinctly American city at the expense of the newly organized British Colony. As it was, the studied exploitation of the American ports recoiled upon the head of the townsite promoter and real estate gambler, but not before many an unfortunate miner had been duped by their specious promises and brazen stories.

Thus some four or five great cities were projected, each of them to rely upon the placers of the Fraser River for industries and wealth, and upon the nomadic miners of the Pacific Slope for population. It was the golden age of the speculator in the primeval wilderness bordering upon Puget Sound, and he made the most of his opportunities; but as week after week passed and the promised easy road to the mines was not completed, or much of it even built, the impatient and sorely-tried miners, who had been lured to Watcom, Port Townsend and other points, realized that they had been tricked by their unscrupulous compatriots. Then the bubble burst and the Bellingham Bay Trail became a byword and a reproach. It was that then that Victoria—at first shunned by American citizens, or at least by a great number of them—came to be generally recognized as the one and proper place of departure for the Fraser River. In the midst of all this excitement of planning great cities, no one had given much thought to Victoria. Indeed at the time when Port Townsend, Watcom and Semiahmoo were at the height of their meteoric boom in the spring of 1858 Victoria was scarcely mentioned in the California newspapers. "And yet," Alfred Waddington observes, "after all Victoria was the place for a big city, as everybody might have found out a good deal sooner"—which goes to show the prescience of the writer.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Waddington, *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, p. 12.



OLD VIEW OF VICTORIA, SHOWING JAMES BAY, SINCE FILLED IN



THE FIRST ST. ANNE'S CONVENT



OLD VIEW OF VICTORIA, OVERLOOKING HARBOUR

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People now began to leave the embryo American towns to come to Victoria. At first miners had been allowed to go up the river without hindrance, but as the number of adventures increased the Colonial authorities thought it advisable to levy a tax of six dollars upon each canoe or open boat and twelve dollars upon each decked vessel. The necessary papers could be obtained at Victoria or at Fort Langley, upon the Fraser River. This order naturally tended to increase the population of Victoria because it drew hither many who otherwise would have proceeded directly to the mines from Puget Sound. Then at length it was proved that the Fraser was navigable by small steamers as far as Hope, and a little later that vessels of small tonnage could reach even Fort Yale, which at once became the centre of the new gold fields. That intelligence dissolved into thin air the speculator's dream regarding the future of Port Townsend, Watcom and Semiahmoo. As soon as the news became public the influx of population to Victoria was overwhelming. One is able to form some idea of the extraordinary conditions brought about by the sudden turning of the human tide towards Vancouver Island, and of what it all meant to the little settlement of Victoria, from a contemporary writer's brilliant and realistic description of that notable movement. This is what he says:

"Miners now came flocking over, together with all that heterogeneous class of adventurers commonly called the 'pioneers of civilization.' Adopted citizens and others who had consulted their American patriotism rather than their interests, by stopping at Watcom, loudly lamented the necessity of stepping on British soil, whereas others, Britishers by birth and Americans by adoption, were now re-whitewashed and became Englishmen again. This immigration was so sudden, that people had to spend their nights in the streets or bushes, according to choice, for there were no hotels sufficient to receive them. Victoria, had at last been discovered, everybody was bound for Victoria, nobody could stop anywhere else, for there, and there alone, were fortunes, and large fortunes, to be made. And as the news of such a flourishing state of things soon found its way to California, it was not long before the steamers brought up fresh crowds."

Naturally the sudden and unprecedented demand for supplies of all sorts taxed the resources of the little community to the utmost.

Even the Hudson's Bay Company, with all its large stock, could scarcely cope with the situation.

"As to goods, the most exorbitant prices were asked and realized, for though the Company had a large assortment, their store in the Fort was literally besieged from morning to night; and when all were in such a hurry, it was not every one that cared to wait three or four hours, and sometimes half a day, for his turn to get in. The consequence was, that the five or six stores that were first established did as they pleased."

The able author just quoted then sums up the character of the population in the following striking phrases:

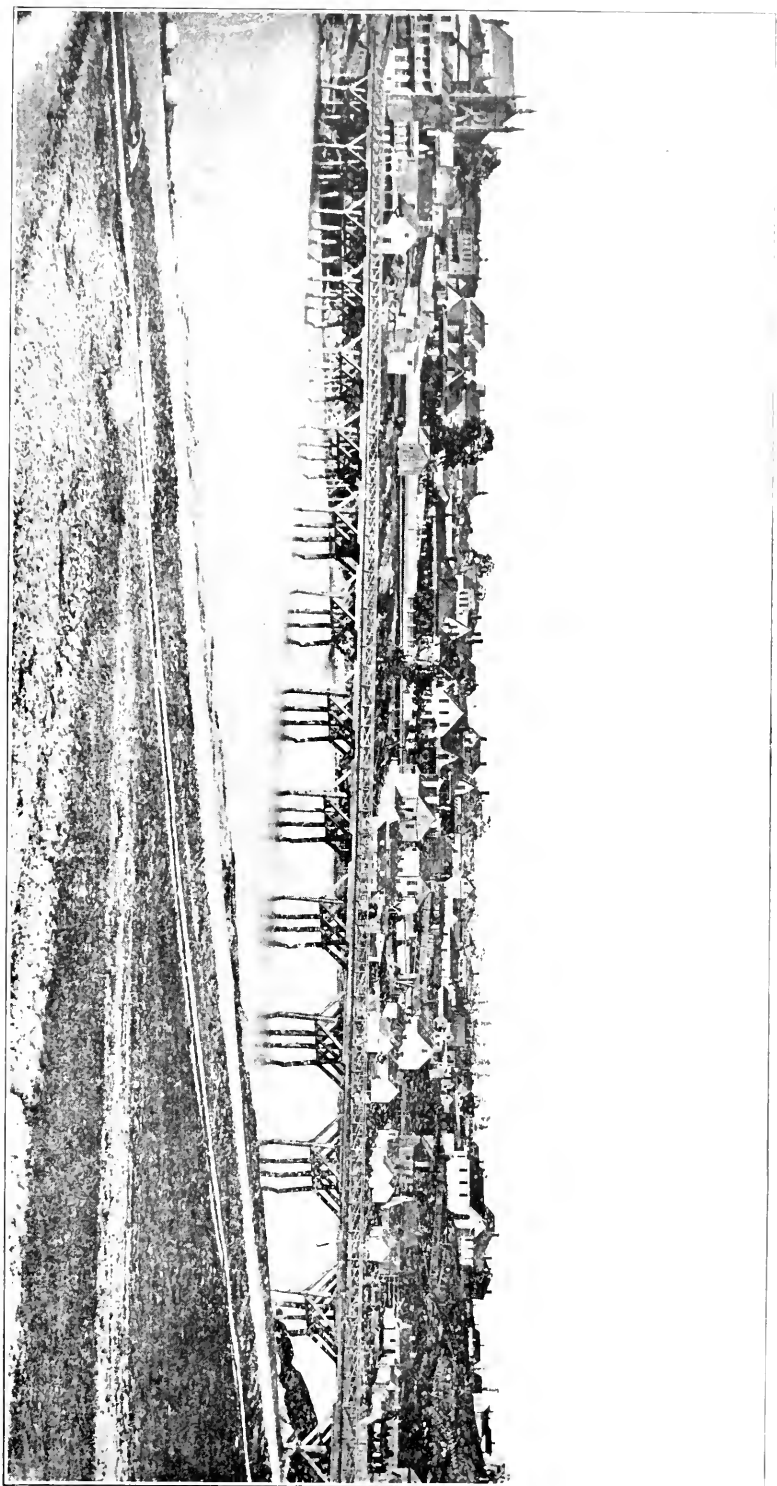
"So far none but miners, mechanics, retail traders, or men of small means, had made their appearance; but merchants and people of standing, men who had so far hesitated, now began to arrive. Some of them without exactly understanding the situation, or caring to understand it, for the sake of a trip and solely out of curiosity. But others might be seen coming on shore with certain heavy bags full of gold coin, which they were obliged to have carried. They had expected to get ground lots for nothing, and buy the whole city cheap, and were sadly disappointed to find they had come a little too late. Many of them had the trouble of taking their bags of gold back with them, without even opening them, and all of them cursed the place.

"These 'big bugs' were closely followed by another class, and Victoria was assailed by an indescribable array of Polish Jews, Italian fishermen, French cooks, jobbers, speculators of every kind, land agents, auctioneers, hangers on at auctions, bummers, bankrupts, and brokers of every description. Many of these seemed to think very little about the gold diggings, the Company's rights, or their consequences. Nor did they trouble themselves much about the state of the interior, the hostile feelings of the Indians, or anything else of the kind. They took it for granted that gold would soon be coming down, and whether it did or not was not their object. They came to sell and to speculate, to sell goods, to sell lands, to sell cities, to buy them and sell them again to greenhorns, to make money and begone."

To these may be added, so Waddington affirms, a fair seasoning of gamblers, swindlers, thieves, drunkards and jail birds, "let loose by the Government of California for the benefit of mankind"; besides the halt, lame, blind and mad.<sup>12</sup> The infamous Paddy Martin, the

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<sup>12</sup> Waddington, *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, p. 18.



JAMES BAY BRIDGE, VICTORIA. OLD VIEW

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Californian desperado, followed the crowd to Victoria, looking for new fields wherein to exercise his fiendish wits; but the French population forced him to leave the town for shame. Bad men of the type of Boone Helm, a noted desperado who found his way to the Fraser River overland in 1859,<sup>13</sup> joined in the first rush to British Columbia, but they did not find the administration of law in the colony to their liking, so they left it with a curse, or if they remained either came face to face with Justice or turned over a new leaf. Waddington refers to the heterogeneous of the memorable year of 1858 as "the outpourings of a population containing, like that of California, the outscourings of the world," but he qualifies this harsh criticism with the remark: "Let it be said here to the credit of the town of Victoria, that some of the worst of these characters kept away." He is careful to add:

"Mixed up among all these, however, was a large body of respectable emigrants; patient hardworking miners, and others; honest men who had come here to live by their industry, hoping to assist their families and better their position; quiet law-abiding citizens, if ever there were. Many of these have been sadly disappointed, whilst others, more successful, have remained here and form a considerable portion of our present population, as exemplary a one as is to be met with."

As a matter of fact the men of 1858 were western pioneers of a high type. Naturally there was a small residue of disreputable element, but these were soon eliminated. The early history of no settlement, launched in such peculiar and trying circumstances, is so free from crime as the early history of British Columbia, and that in itself shows the high calibre of the men who first came to the land.

In this connection it is interesting to recall the names of the officials of the Colony of Vancouver Island, who were called upon to bear the heat and burden of the day. They were as follows:

The Governor—Mr. James Douglas.

A Council of Three, or sort of House of Lords, except that its deliberations are secret. This Council is composed of

Mr. John Work, second Chief Factor under Chief Factor Douglas (the Governor).

Mr. R. Finlayson, Chief Trader of the Company.

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<sup>13</sup> Emerson Hough, *Story of the Outlaw*, Chapter VIII.

Mr. Todd, an old servant and pensioner of the Company.

A House of Assembly composed of seven members, representing the seven districts of the Island as follows:

Dr. Helmcken, Speaker, Staff Doctor of the Company, and son-in-law of the Governor.

Mr. Pemberton, acting Colonial Surveyor.

Mr. McKay, Clerk of the Company.

Mr. Muir, a former servant of the Company, and father of the Sheriff.

Mr. Skinner, agent of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

Dr. Kennedy, a retired officer of the Company, appointed by the Governor and Council to represent the district of Nanaimo.

Mr. J. Yates, Merchant.

Judiciary Department:—D. Cameron, Esq., Chief Justice; brother-in-law of the Governor.

Collector of the Customs:—Mr. A. C. Anderson, retired Chief Trader of the Company.

## MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTERS









TYPES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA INDIANS

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE NATIVE RACES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY CHARLES HILL-TOUT

Mention has frequently been made of the native races of British Columbia in the earlier chapters of this work, and many interesting incidents relating to our earlier intercourse with them have been touched upon at greater or less length, but it has been thought this history would not be the complete and comprehensive work its authors desire to make it unless a chapter were devoted to the native tribes who peopled this portion of the Dominion before we ourselves occupied it, hence this brief sketch of their life-history.

The native races of British Columbia form a portion of the aboriginal people who occupied this continent when the attention of Europe was first directed to it by the voyage of Columbus. Since that time they have been known to us by the name of Indians. This name was given to them under the mistaken notion that this continent was a portion of India and the people, therefore, Indians, and the name has ever since stuck to them.

When it was once definitely ascertained that the new world was not a portion of India, speculation concerning the origin of the natives became rife. Whence had they come and what was their former history? One author thinks they must be Trojan refugees who had fled thither and found a haven of refuge after the sack of Troy, because he fancied he detected a word in their language which had a Græco-Roman sound. Another connects them with those early navigators, the Phœnicians; another brings them from China, and others again make them Jews and see in them the lost ten tribes of Israel. This is perhaps the most common view held by the uncritical. But the most naïve and whimsical of all the origins suggested for them is that propounded by Dr. Cotton Mather, a learned divine of the eighteenth century. He declares that the appearance of man

on the American continent was due to the direct agency of the Evil One, who, seeing in the early spread of Christianity the loss of his power over mankind, conceived the brilliant idea of seducing a portion of the race to the New World, where, in the language of the learned author, they would be hid and be out of sound of the silver trumpet of the Gospel, and where he would have them entirely for his own to the end of time!

Modern inquiry, conducted on somewhat different lines, has resulted in showing us that whatever may have been the origin of the native races of the New World, they have been dwellers here for a very long period of time, compared with which the siege of Troy or the dispersion of the Jews is a matter of very recent date. The remains of primitive implements of rude form in geological strata which are clearly of ancient formation, and of hearth-sites associated with bones of extinct species of the horse and other animals now unknown, make this very certain. The distinguished Americanist, Dr. Brinton, held the opinion that American man was present and active, using tools and fire during the Inter-Glacial Period; and that he had spread over the continent and lived in both North and South America at the close of the Glacial Age, he regarded as beyond any doubt.

However this may be, when we first came into contact with them they occupied the whole continent from end to end. We found them segregated into numerous tribes and nations, characterized by all degrees of culture from the very rude savagery of Tierra del Fuego to the comparatively advanced refinement and civilization of Mexico, Central America and Peru, and exhibiting a diversity of languages truly bewildering.

Of late years scholars have given much attention and study to them, and they have been ranged or classified into distinct groups or stocks on the basis of their language. Some one hundred and fifty of these have been recognized.

Of this number ten are found within the confines of the Dominion of Canada and of this ten six, or more than half, have their habitat in large part in this province. It will make our treatment of them clearer if we divide them into two divisions: the Coast and Island tribes, and the Interior tribes. This division follows the lines of their culture, the two groups being very distinct in their mode of life and customs.

The Coast and Island tribes reckoning from north to south comprise the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands and part of the Prince of Wales Archipelago:

The Tsimshian, inhabiting the Nass and Skeena rivers and adjacent islands:

The Kwakiutl-Nootka, inhabiting the whole coastal region from Gardiner Channel to Cape Mudge (with the exception of the region around Dean Inlet, where an isolated intrusive band of Salish have made their home), and the greater portion of the west coast and the northern half of Vancouver's Island.

South of this territory we find the coastal divisions of the great Salish stock, which extend beyond our own boundaries into the neighbouring states of the American Union.

The interior of the province is divided between the Inland division of the Salish, who occupy all the southern portion west of the crest of the Selkirk range; the Kootenay tribes, who inhabit the valley of the Upper Columbia river and the Kootenay lake and river; and the Dené or Athapascan tribes, who occupy all the northern portion of the province and extend beyond it to the confines of the Eskimo.

Each of these stocks or nations is divided into a greater or less number of sub-groups or divisions, and some of these differ so sharply from each other in customs and language that a casual observer would be deceived into regarding them as distinct and unrelated stocks or peoples. This is notably the case with the wide-spread Dené and Salish, whose sub-divisions differ more from each other, both in mode of life and language, than do the different Romance nations of Europe.

Mention has been made in other portions of this history of the establishment of the Fur Companies in this part of the continent, and the amalgamation of the North-West Fur Company with its great rival, the Hudson's Bay Company. Under the organization of the latter the natives of British Columbia had their first training in civilization. The Hudson's Bay Company, through their employees, ever treated the Indians with uniform kindness and justice; and it is largely owing to their beneficent and enlightened policy that the early history of this region is free from those deeds of horror and bloodshed which darken the pages of the history of the settlement of the lands farther south. Uprisings of the natives against the set-

tlers, raids and forays on their settlements or property are events almost unknown in the early history of British Columbia. As long as the country was under the rule of the Fur Companies the Indians lived much as did their forefathers, and beyond performing certain occasional services for the Posts, they were free to come and go when, and live where, they pleased. But when, in 1858, the Home Government revoked the grant which it had made to the Hudson's Bay Company twenty years before—by which the Company was given control of the lands west of the Rocky Mountains and the rights of exclusive trading and dealing with the natives—and the country became a Crown Colony, the Indians naturally came under the jurisdiction of the Crown officers; and when the colony was opened up for settlement certain lands and localities were set aside for their exclusive use and occupancy. Later, in 1870, when the country was transformed from a Crown Colony into a province of the Dominion, the Indians became wards of the Federal Government, and their lands and affairs passed to the control of the Indian Department. This Department is under the general superintendence of one of the ministers of State, usually of the minister of the Interior. Under him there is a Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, who has the direct control of all matters concerning the natives and their general welfare. Each province has its own Superintendent, who is assisted in his duties by a number of local Indian agents and other officers.

The treatment of the Indians by the Department has always been just and humane, with the result that wars and disturbances of the peace have but rarely occurred, and the native races of the Dominion may now be classed among the most peaceable and law-abiding of his Majesty's subjects. Industrial, boarding and ordinary day schools have of late years been established in different centres among them, and the Indians of the present day are fast fitting themselves for the conditions of modern civilized life. Many of the tribes in this province live today in well-ordered villages with lighted streets and water-work systems of their own, and are better housed and have more comforts than the average European peasant. The men of the tribes engage, for the most part, regularly in fishing and lumbering or in agriculture and stock raising, and their outlook for the future is by no means a discouraging one.

Truth, however, compels one to say that a backward glance over the history and condition of the native races of the province as a whole since our advent among them does not present so satisfactory a picture; and one is obliged to confess that contact with the white man has not been everywhere an unmixed blessing for the Indian. The transition from the old order of things to the new was in the main too abrupt and radical and the race has suffered accordingly, notwithstanding the benevolent care of the government. Nowhere is this shown more clearly than in the high death-rate and the consequent diminution of their numbers. The whole native population of the province today numbers scarcely 25,000; and though we have no definite knowledge of the extent of the population when we first occupied the country, the estimates of the early settlers, the traditions of the Indians themselves, and the number of deserted and abandoned villages, which, in the memory of those now living, formerly contained hundreds of inhabitants, all indicate that five times that number, or 125,000, would not be an excessive estimate during the first half of the last century.

The writer's own investigations, conducted over a series of years, leave no room for doubt in his mind that the present Salish population of approximately 12,000 does not represent a fifth of the population of this stock at the time of Simon Fraser's visit to them. One tribe alone, the Lukungen, whose settlements are at the southeastern end of Vancouver's Island, was estimated in 1859 to number 8,500. Today they could not muster 200, or less than one-fortieth of their former numbers. The neighbouring Cowitchin tribes about forty-five years ago numbered five thousand and five souls; today they do not reach eight hundred. This frightful death-rate has not been confined to the tribes of the Salish stock; the others have suffered proportionately. That moribund race, the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands, numbered in 1840, according to estimates based on reliable information, 8,328. Twenty-five years ago the number had dwindled to approximately 2,000, and today the total native population of the Islands would not exceed 700. Father Morice, the distinguished missionary student and writer, has the same to say of the Dené stock, whose total population at the present time is less, he claims, than one-tenth of what it was when Mackenzie first passed through their country.

Speaking, therefore, with all caution and reserve, it may fairly be said that the total native population of today represents very little more than one-tenth of what it was when we first came in contact with the Indians, a little more than a century ago.

The principal cause of this excessive mortality is alcoholism and its attendant evils; chief among the secondary causes are small-pox, syphilis and pneumonia.

#### PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

It has been said that an Indian taken from one portion of the continent could easily be mistaken for an inhabitant of some other portion. This is because of the strong facial resemblance the natives commonly bear to one another. This general likeness, this distinctive pan-American visage, would seem to consist, in the main, of a well-formed ovaloid face in which a decidedly aquiline and somewhat pointed nose forms the chief feature, dark eyes and hair, and a skin the hue or colour of which is commonly called red or coppery, but which is really a brown, with an undertone of red running through it. This general type seems to exist all over the continent, but variations from it are numerous, and some of these are so extreme as to point to the existence of a secondary type. This second type is, in most of its features, the direct antithesis of the primary or truly American type. It is characterized by an unusual breadth of face, the nose is concave and spreading, the cheek bones high and prominent, the mouth coarse, and the colour a palish yellow.

In British Columbia we seem to meet with a cast of countenance that partakes of the characters of both types, approximating here more nearly to the characteristic American type and there to the adventitious or so-called Mongoloid type. This would seem to indicate that the native races of British Columbia have received a later infusion of East-Asian blood than the natives in more distant parts of the continent.

This view is entirely in harmony with the beliefs commonly held by American students, the consensus of opinion now being that this continent was originally peopled from the West, and that the East-Asian hordes did not enter the country in one great wave, but rather in successive minor waves, and that therefore the natives of British



Columbia, being presumably the latest comers, are more closely allied to the Mongoloid peoples of East-Asia than are the tribes or stocks farther east or south. Those who have observed the strong facial likeness between our Indians and the Japanese and Chinese can have little doubt of this. The resemblance is so close and striking at times that even the Indians themselves are struck with and comment upon it. We cannot say even approximately when these invasions from Asia took place; we only know that they were not of recent date, and that there are no tribes or peoples living there now who have more than a very indefinite and general ethnic relationship to our British Columbian stocks.

When we first came into contact with the native tribes of this province we found that some of them, notably the coastal Salish and the Vancouver Island Kwakiutl, had a curious habit of deforming their heads; the effect of which was at times to give them a very singular appearance. Each division had its own type of cranial contortion. The Kwakiutl type was found in its most characteristic form among the Koskeeno, who live about Kwatzino Sound on the northwest portion of Vancouver's Island. Here the head was elongated backward to an extraordinary and unsightly degree. The style of deformation among the coastal Salish tribes differed very considerably. Among the Squamish a band was laid across the child's forehead, and held there by thongs fastened to the bottom of the cradle, the deformation being always effected during the cradle-life of the individual; another pad or band was then tied across the top of the head just back of the coronal suture to prevent the pressure from the forehead-band forcing the head in that direction. This produced a three-fold pressure on the front, top and back of the head, the effect of which was to give a peculiarly receding sweep to the frontal bone, a flattening to the occipital or posterior region, and produce a compensatory bulge of the head sideways; the result of which was to make the head appear abnormally short and the face unusually broad.

Among the neighbouring Sechelt tribes the coronal pad or cushion was omitted, or rather was placed farther back on the lambda, with the result that the top of the head was forced upwards into a decided transverse ridge, like the roof of a house, giving a most singular aspect to the individual when the head was uncovered.

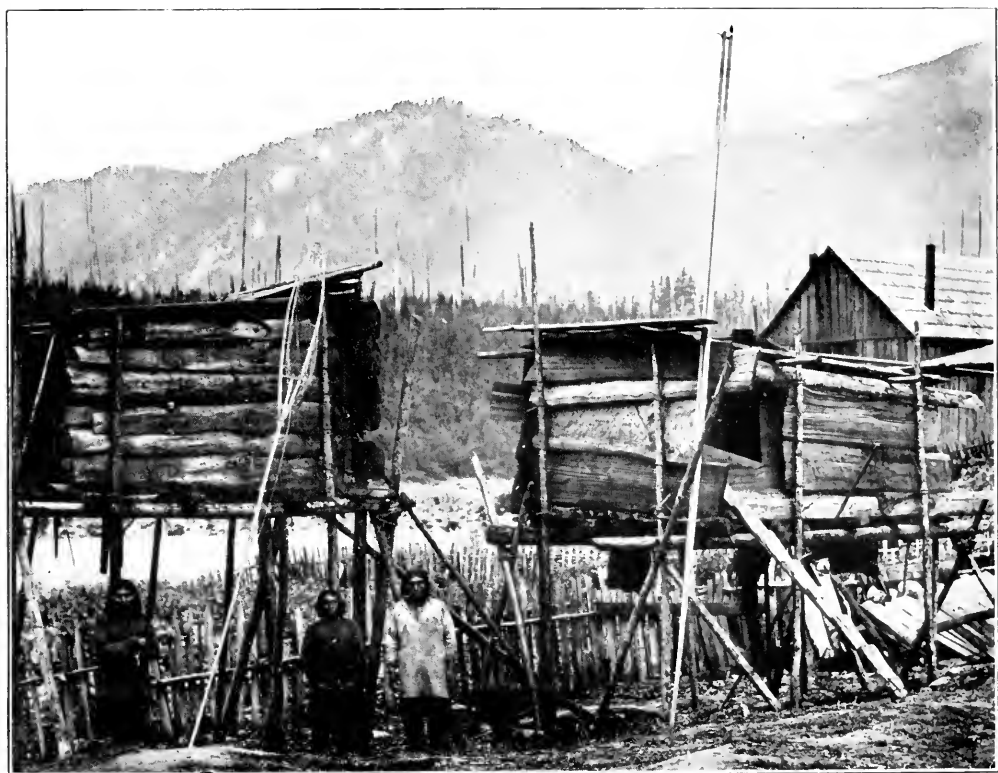
This "style of head" was apparently more common among women than men, the most extreme cases the writer has personally observed being always those of women. The object of these deformations was in all instances to give, what the natives considered, a more beautiful and desirable form to the head, the normal contours not being pleasing to their eyes; and the practice affords an excellent illustration, like that of the extremely small feet of Chinese ladies, of the truth of the dictum that beauty is not an absolute, but a relative quality, the standard of which varies from age to age and from people to people.

The practice among some of the Salish seems to have had a definite social, as well as an æsthetic significance. There appear to have been recognized degrees of contortion marking the social status of the individual. For example, slaves, of which the Salish kept considerable numbers, were prohibited from deforming the heads of their children at all, consequently a normal, undeformed head was the sign and badge of servitude. And in the case of the base-born of the tribes the heads of their children were customarily but slightly deformed, while the heads of the children born of wealthy or noble persons, and particularly those of chiefs, were severely and excessively deformed.

It might be thought that such severe contortion of the brain-case would injuriously affect the brain itself, but such does not seem to have been the case. Some of the most noted men of this region were chiefs whose heads were excessively deformed.

#### MORAL CHARACTERISTICS

In all moral qualities, save that of courage, the Indians of British Columbia ranked high before contact with the whites; in point of valour they fell far below the eastern tribes; and while some were braver and better fighters than others, not one of the stocks could be said to be really warlike. In earlier days the coastal and delta Salish were kept in perpetual fear and trembling by a single tribe of marauding Kwakiutls, who made periodic forays upon their villages, routing and slaughtering the men and carrying off the women and children into slavery. So dreaded was this band, and so timid and pusillanimous the Salish men, that when the whites first settled



INDIAN FISH CACHES

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in their midst they would come running to them like frightened children upon the first rumour of the approach of their foes and beg to be protected from them. The interior Salish, who are physically a finer people than those of the coast and delta, do not appear to have been so cowardly.

Though they protected themselves with palisaded forts, they were always ready to defend their homes and property from the attacks of their foes. But most of the Dené were no better than the coast and delta Salish. Father Morice speaks most strongly of their timidity and cowardice. He writes:

"The Dené are generally pusillanimous, timid and cowardly. Even among the Carriers, the proudest and most progressive of all the western tribes, hardly any summer passes but some party runs home panic-stricken, and why? They have heard at some little distance some 'men of the woods,' evidently animated by murderous designs upon them, and they have barely escaped with their lives! Thereupon great commotion and tumult in the camp. Immediately everybody is charitably warned not to venture alone in the forest, and after sunset every door is carefully locked against any possible intruder."

Mr. Bernard R. Ross, one of the northern Hudson Bay factors, has written also in the same strain in his manuscript account of the Indians of that region. "As a whole," he says, "the race under consideration is unwarlike. The Cheppewyans, Beavers and Yellow-Knives are much braver than the remaining tribes. I have never known in my long residence among this people, of arms having been resorted to in conflict. In most cases their mode of personal combat is a species of wrestling, and consists in the opponents grasping each other's long hair. Knives are almost invariably laid aside previous to the contest. I am disposed to consider this peaceful disposition proceeds more from timidity than from any actual disinclination to shed blood. A strange footprint or any unusual sound in the forest is quite sufficient to cause great excitement in camp. I have on several occasions caused all the natives encamped around to flock for protection into the fort during the night by simply whistling, hidden in the bushes."

Apart, however, from this weakness, their other virtues stood out conspicuously. They were proverbial for their honesty and for their

hospitality, and in pre-trading days also for their chastity. Father De Smet has the following to say of the Kootenays, which to a large extent applies to all the stocks, or rather did when we first came into contact with them, but particularly to the Salish:

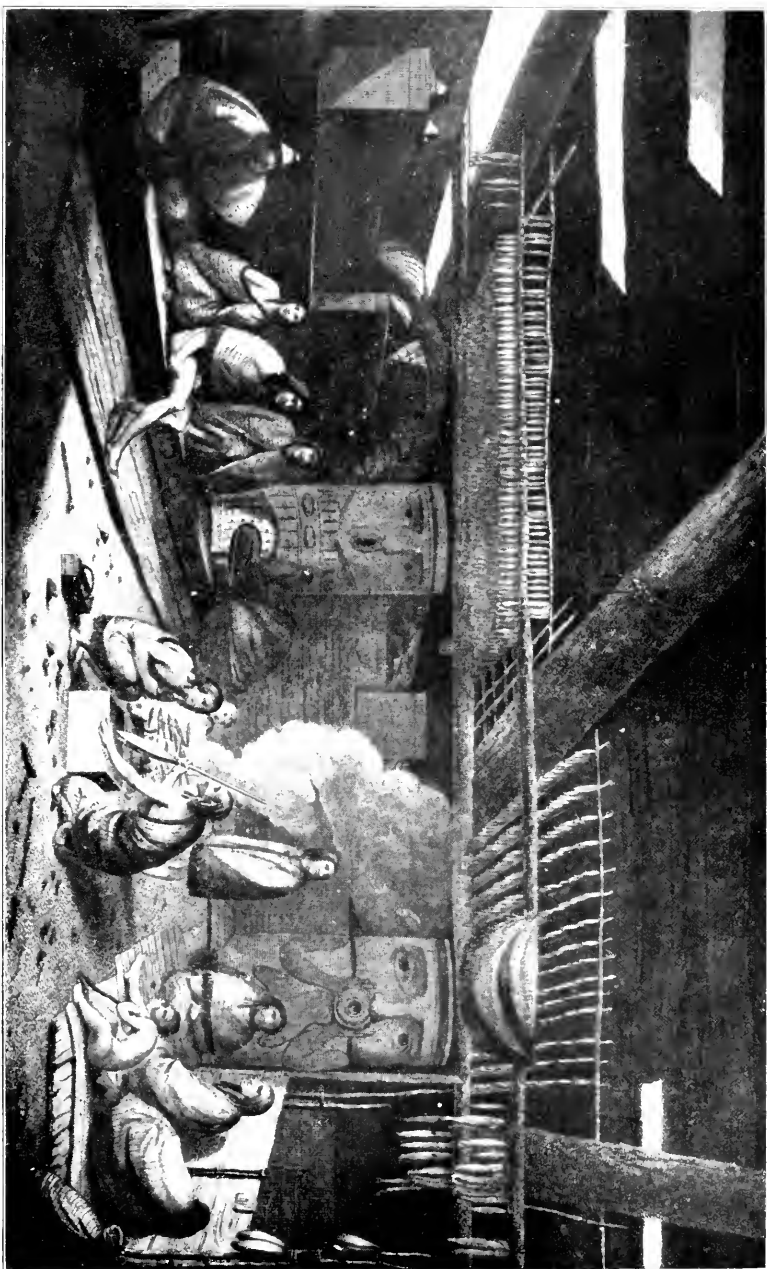
"The beau ideal of the Indian character, uncontaminated by contact with the whites, is found among them. What is most pleasing to the stranger is to see their simplicity united with sweetness and innocence, keep step with the most perfect dignity and modesty of deportment. The gross vices which dishonour the red man on the frontiers are utterly unknown among them. They are honest to scrupulosity. The Hudson's Bay Company, during forty years that it has been trading in furs with them, has never been able to perceive that the smallest object has been stolen from them. The agent takes his furs down to Colville every spring and does not return before autumn. During his absence the store is confided to the care of an Indian, who trades in the name of the Company, and on the return of the agent renders him a most exact account of his trust. The store often remains without anyone to watch it, the door unlocked and unbolted, and the goods are never stolen. The Indians go in and out, help themselves to what they want, and always scrupulously leave in place of whatever article they take its exact value."

Father Morice has much the same to say of the Dené. He writes: "A noteworthy quality of the Dené, especially of such as have remained untouched by modern civilization, is their great honesty. Among the Sikani a trader will sometimes go on a trapping expedition, leaving his store unlocked, without fear of any of its contents going amiss. Meanwhile a native may call in his absence, help himself to as much powder and shot or any other item he may need, but he will never fail to leave there an exact equivalent in furs."

Simon Fraser was likewise much impressed with the honesty of the interior Salish with whom he came in contact, and everyone else who had anything to do with our Indians in the early days also speaks in the highest terms of their honesty and faithfulness.

But it is not necessary to go far afield to learn what their character was before the settlement of the country by ourselves; it is plainly revealed to us in their folk-tales and tribal traditions.

These show us that their lives were moral and well regulated;



THE INSIDE OF A HOUSE IN NOOTKA SOUND





that deep shame and disgrace followed a lapse from virtue in the married and unmarried of both sexes. The praise and enjoinder of virtue, self discipline and abstinence in young men is no less clearly brought out, whilst the respect and consideration paid by the young everywhere to their elders affords an example which more advanced races might with profit copy.

We are sometimes too prone to imagine that life among primitive peoples is wholly debased and vile, and that paganism has no virtues of its own. That nothing can be farther from the facts of the case, the ethical precepts and teachings of such people as the Salish make perfectly clear. Following are some of these precepts as held and taught by the Thompson River Indians:

It is bad to steal.

People will despise you and say you are poor. They will laugh at you and will not live with you. They will not trust you; they will call you "thief."

It is bad to be unvirtuous.

It will make your friends ashamed of you, and you will be laughed at and gossiped about. No one will want to make you his wife.

It is bad to lie.

People will laugh at you, and when you tell them anything they will not believe what you say. They will call you "liar."

It is bad to be lazy.

You will always be poor and no woman will care for you. You will have few clothes, and you will be called "lazy one."

It is bad to commit adultery.

People will avoid you and gossip about you. Your friends and children will be ashamed, and people will laugh and scoff at them. You will be disgraced or divorced. You will be called "adulterer."

It is bad to boast if you are not great.

People will dislike you and laugh at you. They will call you "coyote," "proud" or "vain."

It is bad to be cowardly.

People will laugh at you, insult you and mock you. They will impose upon you and trade with you without paying. Women will not want you for a husband; they will call you "woman" and "coward."

It is bad to be inhospitable or stingy.

People will be stingy to you, will shun you and will gossip about you, and call you "stingy one."

It is bad to be quarrelsome.

People will have no dealings with you; they will avoid and dislike you. Your wives will leave you; you will be called "bad," "family quarreller," "angry one."

It is good to be pure and cleanly.

It is good to be honest, truthful and faithful.

It is good to be brave, industrious and grateful.

It is good to be hospitable, liberal and friendly.

It is good to be modest and sociable.

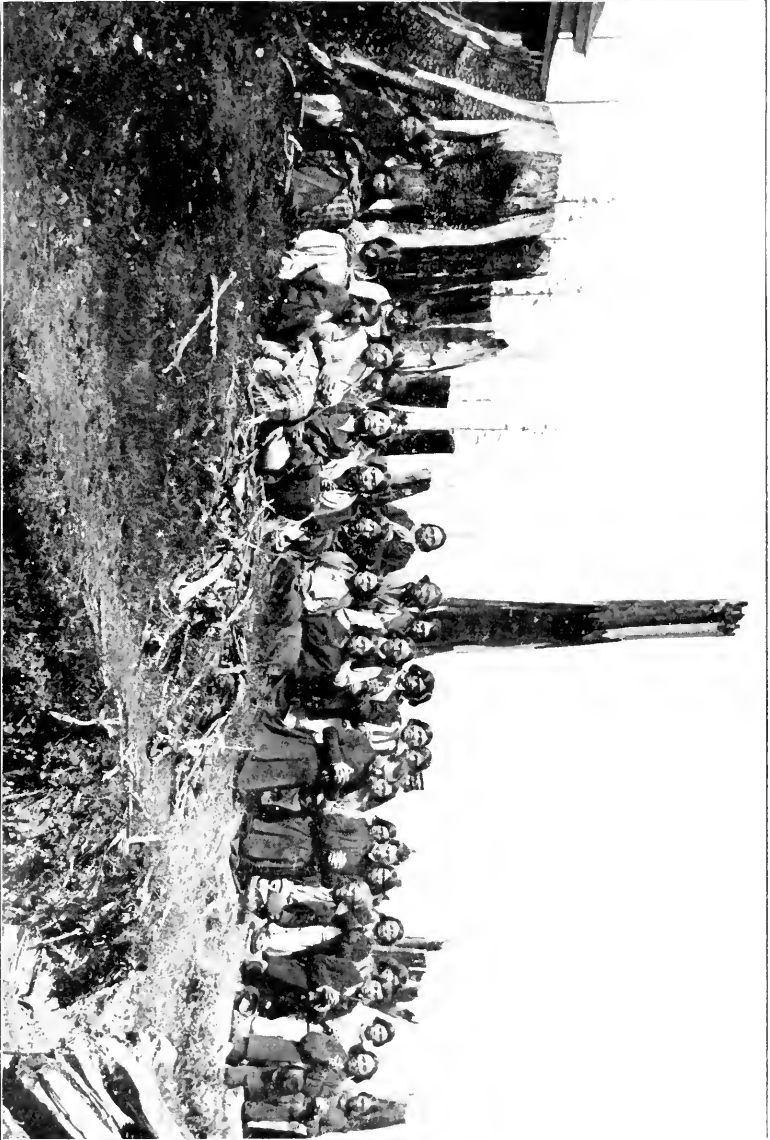
Your family and friends will be proud of you, and everybody will admire and esteem you.

People who inculcate such sound, practical morality and such virtues in the minds of their children as these can scarcely be called debased, or be said to be greatly in need of instruction from ourselves.

It is true that the Thompsons represented the Salish at their highest and best, both morally and physically, but similar precepts and virtues were taught in most tribes before the days of our advent; and if they have fallen away from these high standards, as we fear they have, the fault is not theirs, but ours. They have but followed what they have observed among ourselves; they have been only too truly receptive of our superior civilization in all its phases. Receptiveness is one of their most striking qualities, and they adopt in wholesale fashion the customs and modes of life they observe among ourselves. The same may be said of the Dené; and it would be difficult indeed to find any peoples more susceptible to foreign influences, more receptive of new ideas, and more ready and willing to adopt and carry them out than the British Columbian Indians. We assumed a grave responsibility when we undertook to civilize these races.

#### RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Religion, in the ordinary meaning of the word, the British Columbian tribes had none. They recognized no Supreme Being who controlled the universe, no High Gods who ruled the destinies



MISSIONARIES AND THEIR CONGREGATION



of men, nor even a "Great Spirit," such as is ascribed, and wrongly so, to some of the eastern tribes of America, to whom they could pray for protection and help. The nearest approach they made to anything of the kind was found among some of the interior Salish, who at times invoked the Spirit of the Dawn, one of the many "mystery" spirits with which they peopled their universe.

They believed in a multiplicity of spirits; that all nature, in all her forms, was thus animated. Every object had its own soul or spirit, which was distinct from the body or material form, and could separate itself from it and live an independent spirit or ghostly existence.

Not only were those objects which we call animate, that is, living sentient bodies, possessed of souls or spirits, but also every insensate object, the smallest and most insignificant in common with the largest and most impressive. The blade of grass, a stick or a stone, the very tools and utensils they themselves made and employed, each and all possessed spirit forms more real than their corporeal ones, because more permanent and indestructible. The material form of the object could be destroyed, the tool could be broken, the fish or the deer killed and eaten, but the spirit forms of these objects would still remain. Thus the spirit world was a very real world to them, ever present and ever encompassing them, was, indeed, the source of all the ills and pleasures of their existence. Whatever good luck might befall them was due entirely to the benevolence of the "spirits," as in like manner all their ill luck and misfortunes were due to their malevolence. They were ever at the mercy of the ghosts of things, whose pity must be implored, anger propitiated, and goodness recompensed; and every deliberate act of their lives was more or less conceived and carried out with this intent and purpose.

Some of the tribes of the Dené seem to have had, in pre-missionary days, some vague indefinite conception of a Being who lived on high and who was the effective cause of the rain, snow, winds and other celestial phenomena. It was known by a native term which meant "that which is on high." But they never worshipped this power, but rather feared and dreaded it, and sought at all times to get out of its way; or if this was not possible to appease and propitiate it, and the spirits who were supposed to obey it, with the aid of their medicine men. These men are supposed to have power over

the spirits, and to be able by means of their incantations, to direct and control them. They consequently possessed much influence and their services were being constantly demanded. Shamanism played everywhere a very important part in the lives of the native races of this region. Believing as they commonly did that all pathological conditions of the body, all internal maladies and sickness, were caused by the presence or ill-will of spirits, it could hardly have been otherwise. Indeed, we may say that Shamanism—that is, belief in the medicine man's powers—and totemism—that is, belief in guardian spirits—made up the whole sum and substance of the religion of the tribes of this region.

Among the coastal tribes and the Dené Shamanism held the larger place and played the most important part; among the interior Salish belief in the personal guardian spirit predominated.

The shaman or medicine man of the American tribes is not at all that arrant, self-conscious humbug that some writers have considered him to be. He believes in himself and his powers sincerely, and however much we may despise his methods and his knowledge, we cannot justly deny him sincerity if he be a typical member of his class. He is generally a person of peculiar psychical temperament, given by long practice to seeing visions, dreaming dreams and passing into trances, in which he believes he holds converse with, and receives instructions from, his "familiar spirits"; and such is the belief in his powers held by the people who seek and employ him, that if he tells them they will recover, unless their malady is a mortal one, or beyond the power of the mind to influence through their imagination, they will and do recover in a way which, if we did not understand how it came about, would be truly wonderful at times.

Totemism—using the word in the American sense, that is, as the doctrine of "guardian spirits"—differs from Shamanism mainly in the fact that it brings the individual into personal and direct relation with the spirits of things without the mediation or intervention of the medicine man or shaman.

Among the native races of America this particular practice had a very great vogue, and we find it in one form or another among all the Indians of our province. Among the interior tribes, particularly those of the Salish, every man and woman customarily had his or her personal friendly spirit or spirits. The method of acquiring





KINCOLITH CHURCH AND SCHOOL



INTERIOR OF KINCOLITH CHURCH



NISHKA CHIEFS AND LEADERS



these seems to be practically the same everywhere. The seeker goes apart by himself into the forest or mountains and undergoes a more or less lengthy course of training and self-discipline. This course among the Salish continued for a period of from four days to as many years, according to the object the seeker had in view. Those taking the longer course are generally men seeking shamanistic or other special "mystery" powers. Prolonged fasts, repeated bathings, forced vomitings and other exhausting bodily exercises are the means adopted for inducing the desired state—the mystic dreams and visions. With the body in the enervated condition which must necessarily follow such vigorous treatment, the mind becomes abnormally active and expectant; dreams, visions and hallucinations are as natural to the seeker in such a state as breathing; and it is not difficult for us to understand how real to him must seem the vision of the looked for spirit, and how firm his belief in its actual manifestation.

The spirit of almost every object might become a totem or guardian spirit, a few only lacked "mystery power." Certain objects or animals were more desired than others because of their stronger "mystery" powers, and each class and order of the people had its own favourite and characteristic objects. This was particularly so in the case of shamans, who each possessed many "familiaris." These were chiefly the spirits of objects which had reference to death, such as dead bodies or their parts, especially hair, teeth, skulls, nails, etc., nocturnal animals, darkness, grave posts and such like uncanny things.

Among the coastal tribes the personal totem had given place very largely to the family or clan totem. Here the people were grouped in totemic bodies, each of which claimed a common totem after whose name the clan was commonly called. Thus we have the eagle clan, the wolf clan, the whale clan, the bear clan and a host of others. It was this custom of clan grouping which gave rise to the so-called totem-poles of our coast, these carved poles being emblematic, heraldic representations of the family or clan totems, a phase of totemism peculiar to our own Indians.

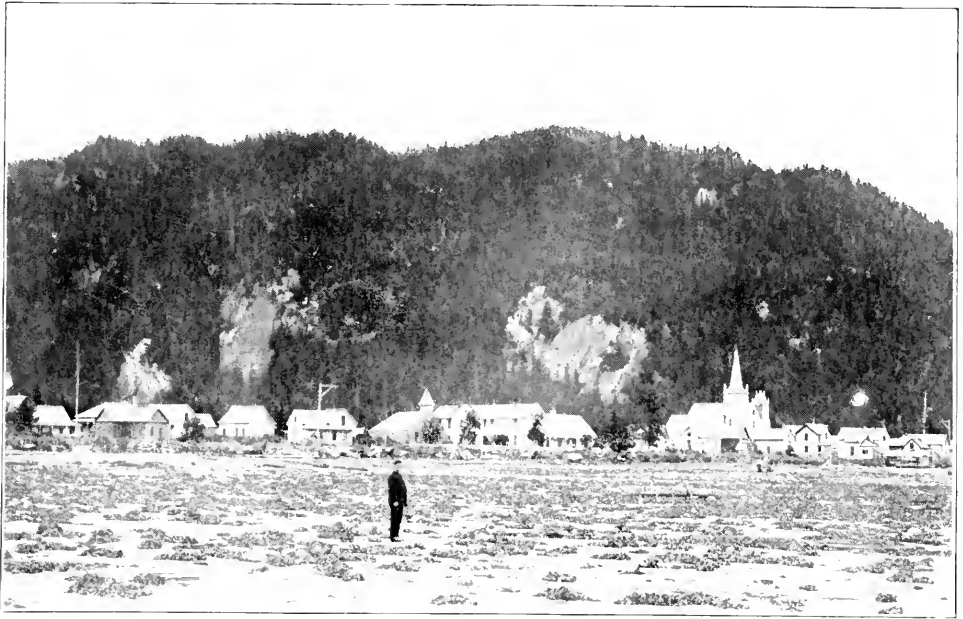
#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Early in our study of primitive or savage races we discovered that their social organization often differed in many interesting fea-

tures from our own. The Indians of this province are no exception to this rule, for we find among them at least three distinct forms of family grouping or organization. The earliest and most primitive of family grouping is that in which descent is counted through the mother only. This we call matrilineal organization. The second and later is that in which descent is counted through the father only. • This is called patrilineal organization, and the third or latest is that in which descent may be counted on either or both sides of the family and which has been called kindred or co-parental organization. This is the organization we ourselves live under. The native races of British Columbia present us with all three of these forms of family grouping. The northern coastal tribes reckon descent exclusively through the mother. With them the husband or father is an outsider, having only the status of a favoured or privileged visitor in the mother's clan, but possessing no authority whatever over his own offspring or family. Under this condition of things the mother's eldest brother, that is, the children's maternal uncle, is the head of her family, and has control of her children. This relation, so strange from our point of view, is well exemplified in the following incident: A man of the Tsimshian tribe had gone out hunting and had become lost in the forest. When he had been missing some days the missionary stationed there was astonished to see his grown son going about the village quite unconcerned as to his father's fate. The missionary asked why he was not out looking for his missing father. The youth expressed astonishment at the question; why should he look for his father; his own people should do that, it was not his business or duty at all!

Similarly under matrilineal organization a father cannot leave any of his property or any of his clan belongings to his own children, but must leave them to his nieces and nephews, the children of his sister or sisters, they being members of his own clan. It was probably in great part this inability to transmit to his own offspring his personal possessions and honours that led to the breaking down of the matrilineal organization and the substitution therefor of the patrilineal or father-right condition of things; for we find that some men married their sons to their own sisters, that is, their aunts, in order that the offspring from this union might rightfully, according to clan law, inherit his honours and possessions.





SECTION OF KINCOLITH



THE NEW MODE OF TRAVEL. ARCHDEACON COLLISON'S LAUNCH, THE "DAWN,"  
ARRIVED IN HARBOUR

Under patriarchal rule the mother's relations are not regarded as the relatives of the children. She, under this rule, is an intruder or visitor in the husband's clan and should he die before herself her relatives come and take her away, together with all the property she may have acquired.

The third and latest form of family organization is best found among the interior Salish. Here matriarchy has everywhere been superseded by patriarchy, and this again in several of the divisions by the co-parental family group, where descent is counted on both sides of the family and where the father's and mother's relatives make up the kin-group of the children.

The simplest form of social organization is found among the interior hunting tribes, where a state of pure anarchy may be said to have formerly prevailed, each family being a law unto itself and acknowledging no authority save that of its own elder-man. Each local community was composed of a greater or less number of these self-ruling families. There was a kind of headship or nominal authority given to the oldest and wisest of the elder-men in some of the larger communities, where occasion called for it or where circumstances arose in which it became necessary to have a central representative. This led in some centres to the regular appointing of local chiefs or tribal heads, whose business it was to look after the material interest of the commune over which they presided; but the office was always strictly elective and hedged with manifold limitations as to authority and privilege.

But as we leave the inland tribes and proceed down the Fraser, we find these simple communistic forms of organization giving place to others more formal and complex. Society here is divided into more or less distinct castes and classes, and the office of headman, though still in theory elective, has become practically hereditary, passing generally from father to son in the same family. The strictly democratic equality of the interior tribes has disappeared and the communes are now made up of the three orders of chiefs, nobles and base-folk, and the nearer we get to the coast the stricter and more inflexible these class distinctions become.

There remains yet one other feature of their social life to speak of: we refer to their practice of making and keeping slaves. The custom was common to some extent to all the tribes, but more par-

ticularly to those of the coastal region. Every family of standing had its own body of slaves, both male and female. These did all the rough, dirty and laborious work, such as fetching water and gathering firewood. These slaves were acquired either by purchase or taken in war.

Mention should also be made of their secret societies and their "potlatch" ceremonies. The former was peculiar to the coastal tribes and the initiation ceremonies were sometimes very elaborate and peculiar. Space does not permit us to treat of these at length here. The latter, or "potlatch," is a kind of gift-feast and is a most ingeniously devised system, peculiar to the Northwest tribes of America, for acquiring social prestige and influence, and at the same time laying up a provision for the future. By a well-understood rule, which is observed with a greater punctiliousness than any observance among ourselves, every recipient of a gift at a potlatch gathering is bound in honour to return another of double value to the donor or his legal heirs at some future time. And in this repayment his relatives and fellow-clansmen are expected to aid him if necessary. They indeed become his sureties; and the honour of the family, clan or even tribe is involved in the repayment of the gifts.

The property usually distributed on these occasions consists in the main of skins, horses, personal clothing, blankets, guns, canoes, and, since the advent of the dollar, money. On one historic occasion presents to the value of \$15,000 are known to have been distributed, chiefly in the form of blankets, the old time measure of wealth. On another the gifts consisted of 134 sacks of flour, 140 pairs of blankets, a large quantity of apples and other provisions, and \$700 in currency. From two to five thousand Indians meet together at these potlatch gatherings. About twenty-five years ago one of the Vancouver Island chiefs gave a great potlatch to about twenty-five hundred persons brought together from different tribes. He feasted and entertained his guests for over a month, and then sent them home with his accumulated savings of the five previous years. This prolonged feast spread his fame far and wide over the Province, and he was thereafter looked upon as one of the greatest of chiefs.

Though it is now made illegal to hold potlatch ceremonies on account of the disorder and inebriety sometimes witnessed thereat, there can be no doubt that in earlier pre-trading days before the

introduction of "fire-water" the effect of such a custom as the potlatch was on the whole good and beneficial, engendering as it did feelings of good will and friendship between settlement and settlement and tribe and tribe, and making war almost impossible between them.





## CHAPTER XIX

### MEDICAL

BY ROBERT E. M'KECHNIE

#### PART I

##### *The Indian in Medicine.*

In writing a History of Medicine in British Columbia, the narrative would not be complete, without including reference to the customs of the primitive inhabitants of the country. This is all the more true when one remembers, that these ancient customs of treating disease, are still, to some extent, practised in this province among the Indians in the remoter districts.

White, in his History of the Warfare of Science with Theology, says, "Nothing in the evolution of human thought appears more inevitable, than the idea of supernatural intervention in producing and curing disease. The causes of disease are so intricate that they are reached only after ages of scientific labour. In those periods when man sees everywhere miracle and nowhere law, when he attributes all things which he cannot understand to a will like his own, he naturally ascribes his diseases either to the wrath of a good being or the malice of an evil being. This idea underlies the connection of the priestly class with the healing art: a connection, of which we have survivals among rude tribes in all parts of the world, and which is seen in nearly every ancient civilization."

A comparison between the beliefs of the causation of disease, as held in Europe during the dark ages, with those held by the North American Indian is interesting.

Thus, especially prejudicial to the true development of medical science, among the first Christians, was their attribution of disease to diabolical influence.

St. Augustine said, "All diseases of Christians are to be ascribed to these demons."

Gregory of Nazianzus declared, that bodily pains were provoked by demons, and that medicines were useless, but that they are often cured by the laying on of consecrated hands.

St. Gregory of Tours gave examples to show the sinfulness of resorting to medicine.

Naturally, the belief thus sanctioned by heads of the Church created a demand for amulets and charms of all kinds, and under this influence we find a reversion to old pagan fetiches.

In discussing the North American Indian, Parkman says, "A great knowledge of simples for the cure of disease is popularly ascribed to the Indian. Here, however, as elsewhere, his knowledge is in fact scanty. He rarely reasons from cause to effect, or from effect to cause. Disease is, in his belief, the result of sorcery, the agency of spirits or supernatural influences, undefined and indefinable. The Indian doctor was a conjuror, and his remedies were to the last degree preposterous, ridiculous or revolting. The Indian doctor beat, shook, or pinched his patient, howled, whooped, rattled a tortoise-shell at his ear to expel the evil spirit, etc. He relied far more on magic than on natural remedies. Dreams, beating of drums, songs, magic feasts and dances, and howling to frighten the demon from his patient, were the ordinary methods of cure."

### *The Shaman or Medicine Man.*

Among the Indians there was no separate class of priests, and as the belief was general that disease was due to spirits entering into the body, it naturally followed that the medicine man was priest as well. Thus J. R. Swanton states that there was no priesthood, among the Haida, distinct from the Shamans.

A Shaman was one who had power from some supernatural being, who "possessed him," and who chose him as the medium through which to make his existence felt in the world of men. When the spirit was present the Shaman's identity was practically abolished. For the time, he was the supernatural being himself. So the Shaman must dress as the spirit directed him, and when the spirit was present, spoke the latter's own language.

The cause of disease, as well as of success or failure in the affairs of life, as hunting, war, love, etc., was uniformly some supernatural object or some natural object supernaturally placed in the disordered part. Pursuant to the adage that it is a poor rule that does not work both ways, we find that diseases in the supernatural beings may be caused by natural objects invisible to them. These are plainly seen by the Shamans. Every war party must be accompanied by a Shaman, whose duty it was to find a propitious time for making an attack, etc., but especially to war with and kill the souls of the enemy. The death of their natural bodies was certain.

*James Teit's Description of Shamanism.*

Shamans accomplished their supernatural feats by the help of their guardian spirits, who gave them instruction by means of visions and dreams. When called to visit a sick person, he appeared with his face painted red, and either wearing a large fur hat decorated with eagle tail feathers, and with the skins of small animals as pendants, or else having these ornaments fastened in his hair. Sometimes he wore a kind of a mask. Around his ankles and knees he wore strings of deer hoofs which rattled as he walked or danced.

He did not accept payment from the first patient he treated, and when he failed to effect a cure he returned his fees to the relatives of the deceased. If a Shaman were well paid for his services, his guardian spirit was well pleased and was more liable to help him.

Before beginning to treat a patient, the Shaman frequently pulled out a long pipe from which hung eagle feathers and took a smoke, for smoking was looked upon as a means of communication between the Shaman and his guardian spirit, as well as between him and the spirit world.

Having painted his face, and sometimes his hands and chest, red, he divested himself of his robe and shirt, and proceeded, by means of incantations, to expel the disease from the body of his patient. During the greater part of the time he kept up his song, gesticulating sometimes with his arms and body while he kept time with his feet. Sometimes he would break into a kind of a dance, in which he went through many jerking and jumping motions with his body and legs. He also often blew on the body of his patient and repeatedly made passes over it with his hands.

Sometimes they pretended to suck the disease out, and by sleight of hand, produced from their mouths some foreign substance said to be the cause of the disease. Some possessed hypnotic power, and some even ventriloquism. There is no doubt that the majority believed themselves possessed of the power they claimed.

Their diseases were believed to be due to natural causes, witchcraft, neglect of certain observances, or the influence of the dead.

Natural diseases were generally cured by the use of certain medicines, a list of many of which Teit enumerates in his work. They include decoctions, eye-washes, eye-salves, powders for running sores, burns, etc., ointments for sores, etc.

The Thompson, Shuswap and Nicola Indians also make use of sweat baths. A hut is formed of bent willow withes over which are spread blankets, and hot stones are placed inside. After having a sweat bath the patient takes a bath in cold water.

The calling of a Shaman was generally hereditary in his family, the order being usually from maternal uncle to nephew. Before he died he revealed his spirits to his successor, who might start with a comparatively feeble spirit and acquire stronger and stronger ones. This nephew, when he came to grow up, ceased to live with his mother. There he was thought to have too easy a time and became an object of contempt. He was generally sent to live with the uncle to whose place he was to succeed. There he was put through a rather severe discipline, being kept at work out in the cold, to inure him to hardship, etc.

Whether a man were a Shaman or not, he could increase his physical powers, or obtain property, success in hunting, fishing or war, by rigid abstinence from food and drink, by remaining away from his wife, bathing in the sea, taking sweat baths, etc. He would drink warmed salt water often and take fresh water afterwards, when all the contents of his stomach were ejected, leaving him so much cleaner.

Paul Kane, speaking of his experiences among the Clallums and other tribes inhabiting Vancouver Island, says, "I have never heard any traditions as to their former origin, although such traditions are common amongst those on the east side of the Rocky Mountains. They do not believe in any future state of punishment, although in this world they suppose themselves exposed to the malicious influ-

ence of the 'Skoooom' or evil genius, to whom they attribute all their misfortune and ill luck.

"The good spirit is called 'Hias-Soch-a-la-Ti-Yah,' that is, the great high chief, from whom they obtain all that is good in this life, and to whose happy and peaceful hunting grounds they will all eventually go, to reside forever in comfort and abundance.

"The medicine men of the tribe are supposed to possess a mysterious influence with these two spirits, either for good or evil. They form a secret society, the initiation into which is accompanied by a great ceremony and much expense. The candidate has to prepare a feast for his friends and all who choose to partake of it, and make presents to the other medicine men. A lodge is prepared for him which he enters, and remains alone for three days and nights without food, whilst those already initiated keep dancing and singing around the lodge the whole time. After this fast, which is supposed to endue him with wonderful skill, he is taken up, apparently lifeless, and plunged into the nearest cold water, when they rub and wash him until he revives; this they call 'washing the dead.' As soon as he revives, he runs into the woods and soon returns dressed as a medicine man, which generally consists of the light down of the goose stuck all over their bodies and heads with thick grease, and a mantle of frayed cedar bark, with the medicine rattle in his hand. He now collects all his property, blankets, shells and ornaments, and distributes the whole amongst his friends, trusting for his future support to the fees of his profession.

"The dress of a Shaman differed somewhat in accordance with the kind of spirit speaking through him. Usually he wore a dancing blanket, carried an oval rattle and had a number of bone 'head-scratchers' hung around his neck. His hair was allowed to grow long and was never combed or cleaned. Sometimes he wore a bone stuck through it, at others he wore a cap slanting up on either side to a ridge on top, and sometimes he wore a circular fillet. He always wore a long bone through the septum of the nose.

"Sometimes, when he got his power from one of the 'Ocean People,' the Shaman put two flicker feathers in his head dress. He carried a short piece of board on which he beat time with a short baton, and had a carved hollow bone through which he carried on his spiritual combats and blew away disease. Generally he had an

assistant to beat a large drum for him, which was hung up for the purpose in the sick man's house.

"When a person is sick they send for a Shaman, asking him to heal him. When he arrives the people beat time. At the same time, when they ask him to come, they give him presents in order to secure his good will. Elk skins and slaves are often given in this manner. Then the Shaman takes his rattle and his bone tube, through which he blows on the affected part of the body.

"Early in the morning, he and all the patient's relatives drink salt water as an emetic, and they fast for four days. During all this time, the Shaman swings his rattle and dances. He goes around the fire, the left hand towards the middle of the house, trying to find his power, one of the 'Above People.' Finally, he says that the guardian spirit informed him that the patient would be well, at such and such a time."

The use of the bone tube was not confined to the Indians of British Columbia, as the following description by J. G. Kohl, of an Indian doctor treating a sick child in the region north of Lake Superior, proves:

"The doctor's chief instrument was a hollow, very white and carefully polished bone. This bone, which was about two and a half inches long and the thickness of the little finger, the doctor repeatedly swallowed, then brought it up again, blew on the child through it, sucked up the skin through the tube, and then ejected the illness he had drawn out into a basin, with many strange and terrible convulsions. All this was accompanied by an incessant drumming, rattling and singing of the assistants of the doctor."

Besides calling in the services of a Shaman, in cases of sickness, internal remedies were used; but it appears from the following prescription, that actual experience of the virtues of the constituents had a comparatively small share in their composition.

On arising in the morning, one must go out without eating anything and collect the following articles:

1. Four roots from each of two distinct species of fern. Each root must be taken from a different plant and all four must be collected before the next is proceeded to.
2. A little hemlock bark from four different trees.
3. Bark from four alders.

4. Bark from four crabapple trees.
5. Four mussels, shell and all, taken from four different places along the shore.

6. Barnacles taken from the east side of four different stones.

All these must be placed upon the surface of a flat rock and mashed up together by means of another stone. Then the following must be added:

7. Salt water from the crest of four waves caught in the hollow of the hand on the beach.

8. A handful of water from each of four different rills on the beach.

9. A handful of stagnant water taken from the east side of each of four different pools in the forest.

10. Four young spruce trees, about six or eight inches high, found growing upon as many old dead trees.

11. Finally, four hard round stones must be taken from as many different places along the shore.

The collector must take all of these things home, and if he meets anyone on the way, he must not speak to him. On reaching the house he must pass around it, keeping it to the left, until he comes to the front door. Instead of entering here, he must pass on in the same direction to the back door and enter. If there is no back door he must pass around to the front door again.

Arrived indoors, he first puts his four stones into the fire. If any of these burst it is thought that the person will die, though it is known that this does not always happen. White stones are said to be the best to choose because they do not break easily. Next a pot containing the remaining articles collected, is placed upon the fire, and the contents warmed enough to drink. There is sufficient water at first, but later a quart of fresh and salt water in equal proportions may be added. The sick person drinks as much as possible, every morning, before eating anything, and continues doing so for four days. Then he stops, but if it agrees with him, a new mixture may be made.

Not only were medicines employed in cases of sickness, but their use was far more extended. Thus there was medicine for carving, for dancing, for acquiring property, etc., a love philtre, or woman's medicine.

There seems to have been another set of medicines, which consisted of simple extracts from plants and shrubs, founded on experience and of some actual medicinal value. These, however, were not valued nearly so highly as the symbolic compounds.

Since the word "xil" may mean medicine or leaf indifferently, it would seem that leaves formed the principal constituent of the older remedies.

Some of the customs could be interpreted as an attempt at Preventive Medicine, although completely clothed in superstition.

There were many things that a pregnant woman was not permitted to look at and many things which she must not eat. Among the latter were the cormorant and the abelone. If she ate the former, the child would defecate all the time; if the latter, it would have its neck turned around. She must not chew gum. If she looked at a bull-head, the child would be as ugly as one. If, on the other hand, she mashed upon her abdomen some of the small, white flies found on the beaches, and rubbed them around, the child would be good looking. No one in the house, where there was a pregnant woman, might look out of doors. He must go out and look. If he happened to forget he must go outside, turn once to the left and then go in again. When a pregnant woman was lying down, one must not pass between her and the fire. Infringement of either of these latter regulations would give the woman a hard time in bringing forth. No boy was allowed to play with bow and arrows in the house where she was, for he might put out the child's eyes. When she slept, she must not turn over while lying down, but get up and then lie down on the other side. This was a regulation for the early stages of her pregnancy, to prevent the embryo splitting in two.

After the child was born, she had to sit still for ten days, with a broad belt of cedar bark around her, and then bathe.

After the birth of the child, the navel-string must be buried deep in the forest, where no dog or other animal could dig it out.

During his wife's pregnancy, a man must not talk triflingly to other women he was in love with, otherwise his wife would die.

#### *Puberty.*

Among the people of the West Coast, at the time of puberty, a girl was kept indoors behind screens for about twenty days. If she



sat near the fire her face would become red and stay so. She fasted for six days from the commencement of this period. During the whole twenty days she was only allowed a few drops of water a day. The abstinence made her healthy and no accident would befall her.

She must not talk or laugh during all this time. If she did she would become either talkative or too much inclined to laugh.

After the twenty days were over, the girl took a bath and none of the water was allowed to be spilled. It was taken back into the woods. If this were not done she would not live long. Whatever she did at the time would remain with her always.

Until four years had passed she must eat no fish but black cod. They thought that the other fish would become scarce if she ate them.

The girl's eyes had supernatural powers. In Tason Harbour a girl once stopped a dog, which was rolling down hill, by looking at it.

If anyone having a pain or sickness, continually, in one place, went behind the screen in the rear of the house and let the girl scratch the place, it would be cured.

Among the Masset, a girl was not allowed to eat fresh fish, else when she grew up she might have consumption. She must not eat seaweed or later in life she would be troubled with diarrhoea. She must not eat clams, mussels or sea eggs for the same reason.

### *Pregnancy.*

When a married woman was with child, for the first time, both she and her husband had to go through certain ceremonies similar to the puberty ceremonies, otherwise many evil consequences might result. While bathing, the woman prayed, "May I have no trouble when I am giving birth. I rely on thee, Dawn of the Day. Pity me."

She was not allowed to touch or eat the flesh of the porcupine or anything killed by an eagle or hawk, since if she ate them, it was said, that her child would resemble them. If she ate the flesh of a hare, the child would have hare lip. She must not eat black bear flesh, for if she did she would have no more children. She must not eat food of which a mouse, a rat, or a dog had eaten part, for if she did, she would have a premature birth. If she stepped on the tracks of a wolf or otter her child would be still-born or die shortly after birth, and her children ever afterwards would die in infancy.

In such cases, she had to repair to a Shaman who had the wolf or otter for his guardian spirit, and after he had treated her, her children would not die. She must not look on a corpse when it was being prepared for burial; if she did, the navel-string would become twisted around the child like the string tied around the corpse.

The husband also had restrictions placed on him. If he hunted black or grizzly bear, the child would be still-born. If he killed willow grouse or fool hen, the child might be foolish. If he killed squirrels, the child would cry much when young.

During birth, the mother lay on her side with head and shoulders somewhat elevated and took hold of a rope. Many women had recourse to elderly experienced women, but others never accepted help, except from their husband or some woman in the house. The midwives usually received a deerskin blanket for fee.

The after-birth was taken away and hung up on a branch. If a dog or snake touched it, the mother would have no children. The navel-string was cut with a knife and tied with something soft, as hare's or squirrel's hair and smeared with pitch. Immediately after the birth, the father went outside and fired an arrow, which prevented swelling of the navel. To-day he fires a gun.

The piece of navel-string, after dropping off, was sewed up in a piece of ornamented buckskin, with glass beads, fawn's hoofs, bone beads, etc., attached to it and tied to the head of the cradle. These jingled when the cradle was rocked. Today sleigh bells are used instead. If this piece of navel-string were lost, the child would be foolish.

The mother is given a hot herb drink immediately after the birth. For six weeks after, she must bathe daily in a stream. The child, after birth, was washed in warm water in which spruce bark had been boiled, to make it strong in after years.

Turning from medicine to surgery, there is not much to relate. As the Indians were incessantly at war, they must have acquired some knowledge of treating wounds and setting bones. Where there was a demand for such assistance, sooner or later methods of treatment must have been elaborated, but the writer has found no such references in the works consulted. But the flow of blood must have been stanching, when possible, by bandaging, and broken bones held in place by splints.

As to actual operations, James Teit describes the following as practised among the Thompson Indians:

Opening boils; the boil was pierced with porcupine quills and the matter squeezed out. To prevent recurrence, the matter was rubbed on a grave pole.

For pains in joints; the joint affected was pierced with long, sharp awls.

For cataract (?) the eyeball was touched with the rough charred bone of a black bear. The thin skin forming the cataract adhered to the rough bone and was thus raised slightly and pierced with an awl or cut with a very sharp knife.

Removing warts; they were cut off close to the skin and black moss, which had been exposed to the fire until hot, was applied.

Cauterizing; powdered charcoal was placed on affected part and burned. A similar custom is practised in Japan today.

And lastly, when an Indian dies, McDonald describes what becomes of his spirit.

"When a corpse is buried, the doctor or medicine man, with many gesticulations and contortions, pretends to receive, in his closed hands, the spirit of the departed, which he imparts to some animal or some other Indian, by blowing on the object; if an Indian, he takes the rank of the deceased and also his name, in addition to his own."

## PART II.

### *The White Man in Medicine.*

Our information, regarding the advent of the first white medical man in British Columbia, is not very positive.

Juan Perez, in the Spanish ship *Santiago*, visited the West Coast of what is now known as Queen Charlotte Islands in 1774, and about this time Quadra's voyages took him up into this region. It is possible that they had surgeons in their ship's companies, but we have no record.

However, in 1778, Capt. James Cook, on his third and last voyage, visited these shores in the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*; and with his advent appear the first medical men. William Anderson was surgeon of H. M. S. *Resolution*, and John Law surgeon on the *Discovery*.

Poor Anderson died of consumption on August 3, 1778, and Cook has made the following record of him:

"Monday, August 3, 1778—Along the Alaskan Coast.

"Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who has been lingering under consumption for more than twelve months, expired between 3 and 4 this afternoon. He was a sensible young man, an agreeable companion, well skilled in his own profession, and had acquired considerable knowledge in other branches of science.

"The reader of this Journal will have observed how useful an assistant I have found him in the course of the voyage, and had it pleased God to have spared his life, the public, I make no doubt, might have received from him, such communication on various parts of the natural history of the several places we visited, as would have abundantly shown that he was not unworthy of this commendation.

"Soon after he had breathed his last, land was sighted to the westward, twelve leagues distant. It was supposed to be an island, and to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard, I named it Anderson Island.

"The next day, I removed Mr. Law, the surgeon of the *Discovery*, into the *Resolution* and appointed Mr. Samuel, the surgeon's first mate of the *Resolution*, to be surgeon of the *Discovery*."

Anderson, as well as serving as surgeon, was also the naturalist of the expedition.

During a trip in a launch, by some members of the expedition, a small inlet, situated in Northern British Columbia, was explored. Some of the sailors, seeing the rocks covered with mussels, ate heartily of them as they would have done in England. But all who partook of them became violently sick, with vomiting and purging, and the party became so weak that they regained the ship with difficulty. One poor fellow died in spite of treatment and constitutes the first recorded death of a white man in British Columbia.

Following the publication of Cook's Journals in 1784, many traders frequented these waters, to barter for furs, but I find no record of any professional men in their crews.

In 1792, Galiano and Valdez, in the Spanish warships *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, explored the Straits of Juan de Fuca and the Gulf of Georgia, and thence on to the west coast of what was later called Vancouver Island, anchoring at Nootka. Here they were joined by

the transport *Aranzuzu*, on which was a surgeon named Luis Galvez Galiano observes, "that the crew had great confidence in his skill."

Contemporaneously with these Spanish explorers, Capt. George Vancouver appears. He left England in 1790, returning home in 1795, having been sent out to take over this region from the Spanish and also to explore. His command consisted of two ships, the *Discovery*, one of Cook's old ships, in which Vancouver had accompanied him on his last voyage, and the *Chatham*.

Cranstoun was surgeon on the *Discovery* with two surgeon's mates under him, while Walker was surgeon on the *Chatham* with one surgeon's mate.

At Nootka, in 1792, Cranstoun was invalided home and Menzies took his place.

Archibald Menzies deserves special notice. He was a naturalist of note and had joined the expedition as the scientific man of the party. He was born at Weims, Perthshire, Scotland, and educated as a surgeon at Edinburgh University. As a surgeon, Vancouver complimented him at the end of the voyage by showing that no life had been lost by sickness during the voyage, after he succeeded Cranstoun.

One of the handsomest trees of our coast is the arbutus, with which his name will always be associated. Quoting from a footnote in Meany's "Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound": "To many readers, this will prove the most attractive and most interesting member of the entire expedition. He was the naturalist. At the present time, students, especially of botany, in the western portion of America, are familiar with his name, though few of them have taken the trouble to learn about the man. How many men, women and children have admired the Madrona tree of the western forests! Bret Harte has sung its beauties in a poem concluding with this stanza:

" 'Where, oh, where, shall I begin  
Who would paint thee, Harlequin?  
With thy waxen, burnish leaf,  
With thy branches' red relief,  
With thy polytinted fruit,  
In thy spring and summer suit,  
Where begin, and oh, where end,  
Thou whose charms all art transcend.' "

"Ask a botanist the name of this beautiful tree and he will tell you that it is the *Arbutus Menziesii*; and then, if he loves the work, his face will lighten up as he adds, 'That name is in honour of Archibald Menzies, the naturalist of the Vancouver expedition, who discovered this and many other plants on our shores.'"

Menzies made great collections of plants and other objects of natural history. A set of his collections is in the British Museum, another at Kew, and a third in the herbarium of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. He also published an account of the voyage in Louder's "Magazine of Natural History."

Following these men is a blank of many years, although other surgeons must have visited this then remote country, in the ships of war which occasionally came this way. But in 1850 we come to more solid ground, and following that time the trail is blazed more plainly.

In 1850 the Hudson's Bay Company brought out a surgeon to Victoria in the person of John Sebastian Helmcken.

Dr. Helmcken was born in London, England, in 1825, and received his professional education at Guy's Hospital.

On his arrival and for years afterwards he was, as he quaintly puts it, the leading practitioner from San Francisco to the North Pole and from Asia to the Red River of the North. None will dispute this claim, for he was the only doctor in all this vast extent. One of his duties was to put up the medicines for the various Hudson's Bay Company's trading posts up the coast and in the interior, for Victoria was the distributing point.

The factors at these posts had to do their best to treat what came their way, and as their medical skill was nearly a negative quantity, the medicines sent, had to be divided into their proper doses and properly labelled. Accordingly, as the doctor still relates, he had to make up so many dozen purges, so many dozen pukes, for medicine was a vigorous science in those days, so many doses of quinine or calomel, and off these deadly missiles were sent to wreak their due effects. However, no casualties were reported, which we must attribute either to the rugged constitution of the early pioneers or the skill of the doctor.

Besides being a valuable man in his profession, he was possessed of many other qualities which made him of great service to the community. He was elected to the first Legislative Assembly estab-

lished in the colony in 1855, and was appointed Speaker, which post he occupied for several terms. He was a member of the Legislative Council, from 1864 to 1871, when the colony came into the Dominion, and was one of the delegates sent to Ottawa in 1871 to discuss the terms of union. In this year he also declined a Senatorship at Ottawa. He married a daughter of Sir James Douglas, the first Governor of British Columbia. And the best is yet to come, for he is still living in Victoria, at the age of eighty-eight, in full possession of his faculties and as genial and lovable as in the past years. Gosnell, in mentioning him, says, "A name which will never die, while benevolence, high courage, ability, and patriotism are of any value here."

The population of the colony gradually increasing and other practitioners coming in, it was felt necessary to organize the profession and give it a legal standing. Accordingly, what was commonly called the "Medical Ordinance" was enacted. It was termed "An ordinance respecting practitioners in medicine and surgery" and was passed at New Westminster in 1867. A synopsis will prove interesting.

"Whereas, it is expedient, that persons requiring medical aid should be enabled to distinguish between qualified and unqualified practitioners, be it enacted by the Governor of British Columbia and with the consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:

Section 1 provided for appointment of a registrar, and

Sections 2 and 3 outlined his duties.

Section 4 designed who might be registered, viz.:

"Any person, being possessed of any diploma, license or privilege to practise medicine or surgery from any school, college, society or faculty of medicine or surgery, either in the United Kingdom or in a foreign country, such school, college, society or faculty requiring a compulsory course of study, extending over not less than three years, such person shall, on payment of a fee of \$10, be entitled to be registered, etc., provided always, that nothing in this ordinance shall be so construed as to prevent any one, possessing a diploma, who is now practising in this colony from continuing to practise as heretofore, etc."

Section 6 renders it impossible for an unregistered person to collect fees for medical services. The ordinance concluded with several other sections as to fines and procedure, and passed the Assembly

April 1, 1867, and was assented to April 2, 1867, by Frederick S. Seymour, Governor.

It was later found that the act ran counter to an Imperial act, 21 and 22 Victoria Cap. 90, which enacted that, "Every person registered under this act (Imperial) shall be entitled, according to his qualification or qualifications, to practise medicine or surgery or medicine and surgery, as the case may be, in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions, and to demand and receive in any Court of Law, with full costs of suit, reasonable charges for professional aid, advice, and visits, and the cost of any medicines or other medical or surgical appliances rendered or supplied by him to his patients."

Accordingly, the following notice was gazetted: "To All Whom It May Concern, Greeting.

"Notice is hereby given that the ordinance passed by the Legislature of British Columbia entitled, 'No. 31. An ordinance respecting practitioners in medicine and surgery,' is, in one respect, at variance with the Imperial act, 21 and 22 Victoria Cap. 90, section 31.

"Medical practitioners who have registered themselves under that act are entitled, by virtue of such registration, to practise and recover fees in any of Her Majesty's Dominions, free from any restrictions.

"So far then, as the 6th section of this ordinance imposes an obligation or restriction upon such registered practitioners, it is repugnant to the Imperial act and void. Under these circumstances the ordinance will not be enforced against such registered practitioners.

"Dated at New Westminster in the Colony of British Columbia this 8th day of May, 1868.

"By command of the Governor."

This exemption of old country graduates from the provisions of the Ordinance of 1867 lasted but a short time, as a notice dated May 8, 1868, appeared in the *Government Gazette* of May 9, 1868, declaring that, "So far as the 6th section of 'The Medical Ordinance, 1867' imposed an obligation or restriction upon such registered practitioners, it was repugnant to the Imperial act and void, and that under those circumstances the ordinance would not be enforced against such registered practitioners—and, whereas, so much of the said Imperial



act to which Section 6 of the said ordinance was repugnant, has since been repealed and Section 6 of the said ordinance is now in full force, and effect, such medical practitioners as aforesaid are hereby notified, that any previous registration in England has now no effect in enabling them to legally collect fees in the colony, unless registered, as other practitioners under 'The Medical Ordinance, 1867.' "

A copy of this was sent by the medical registrar to the various practitioners in the province.

The name of the first registrar was Charles Good, who was also clerk of the Legislative Council.

In 1869 there was passed "An ordinance respecting the practice of surgery and for the encouragement of the study of anatomy." It dealt with unclaimed bodies, and entitled any qualified medical practitioner to secure a body for dissection. Section 9 required a personal security of \$100 and two securities of \$50 each to be given, that decent interment be given the bodies after they had served the purposes required.

In 1870, "An ordinance respecting practitioners in medicine and surgery," was passed. Its preamble outlines its object.

"Whereas, it is expedient to amend 'The Medical Ordinance, 1867,' and to bring the same into uniformity with the Imperial Legislation, by providing for the registration, in British Columbia, of the members of the medical profession already registered in the United Kingdom under the Imperial statute the 21 and 22 Victoria Cap. 90, etc."

These ordinances continued in force until 1886, when the Medical Act, 1886, was passed.

It is interesting to read the minutes of the early meetings of the Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, formed under the Medical Act, 1886, as many familiar names are encountered, for now we are reading modern history. Accordingly, a few extracts are here inserted.

First meeting held in Victoria May 1, 1886, in the office of Dr. Powell.

Present, Drs. Powell, Trew, Davis and Milne.

Absent, Drs. Tunstall, Cluness, and L. McInnes, all the members having been notified of their election by the Deputy Provincial Secretary and a notice sent to the members to be present.

Moved by Dr. Davie, seconded by Dr. C. N. Trew, that Dr. I. W. Powell act as Chairman—carried.

Moved by Dr. Davie, seconded by Dr. Trew, that Dr. Milne act as Secretary—carried.

Moved by Dr. Davie, seconded by Dr. Trew, that Dr. I. W. Powell be elected President of the Council—carried.

Moved by Dr. Davie, seconded by Dr. Milne, that Dr. C. N. Trew be elected Vice President of the Council—carried.

Moved by Dr. Milne, seconded by Dr. Trew, that Dr. Davie be elected Treasurer—carried.

Moved by Dr. Trew, seconded by Dr. Davie, that Dr. Milne be elected Registrar and Secretary—carried.

A letter was read from Mr. Elwyn, Deputy Provincial Secretary, with a certified list of the registered practitioners under the Medical Ordinance Act of 1867, also a list of the members, who had registered since the passing of the Medical Act of 1886 to the date of April 26, 1886.

This list comprised the following names, which are entered in the same order in the present Register of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of British Columbia. Those who are dead at the date of writing, viz., 1913, have been so indicated:

J. S. Helmcken; Hy. Harrison, dead; Geo. L. Milne; Jno. C. Davie, dead; W. M. Hendrickson, dead; J. H. Robotham, dead; M. S. Wade; Sibree Clarke; Wm. Jacks, dead; Jno. Garrow, dead; Hugh Watt; C. N. Trew, dead; S. J. Tunstall; I. W. Powell; E. B. C. Hannington; L. K. McInnes, dead; E. Stevenson, dead; A. McSwain, dead; G. A. Deardon, dead; D. Cluness, dead; W. H. McNaughton Jones, dead; R. J. Bently, dead; W. W. Walkem; J. B. Mathews, dead; J. M. Lefevre, dead; H. M. Cooper, dead; F. W. Hall, dead; J. L. Hall, dead; R. B. Clark; L. T. Davis; E. J. Offerhans; E. A. Praeger, dead; T. S. Hall; J. D. Helmcken; W. J. McGuigan, dead; D. L. Beckingsale; J. A. Sweat; R. C. Morrison, dead; D. L. McAlpine.

Also, during this first meeting, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. T. Elwyn, Deputy Provincial Secretary, for conducting the first election, and an honorarium of \$25 granted.

Dr. Powell, the President, and Dr. Trew, the Vice President, were appointed a committee to select a design for the seal of the Council.

Moved by Dr. Milne, seconded by Dr. Trew, that the British Columbia Medical Council, now assembled, representing the medical profession of this province, express their thanks to Hon. Mr. A. E. B. Davie, Attorney-General, for introducing the Medical Act and successfully carrying it through the Local Legislature, and the Medical Council consider, that to him is due, chiefly, by his personal efforts, the passing of an act which we consider will be a benefit to the inhabitants of this province and an advantage to the medical profession.

It was also decided that the first examination under the act be held at Victoria August 3rd, at 8 P. M., and subsequent days as required.

May 26th was fixed as the date of the next meeting, in New Westminster. This meeting adjourned to June 2nd, at which meeting the Board of Examiners was appointed: Dr. L. McInnes, anatomy and materia medica; Dr. Milne, chemistry and physiology; Dr. Davie, surgery and pathology; Dr. Trew, practice of medicine and medical jurisprudence; Dr. Powell, obstetrics and diseases of women and children.

The next meeting was held August 3rd, at Victoria, when Dr. Cluness resigned on account of ill health and Dr. Harrison was appointed in his stead.

Apparently no one came up for examination at this meeting.

At the meeting at Victoria on November 2, 1886, Dr. W. A. De Wolf Smith applied for examination and passed, being the first one to be entered in the Register by examination.

The election to the council being a yearly affair, the second election resulted in Drs. Milne, Powell, Hannington, Trew, McGuigan, Davie and Tunstall. Dr. Trew was elected President and Dr. Davie Vice President.

On June 8, 1887, three candidates for examination having presented themselves, the second examination was held. The three candidates successfully passed and were ordered registered in the order of, Drs. D. M. Eberts, Jno. Duncan and A. Robertson.

It was also resolved at this meeting, that meetings of the Council be held alternately, on the Island and on the Mainland, on the Island at Victoria, and on the Mainland, alternately at New Westminster and Vancouver, this being the first recognition of Vancouver.

Dr. Trew, the President, having died since the previous meet-

ing, a resolution of condolence with his widow was passed. Dr. De Wolf Smith was elected a member of the Council in his stead.

At this meeting the examinations resulted in the admission to the register of Drs. Bodington, Sanson and Fagan.

At the May meeting in 1888, Dr. Davie was elected President, Dr. McGuigan, Vice President.

Dr. Milne, who was appointed Registrar, continued in that office until May, 1897, when Dr. Fagan, the present Registrar, was appointed.

The Act of 1886 was further amended in 1898 and an entirely new act passed in 1909. In this, the representation of the Medical Council was altered. Previously, seven members were elected by votes of the profession at large, the province constituting one electoral district. In the new act, the province was divided into five electoral districts, whose boundaries may be altered from time to time by a two-thirds vote of the Council.

The first election under the new act took place in 1911, when the present Council, which is serving its third and last year, was elected. They, with their official positions in 1913, and the year in which each was first elected to the Council, are as follows: Dr. O. M. Jones, President, first elected 1899; Dr. A. P. Procter, Vice President, first elected 1902; Dr. C. J. Fagan, Registrar and Secretary, first elected 1896; Dr. R. E. Walker, Treasurer, first elected 1902; Dr. R. E. McKechnie, first elected 1896; Dr. W. H. Sutherland, first elected 1908; Dr. S. Bonnell, first elected 1911.

### *Reciprocity in Medicine.*

The theory and practice of medicine and surgery are universal in their application. Thus, a doctor who is qualified to practise in London, should be well enough equipped to do justice to his patients if he resided in Montreal or Vancouver. But the British North America Act, under whose provisions the Dominion of Canada, consisting of united provinces, was formed, contained provisions hostile to universality in the practice of medicine. Under its provisions, each province retains complete control of its own educational matters. Hence not only are the ordinary educational matters under the exclusive control of each individual province, but the specialized

branches of law, medicine, dentistry, etc. If Ontario has decided that a man has sufficient medical education and given him a permit to practise his profession there, the other provinces do not have to accept this qualification. Accordingly, each province has its own medical board, except the three Eastern Maritime Provinces, which have a joint board, and candidates to practise must pass the examining board of the province they wish to practise in.

Various arguments can be advanced against this practice, the main one being as stated above, that medicine is a universal profession, applicable to all peoples and all countries, and that the individual provinces of one Dominion should not have artificial barriers raised between each other.

On the other hand, it was felt that not every one who graduated from a medical school, even a good one, was necessarily well qualified. Familiarity with the peculiarities of various examiners, and a happy chance in being asked just what he happened to know, allows a number each year to pass the prescribed number of marks and scrub through. Competition between medical schools does not allow for too rigorous treatment of students, and so it is best that an independent body of examiners, outside of the schools, should further sift the applicants before they are admitted to practise. The schools do their duty in imparting a medical education. The provinces, through their medical examining boards, protect the public by still further culling the weaklings. Speaking as a medical man, and in the interests of the public, the writer affirms that this second culling is justified by the results of the examinations, for men are frequently found whose deficiency in medical knowledge is so marked, that the wonder is expressed as to how they ever passed successfully through a medical school.

An attempt though was made, years ago, to find a way out of the difficulty, but it could not be through the provinces. Jealousy was not at work, but some of the provinces did not think that some of the others demanded a thorough enough examination and so were not willing to recognize their licenses. The only workable plan was to organize a central board, which could exact an examination satisfactory to all the provinces, and whose licenses would be recognized by any or all the provinces, without further examination. This was the object sought to be attained by Dr. T. G. Roddick of Montreal,

and after many years fight the Canada Medical Act was passed at Ottawa two sessions ago. But in order to conform with the British North America Act it could not become operative until each province had surrendered some of its powers and agreed to accept the findings of the Medical Council of Canada. This has been done, British Columbia having passed its enabling act in 1912. Under the various enabling acts, the provinces do not lose the right of examining those who come direct to them, not wishing to take the Dominion examination, which must at least equal in thoroughness the highest standard set by any of the provinces, but may examine and license those applicants to practise only in their respective boundaries. But one who has passed the Dominion Council can register without further examination, in any of the provinces, and so at last there is a Dominion reciprocity established. This month, October, 1913, the first examination was held at Ottawa and seventy-five presented themselves for examination.

A second provision of the Canada Medical Act provided, that any one having been registered ten years and in active practice in any of the provinces of the Dominion, could obtain Dominion registration without examination. This clause was objected to by the western provinces, especially by British Columbia, and the argument against it was very strong. During recent years, the movement from East to West has been very marked and British Columbia has been the chosen haven for many on account of its better climate and its golden opportunities. It is felt that this province would likely see a large influx of doctors who would qualify under this clause. Now the only reason any country has ever given exclusive powers to the medical profession has been, not for the benefit of the profession, but for the benefit of the public. One of the duties of the profession, therefore, has been, through its examinations to cull out the weak applicants, and so furnish a good grade of practitioners to look after the people. The powers were given for this purpose and hence the profession was expected to do its work. Therefore, it was incumbent to scrutinize those who obtained Dominion registration. Those who passed its high standard of examination could not be found fault with, but those who qualified by ten years' practice were of another class. It was felt, that ten years would prove the man either a success or a failure. If a success, he would not be likely to want to move, if a

failure we did not want him out here. By years of careful work of the Examination Board, the standard had been raised in this province and for its own sake the profession did not want to see it lowered, and it had no moral right to let the public suffer either. Accordingly this province refused to come into the scheme until a clause was assented to, which gave every province the right to exact an examination in the final branches, from those who obtained Dominion registration by means of the ten-year clause. While this provision is optional with the other provinces it is obligatory in this one, as the Enabling Act specifically states that such applicants must pass such examination.

The members of the Medical Council of Canada from British Columbia, are, Drs. R. E. McKechnie and R. E. Walker, appointed by the profession, and Dr. Walter Bapty appointed by the Government, their term of office being four years. Thus is seen the completion of a long fight and the beginning of medical reciprocity in Canada. It is felt that as years go by, the majority of recent graduates will take the Dominion examinations, those taking advantage of the ten-year clause will grow less and that finally there will be but one examining board for Canada.

In collecting information for this article, the writer asked Dr. H. E. Langis for some of his reminiscences and, as the letter in reply is very interesting, it is quoted verbatim:

"Parksville, B. C.

"MY DEAR R. E. M.:

"When I came to British Columbia in 1884, Mr. Onderdonk had almost completed his contract of the C. P. R. from Port Moody to Savona's Ferry and taken another one from Savona's to Griffin Lake. The medical staff for those contracts was very simple, E. B. Hannington was in charge at Yale and S. J. Tunstall at Kamloops. In April, 1885, I took Hannington's place and had for field of duty from Port Moody to Savona's. We had a small hospital (twelve beds) at Yale, with very little apparatus and had to furnish our own surgical instruments. The accommodation was very scant and when we had to perform under anæsthetics, the only anæsthetist available was the steward and head nurse and at my time, only nurse, who would administer chloroform under the vigilant eye of the performer. Anyhow, we had very few mishaps and bad results, as the contractors,

in blasting, would kill their men outright and do very little injury to those that fell under our care.

"In the fall of 1885, we all came to Granville, which a few months afterwards was going to be Vancouver. S. J. Tunstall remained in Kamloops and, if I remember well, came to Vancouver only in 1891 or 1892.

"When I reached Granville, I found Dr. D. L. Beckingsale, who is now in California, in practice. He had been preceded in the locality by Drs. Masters, who had died in New Westminster two or three years previous, Duncan Bell-Irving, who had left for the West Indies, and W. W. Walkem, who had removed to Nanaimo. A few weeks after my arrival, W. J. McGuigan came down from the Rockies.

"At the time of the incorporation of the City of Vancouver in April, 1886, there were in practice, Drs. D. L. Beckingsale, H. E. Langis, J. M. Lefevre, and W. J. McGuigan.

"Lefevre had come with Mr. H. Abbott and other C. P. R. officials, as in the fall of 1885 the last spike had been driven at Revelstoke by Lord Strathcona, and in the winter 1885-6 the Dominion Government, that had built this western part of the road, had turned it over to the C. P. R. Co., and Dr. Lefevre was going to be the C. P. R. surgeon. He had charge of the whole western division and had Dr. J. A. Sweat at Revelstoke to look after the mountain section. He had requested me to take the position, but I preferred to remain in Vancouver.

"The first few years the clientele was not very big, as most of the heads of the families worked for the C. P. R. and were attended by their own surgeons. Lefevre was alone at first and then Lefevre and A. M. Robertson, who came in 1887. In that year of 1887, Lefevre built a small R. R. Hospital on Powell street, between Hawkes and Campbell avenues, where his patients who had no home in Vancouver could be attended to. He forsook this small hospital in 1890 to send his patients to the City Hospital, which had just been opened, and of which first staff he was a member.

"If I remember well, the members of that first medical staff of the City Hospital (sic nomen) were, Duncan Bell-Irving, who had come back to British Columbia in 1888, J. T. Carroll, H. E. Langis, J. M. Lefevre, W. J. McGuigan and A. M. Robertson.

"In the fall of 1887, I had associated myself with Dr. McGuigan,



an association that lasted for twenty-one years, up to the time of the death of Dr. McGuigan on Christmas morning, 1908.

"Yours very truly,

"H. E. LANGIS."

As instancing the rapid progress of this province, one has but to note the number of doctors therein. In 1850, there was but one, Dr. J. S. Helmcken, while at the present time, 1913, there are no less than six hundred and seventy-six names on the register. As there is no medical school in the province, these men have come from far and wide and owing to the high standard maintained by the Council, in its examinations, the average ability of its medical practitioners will compare favourably with that of any other province in the Dominion. Besides representatives from every medical school in Canada, several of whom are gold medallists of their graduating classes, there are to be found many from the mother country, with a fair sprinkling of those who can write F. R. C. S. Eng., or F. R. C. S. Edin. after their names, while there are many from the best schools in the United States and some from almost every country on the European continent.

It is also satisfactory to note, that the doctors in British Columbia have not been content to rest with what education they received in the first instance from their parent schools, but very many have had special training in the clinics of the East and Europe, and every year a number leave their work to spend a few months or a year, or more, improving their education in more favoured medical centres. In consequence of this, the people of this far western province receive the benefits of the latest advances in medicine or surgery as quickly as do those residing in Montreal or Toronto. The West is progressive, and while such visits to strange clinics cost time and money both are freely and cheerfully spent, by the progressive members of the profession here, in the desire to keep abreast of the times.

The hospitals of the province are a credit to such a young community. The Vancouver General, which is easily the premier one, has constantly over four hundred patients. Victoria has the Royal Jubilee Hospital as well as a magnificent Sisters' Hospital, St. Joseph's, and is now planning a new one to cost over \$600,000. New Westminster, while having the Royal Columbian and St. Mary's, is now erecting a new building in connection with the former to house

one hundred and fifty patients and to be modern in every respect. In Vancouver, in addition to the General, there is St. Paul's, a Sisters' Hospital, and shortly they will move into a new building erected at a cost of nearly \$400,000. All the other towns also have hospital accommodation proportionate to their requirements, and all over the province are to be found small hospitals, for the needs of the district. Remote places like Atlin, Cariboo, etc., are not neglected. All this has been due to the aid willingly afforded by the Provincial Government, to non-sectarian public hospitals, which generally assists in the building in the first instance, and by granting a per capita allowance for the patients treated in them, materially assists in helping to maintain them. In addition, the Government bonuses doctors in remote settlements, where the amount of work offering would not be sufficient of itself to furnish fees enough to keep a doctor there. In this way the pioneer settlers are not left helpless when sickness falls upon them.

In the larger centers, as well as the regular hospitals, are to be found a number of private ones, so that the needs of the community may be fully satisfied.

In public life, the members of the profession have taken a prominent part as befits men of education. Thus we have seen that Dr. J. S. Helmcken was a member of the first Legislative Assembly in the province and its Speaker for several years. In those early days along with his name we find those of Drs. J. Trimble, I. W. Powell and J. C. Davie; while after confederation, the names of Drs. John Ash, Hugh Watt, Geo. L. Milne, W. W. Walkem, R. E. McKechnie, J. H. King, G. A. B. Hall, and Henry E. Young are found in the list of law makers. The last named is worthy of wider recognition. As Provincial Secretary in the McBride Government, he has directed the affairs of the Hospital for the Insane at New Westminster and inaugurating a far-sighted policy, has already developed a magnificent system, with splendid buildings and equipment, and with a plan, capable of uniform expansion, to look after the needs of future generations. As Minister of Education, he has also launched the Provincial University, by his influence secured an endowment of two million acres of public lands, secured a magnificent site at Point Grey in the vicinity of Vancouver and also a grant of \$2,500,000 in money for initiating the undertaking. It is proposed that this will be one of the greatest

universities of the continent and if Dr. Young continues in his present position for a reasonable time longer, he, with his zeal for the project, will see it accomplish all that he has hoped for. And when it is firmly established, the formation of a medical faculty will be in order and has already been discussed.

In connection with this project, the Provincial University, it is also of interest to note that a medical man has been chosen as its principal in the person of Dr. Frank Wesbrook. His selection was only made after a very careful study of the various men available, and it reflects honour on the medical profession as well as on Dr. Wesbrook that an eminently suitable man was found in and selected from its ranks.

In a humbler capacity, Dr. R. E. McKechnie's name is found as a Senator of the University and a member of the Board of Governors.

In other public capacities the profession has furnished many useful men. Dr. W. J. McGuigan, after years of faithful work as an Alderman in the City of Vancouver, crowned his ambition by becoming Mayor. Dr. W. D. Brydone-Jack, who also won aldermanic honours, is at present Chairman of the School Board in the same city. Dr. Hamilton is at present Mayor of Revelstoke and Dr. Kingston of Grand Forks, and many other examples could be cited to instance the part played by the profession in public life.

The campaign against tuberculosis in the province owes its origin practically to Dr. C. J. Fagan, and without his Irish fighting spirit the Sanitarium at Tranquille would not have been built. In this connection the names of Drs. A. P. Procter and R. E. Walker deserve more than honourable mention, and the former is continuing the good work on the platform, whenever the opportunity affords.

Concerning public health matters, as early as 1869, it was deemed advisable to have some legislative machinery to work with. Accordingly in that year was passed, "An ordinance for promoting the public health in the Colony of British Columbia." The preamble states that, "Whereas, it is necessary to adopt measures with the object of preventing or guarding against the origin, rise, or progress of endemic, epidemic or contagious diseases and to protect the health of the inhabitants of this colony, and for the purpose, to grant to the Governor-in-Council extraordinary powers to be used when urgent occasion demands—therefore, etc."

This ordinance empowered the Governor-in-Council to create Health Districts, establish Local Boards of Health, define the duties and jurisdiction of these boards, with the proper method of enforcing their rules by fines and imprisonment. There was also special provision for the appointment of an extraordinary officer to be called the Health Officer, to act during extraordinary crises such as serious epidemics "whose duties it shall be to provide that the Local Boards carry out the orders in Council."

In municipalities, the Council of the municipality constituted the Local Board, while in unorganized districts the Government Agent of the district acted.

The ordinance was very imperfect, but still served its purpose till the first stress came in a small-pox epidemic in 1892. To combat this, Dr. J. C. Davie was appointed Health Officer and by his efforts the storm was passed. But the need of better legislation was obvious. Accordingly in the following year the "Health Act, 1893" was passed. As the epidemic had subsided, the act was not at once put in force. However, later on, there was an outbreak of cholera in Japan which spread over into Honolulu. As this was getting near home, the Government, on September 26, 1895, proclaimed the act whereupon it came into force. This act called for the creation of a central board with very extensive powers. The board appointed consisted of Dr. J. C. Davie, chairman, Drs. J. M. Lefevre, R. E. Walker, L. T. Davis, and Geo. H. Duncan, who was the secretary. It at once commenced the work of organization. It prepared regulations regarding small-pox, scarlet fever and diphtheria, and supplemented them by a well digested pamphlet on disinfection. The regulations embodied provisions for the enforcement of modern methods of isolation and quarantine, disinfection, and vaccination, etc. They provided also for the appointment of medical and other health officers, and establishment of isolation hospitals and suspect stations. A serious outbreak of typhoid, in the Kootenays, in 1896 proved the value of the new order of things. Dr. A. T. Watt, who was the secretary, toured the infected district, and on his return, Clive Phillips Wooley was appointed as a special officer to see that the provisions of the board were carried out. Some of the regulations at this time were impossible and so gave rise to considerable dissatisfaction. Sandon was prohibited from using the only water supply available and from disposing of its sewage into the

only place which nature had provided. Rossland was treated much in the same way. Later on, when the Semlin Government came into power, the board was abolished. Health matters came under the jurisdiction of the Attorney-General, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council became the Board of Health, and Dr. C. J. Fagan was appointed secretary and practically chief executive officer. This is the order of things at the present day. In Dr. Fagan the Government secured a very valuable officer. With his tact he smoothed away friction wherever encountered and with his untiring energy and zeal for the work, he perfected the system, kept the local boards up to their duties, and raised the sanitary conditions of the province to a high state of efficiency.

Little more need be said as to the work of the medical profession in British Columbia. In a profession, whose main duty is to minister to the sick and afflicted, to comfort the dying and bring hope to those who are struggling for life, all performed quietly and unseen by the public eye, it has been shown, that when occasion arises it can respond to other if not higher duties. In the legislative halls, in educational matters, in municipal affairs, in the fight against the terrors of epidemics and in the providing of better sanitary conditions, all of which call for exceptional ability, it has been found, that the profession in this province was not wanting, but as occasion arose could furnish the men suited for the needs of the times, with honour which redounded to the profession.

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## CHAPTER XX

### THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY WILLIAM BURNS

The progress of education in British Columbia resembles, in its main aspects, its advance in all other of our Colonies, although the early mode of settlement of this Province, together with the physical features of the country, have introduced additional elements of difficulty in the solution of the problem of providing efficient popular education.

The Hudson's Bay Company had, in these early times, small posts stationed at various points many miles apart, for the purposes of trade rather than of settlement, hence these stations afforded no nucleus for any general plan of education, although free public schools were established on Vancouver Island by the Company. Even when settlements began to be formed, these being situated in the fertile bottom lands of the valleys, consisted of groups of separate farms, isolated from each other by dense forests or steep mountains, so that in the Interior there were very few places where a sufficient number of children could be collected together to justify the expense of a school being located there. As this condition still exists in the outlying districts of this vast Province, the regulations of its Education Department necessarily differ in many of their details from those of more closely settled or more compact Provinces, by having an arrangement whereby assisted schools may be placed in such districts. In addition, as the sparsely settled area is continually changing in its position, these regulations must be such as will suit these ever varying conditions, and cannot therefore be so exactly determined as legal preciseness would demand; the Department of Education has therefore often been required to decide on matters in dispute, not so much according to the strict letter of the Act, as according to the spirit in which this Act was framed, namely to

give every child in the Province, as far as possible, an opportunity to obtain the education essential to providing such knowledge and character as will fit each one to become a useful and intelligent citizen in after years. Thus the history of education in British Columbia is a history of perpetual change; so rapidly indeed have these changes been required during the past forty years, that to the unthinking observer our system would appear to be no system at all, but to be merely a series of disconnected changes and alterations. Through all these years, however, onward progress is clearly to be observed,—from the little assisted rural school with its three selected Trustees, its few scholars, and its poor equipment,—then to the School District, with its elected officers, better buildings and grounds, more experienced teachers and good equipment,—then in a few years onwards to the City School District with its fine school buildings, and perhaps possessing also its High School or Collegiate Institute, Domestic Science, and Manual Training class-rooms—such has been the progress of every city in British Columbia during these past years, and such, we trust, will be the progress of many others whose sites are even now unexplored or unknown, and are perhaps still covered with virgin forest. The last step has yet to be completed—the establishment of a University of British Columbia—but as all the initial steps are completed we trust in a short time to see a worthy edifice crowning the magnificent site selected, but, likewise its work forming the apex of our Educational System.

In the early days of British Columbia the various posts were controlled entirely by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the aim of this Company being strictly that of trade, little was done, or could be done, in these then remote settlements in point of Education. As has been already stated, on Vancouver Island the Company had, about 1855, established some free public schools, for here their settlements were more populous as well as more likely to be permanent, but elsewhere, as before remarked, little could be done for the education of the children of their employés. Ten years later the House of Assembly established a free school system, setting apart a sum of money for that purpose, but little seems to have been accomplished, and by the time of the Union of the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in 1868, school affairs would appear to have been entirely neglected. In 1872, however, the Legislative Assembly

passed the "Public School Act," by which a Board was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, which with the assistance of a Superintendent of Education, was to administer the educational affairs of the Province, to encourage the founding of schools, and to do all in its power to promote the education of the younger population now growing up in ignorance. This appointed Board of Education was empowered to place and build schools, to appoint and dismiss teachers, and in short to control in every way the educational affairs of the Province. It was soon seen, however, that such entire central control was not suited to the needs of a Province of vast area, with poor inter-communication and a population located in widely scattered centres, ranging from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. In 1879, therefore, this Board of Education was finally abolished, and the supreme control of educational affairs placed in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. Local Trustees were to be appointed with more power over matters of strictly local interest, and especially with power of appointment and dismissal of the Teachers in their various schools, subject to the requirement that such Teachers should be duly qualified, and that the requirements of the Department as to attendance, books and other matters relating to the internal economy of the school, were obeyed. In order that the Superintendent of Education might be fully informed on all such points, Teachers were required to send in monthly reports of attendance and other similar details to the Education office and to the Trustees. From an examination of these statistics we can see very clearly the rapid progress that was being made in education, and also that the Government was doing all in its power to keep pace with the now rapid growth of the population of British Columbia.

¶ We may briefly sketch the progress of the schools in these 20 years by the following approximate statistics: In 1872-3 there were 25 schools with an enrolment of 1,028 pupils reported; in 1882-3 there were 59 schools with an enrolment of 2,700 pupils reported, but in 1892-3 there were 169 schools in operation with an enrolment of 11,500 pupils reported. These increases involved necessarily a similar increase in the expenditure for schools and the sums required for this purpose in these years were respectively in even numbers:

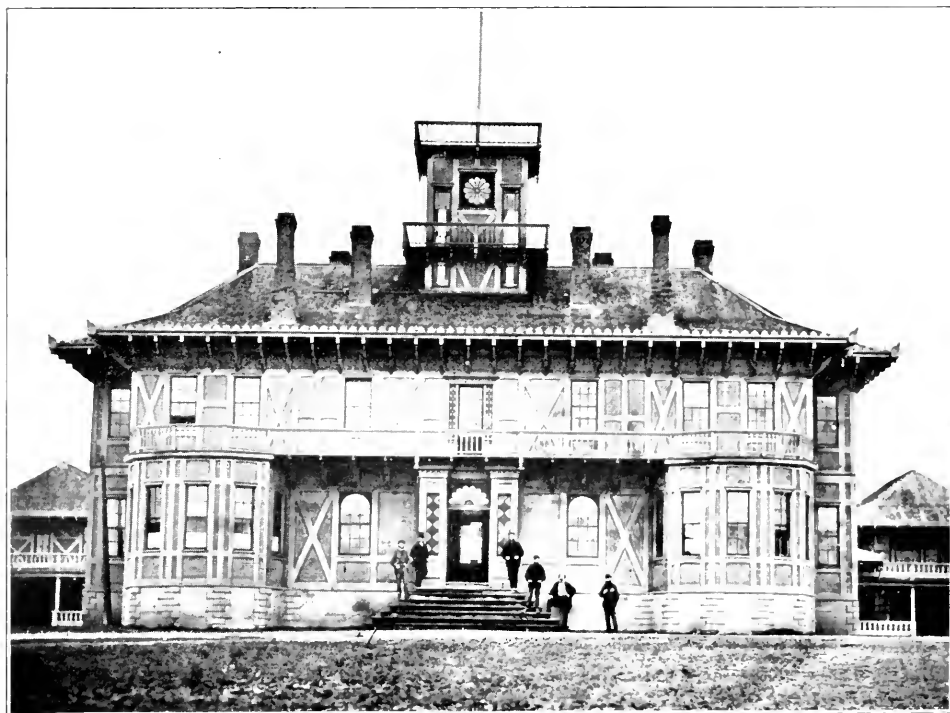
1872-3.....	\$ 36,700.00
1882-3.....	50,800.00
1892-3.....	190,500.00

From the foregoing statements we see that progress of the Province, and changes in its educational system, have both been carried on slowly but surely. The first public schools in British Columbia were controlled entirely by the Government, because all salaries and expenses were paid by it: the next step forward being the appointment of local Trustees appointed to carry out the necessary details of school arrangements, and to see that the whole of its affairs were properly conducted, it being assumed that being residents, they would necessarily take a deeper interest in the success of the local school than could be expected from a Central Department in a distant city. The Education Department also held annual examinations so that duly qualified Teachers could be provided, and inspection of the schools was made by the Superintendent of Education and the members of his staff as frequently as time and distances would permit. The qualifications of the Teachers would seem now to have been absurdly low, but as the Certificates were issued for one, two, three or five years only, when they had to be renewed by another examination, it became possible to gradually raise the standard without any change of too sudden a nature, and thus to improve the standing of both teacher and school, by compelling the former to keep up with the necessary studies. To encourage the pupils, Certificates of merit were given to the best pupils in each school, causing rivalry and emulation to assist in obtaining progress in education.

As soon, however, as there grew up larger centres of population as at Victoria and New Westminster, a demand arose for some higher education than that provided by the Common Schools, and High Schools were established by the Government in the four cities on the coast, namely, at Victoria, New Westminster, Nanaimo and Vancouver. In these High Schools the pupils could receive a higher standard of education: Classics, Higher Mathematics and Science being included in their curriculum, and to ensure that pupils should be of sufficient education to profit by such instruction, an entrance examination was required to be passed before any pupil was eligible



ANGELA COLLEGE, VICTORIA



CENTRAL BUILDING OR ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, VICTORIA



to attend thereat. This Entrance examination was held by the Education Department in the months of June and December, and the Department also held an annual examination of the pupils of the High Schools, encouraging them by offering medals as prizes to those who showed the highest proficiency.

The discovery of gold in the Cariboo country, the opening of coal mines in several parts of the Province, the mining operations in the Slocan and Similkameen Districts, as well as the increase of agricultural areas in the Fraser Valley, Okanagan, Nicola, and other districts, naturally had brought a large increase of population to the Province and, consequently, after several years many of these transient settlers having become permanent residents, they demanded an increase in school facilities. The first change was made by permitting the establishment of assisted schools, at which the people provided building, furniture and fuel, the Government supplying the salary of the teacher. This method permitted of some education being given to children residing in outlying and sparsely settled districts, and hence settlers were attracted to them, and induced to take up land and clear this for farms so that in the Annual School Report of 1896-7 we find 244 schools stated as being in operation, varying from the assisted school with its ten children in attendance to the large graded school or high school situated in one of the more flourishing or more populous centres—the numbers being given respectively:

Assisted and Common Schools.....	218
Graded Schools . . . . .	22
High Schools. . . . .	4

The general principles of school management in this Province have scarcely been changed in any important particular since the Act of 1891, the control being still vested in the Council of Public Instruction, and the duties of the Superintendent of Education being still the same as before. Whatever changes have taken place are all along the one line of giving more local control in all such directions as affect the District alone; in other directions, such as the books used, courses of study to be observed and matters which would necessarily affect the children of the whole Province, the Education

Department is still the supreme authority. This is necessary, otherwise there would be endless confusion in this part of the Dominion, where so much moving and removing is constantly going on among its population. By this means a child is hindered as little as possible in a change of residence, and many teachers engaged in the practical work of education have begun to feel that if all the Provinces of the Dominion had a uniform standard in certificates, books, methods or curricula, the cause of education in Canada would be greatly advanced, and would then be without so many of the purely Provincial restrictions often arbitrarily imposed upon it by legal authority, although perhaps requisite under existing circumstances.

It soon became evident that as a result of this rapid increase and of these improvements, that some changes were necessary to render schools more efficient, and various alterations were made in the School Act in 1888 and 1901 by which additional power was given to local authorities both in the cities and in the rural districts, and finally in place of two Inspectors who had previously visited the schools at intervals, so far as other duties permitted them, the Province was divided into four Inspectorates, each with a resident Inspector who was required to report regularly on all matters of importance to the Superintendent of Education in Victoria, and the Inspector was also enabled to visit more frequently the schools of his District and thereby better enabled to assist Trustees and Teachers in the discharge of their important duties.

During this decade the development of the mining industry in the Slocan and other parts of the Interior caused the necessity for erection of numerous schools at the newly founded towns of the Upper Country. Some of these towns are of course, from the nature of things, no longer in existence, while others have become permanent, and are rapidly assuming all the characteristic educational marks of Cities, having large, well built schools and numerous qualified teachers. The founding of schools in these Cities was, however, attended with great expense to the Province. Not only was the cost of labor excessive, the difficulty in procuring materials very great, but even the clearing of the grounds had to be accomplished often at great expense. All of this is the inevitable cost of building a City in a new and hitherto undeveloped country. When we look at some of these Cities, with their well laid out and well graded streets, their



handsome public and private buildings, their well built schools, it seems almost impossible to believe that less than twenty-five years ago these sites were inhabited only by the wild beasts of the mountain or the forest. With these thoughts in mind, we can be more considerate of the faults and failures of some of these energetic pioneers, whether in the line of trade or of education, and we must recognize their daring optimism and unbounded confidence in the future of British Columbia.

By 1906 the burden of building schools and of supporting the Educational system had become too heavy for the taxes of the Province, and it was evident that only three courses were open to the Government,—either to reduce these expenses below the point of efficiency, or to increase the taxation demanded by the Central Government, or to raise additional funds by making local assessments in accordance with the needs of the District. Fortunately for the cause of education, this latter was adopted as being both in the best interest of the pupils, and most fair to those who had to bear the additional expenses incurred, the greater expense being borne by the better populated District. A grant varying from \$360 per Teacher annually for a first class City to \$480 annually in a Rural School District was given by the Legislature, any additional amount required either for salaries, repairs or improvements being paid by the residents. One result of this alteration has been an increased interest by the residents of many districts in the work of their schools. In other words, that as the local taxes have increased, those who pay them are desirous of receiving something for their money in regard to schools, as well as to other improvements. It has also enabled the Trustees of any District to recognize the services of an efficient Teacher by a raise of pay, so that the rate of pay now is not a perquisite of the particular school, as was formerly the case, but belongs to the individual Teacher, and may therefore be increased whenever the Board of Trustees considers such increase deserved. To encourage these additions, the Legislature also grants an additional rate up to the amount of \$100 to any Teacher annually, provided a similar amount is voted and paid by the local authorities.

In 1901 another step forward in educational progress was taken by the establishment of a Provincial Normal School in the City of Vancouver. Hitherto any one who desired training as a Teacher

was obliged to go to some other Province to obtain it, and as the emoluments of a Teacher's position scarcely warranted such an outlay of time and money, very few from British Columbia became trained Teachers. All that was required to become a Teacher was to pass an examination proving knowledge, thus the Teachers' positions were filled with pupils fresh from High School, none of whom had received any further training in the Art of Teaching than they might have retained from a recollection of how they themselves had been taught, perhaps by those as untrained as themselves. The natural result was that the Boards of Trustees, who were in a position to do so, always engaged Teachers from other Provinces who had training or experience, and consequently British Columbians were discriminated against in such a choice. The School Board of Vancouver generously gave use of rooms for Model School work for several years, until in 1908 the Government undertook the erection of a Provincial Normal School building in the City, which was ready for occupancy in October, 1909, and which now, in 1913, has an enrolment of 190 students and a staff of eight teachers. The Government is also providing for a further expansion in this direction by commencing the erection of another Normal School in the City of Victoria. As a result of this change, all Teachers on the permanent staff of the Common Schools are required to have received training for their work, before a Teacher's certificate is granted, whether this training has been gained in this Province or has been gained previous to arrival here, as Normal Diplomas of other parts of the Empire are valid in this Province.

The schools of British Columbia have always been "conducted on strictly secular and non-sectarian principles," the Legislature holding that as all must perforce contribute to their support, "no religious dogma or creed" should be taught, although it is demanded by the same section of the Act that "the highest morality shall be inculcated."

Attendance is compulsory between the ages of seven and fourteen inclusive, but children can attend school free, from six to sixteen inclusive. In Cities and Rural Municipalities attendance is required on every school day, but in Rural and Assisted Districts the pupils are compelled to attend for only six months in the year.

In order that the schools shall be conducted in accordance with

the rules and regulations and that all possible help shall be rendered to the Trustees and Teachers, the Province is now divided into seven Inspectorates, together with a special Inspector for High Schools. Over these Inspectorates one or more experienced Teachers are appointed by the Provincial Government as Inspectors, the endeavour being to have as far as circumstances will permit, a uniform course of study, so that pupils will be able to remove from one District to another without loss of valuable time. To aid still further in carrying out this idea, and that of free education for all, the Department now supplies every child in the Common Schools with free text books. Thus in every way the system of Education in this Province may be properly characterized as "Free,"—Free schooling and books for pupils and free training for teachers. It will certainly not be the fault of the Legislature if the future population of this Province is uneducated. No expense is spared. It only remains for all interested to do all their duty in their several spheres to ensure even a greater rate of progress than has been hitherto attained.

Besides all these schemes for school education, according to the usual acceptation of that term, the more modern ideas of Manual Training and of Domestic Science teaching have taken practical form by the establishment of teaching and training in these subjects at our larger centres, so that the boys can obtain proficiency in the use of hand as well as head by having instruction from competent Teachers in wood work and metal work, and the girls gain a knowledge of cooking and of the reasons for its multifarious operations, of sewing and dressmaking, and of such other kindred subjects as will be useful to them in after life.

Under the influence of the "Strathcona Trust" our Teachers are now trained in Physical Drill and are required to use these exercises daily, thus correcting some of the physical results of too close an application to mere book-work, and aiding in refreshing and strengthening the body of the pupil as well as the mind. Nor in this connection must we forget to mention one of the most important features in our modern changes,—the Schools Inspection Act. It is now the duty of all officials, whether Teachers or Trustees, to see that the provisions of this Act are carried out, that the schools are regularly inspected by regularly qualified medical practitioners, and thus in the event of any epidemic making its appearance in the District, its

spread by means of the school, is prevented as far as possible, and instruction is also given as to best means of prevention of diseases.

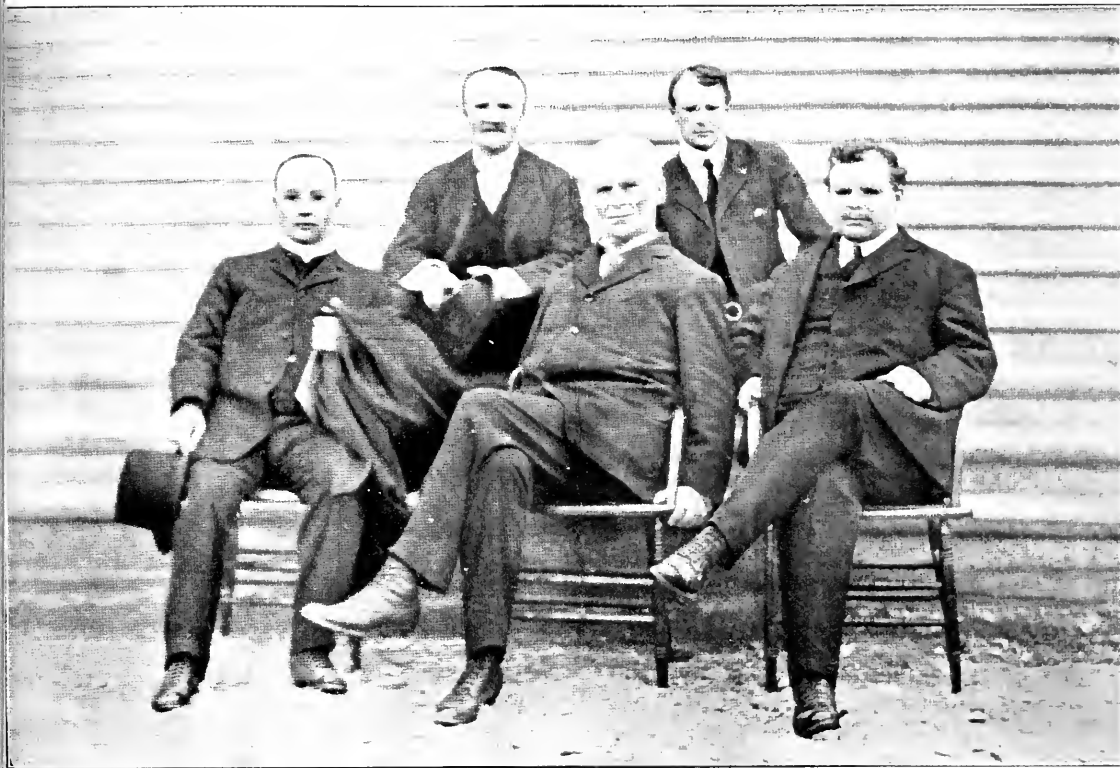
Further, the Education Department assists local Boards of Trustees in establishing and maintaining Night Schools for continuing the instruction of any students desirous of improving their knowledge, and also for the instruction of those who may desire technical knowledge in their various branches of daily work, such as in Building construction, Architectural and Machine drawing, Dressmaking, and, in fact, in any branch for which a sufficient number of students may make application.

As was remarked above, a necessity had soon arisen for a higher education than that of the Common School. Accordingly, a High School was opened at Victoria in 1876, at New Westminster in 1884, at Nanaimo in 1886, and at Vancouver in 1890. Since that date High Schools have been opened in the various Cities of the Province, so that, according to last reports, there are twenty-six High Schools in operation with seventy-seven rooms, thus providing higher education for 2,151 pupils. During this present year several additional schools have been commenced, and others have added more Teachers to their staffs. As time went on, year by year more students were found who looked forward to still higher educational attainments. To help in supplying this demand, several of the Universities of Eastern Canada held Matriculation Examinations at various local centres, many students took advantage of this means of obtaining University standing, and hence many students were annually induced to leave the Province in order to prosecute their studies at Canadian Universities, as well as at some of those in the United States, thus it became quite evident that some steps should be taken to keep these sons and daughters of British Columbia at home. Accordingly, as shown by the very clear and explicit Historical sketch given in the Calendar of McGill College, Vancouver, in 1894, at the instance of friends of higher education in the Province, who desired such relations between local high schools and universities in other parts of the Empire as would tend to the inception and promotion of university work in British Columbia, legislation was passed which empowered the affiliation of high schools to recognized universities: and this was supplemented in 1896 by an act providing for the incorporation of high schools as colleges in accordance with the charters

and constitutions of such universities. Under these enactments Vancouver High School became Vancouver College, and was admitted to affiliation for the First Year in Arts by the Corporation of McGill University, which had in the meantime secured such extension of its charter powers as made possible the admission of extra-Provincial colleges to the relation of affiliation. Work was begun under this relation in 1889, and by 1902 the work had grown so, and was of such a character that an extension of affiliation was granted, to cover the second year in Arts and the University Intermediate Examination. This year Victoria College, too, applied for and obtained affiliation covering the First Year Arts. Later the need of university connection more intimate still and essential than that of affiliation, and also of extension of the scope of work, came to be felt and urged, and the result was the passing in 1906 of local legislation (1) enacting that "the Governors, Principal and Fellows of McGill College and University may exercise and enjoy in the Province of British Columbia all the powers, rights, privileges, and functions conferred upon them by the charter granted to them by His Late Majesty, King George IV., in the second year of his reign, and amended by Her Late Majesty, Queen Victoria, in the sixteenth year of her reign"; and (2) authorizing the incorporation of a body politic under the name of "The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning of British Columbia," and empowering this body to "undertake the conduct or administration of any part of the higher education work now carried on by such Boards," and also to "establish at such place in British Columbia as McGill University may designate a College for the higher education of men and women, such College, in respect of courses of study and examinations, to be deemed a College of McGill University, and the instruction given to its students to be of the same standard as that given in like subjects at McGill University at Montreal."

In pursuance of the objects of its foundation, the Royal Institution established in 1906 at Vancouver the McGill University College of British Columbia (by agreement with the Board of School Trustees), taking over the Arts work previously done by the Vancouver College, increasing the number of the options allowed, and adding two years of Applied Science. In 1908 the course was further extended to include the Third Year in Arts.

In 1907 the act was amended so as to allow of the establishment of Colleges of the Royal Institution in other cities in the Province, and in the following year the College at Victoria, hitherto directly affiliated to McGill, came under the control of the Royal Institution as a part of the McGill University College of British Columbia, with courses in the first two years in Arts. The success which attended the establishment of these University Courses, the advantages they placed before every student capable of profiting by them, made it inevitable that further progress in the direction of some complete scheme for Academic training should be taken. Even as far back as 1872 a scheme had been planned for the formation and endowment of a University of British Columbia, but as this was somewhat premature, the scheme could not be carried into effect. By the year 1890, the University graduates then resident in the Province formed an Association for promoting the establishment of a University, and next year powers for carrying out these plans were obtained from the Legislature. It was soon found, however, that the Province was not in a position financially to incur the unavoidable expenses which must be incurred, and also that the selection of a site for the University was a question on which there was so much rivalry and difference of opinion that it was impossible at the time to come to any arrangement which would be for the benefit of education. By the year 1907 the Province had increased vastly in its school population, and in its wealth, and so many of the brightest and most ambitious of its younger population had been compelled to go elsewhere for any higher Academic advantages, that the Government felt called upon again to take up the question of University establishment. Nor must it be forgotten that the number of graduates had very largely increased in all the professions, that many of those who had received their Academic training in other Provinces were holding positions of trust and authority in British Columbia, and that these able men and women were unanimous in their desire for the establishment of a University in their midst, so that a public sentiment favouring such a scheme was growing stronger year by year. Consequently, in 1908 an Act was introduced and passed "to establish and incorporate a University for the Province of British Columbia." In order to avoid this time any sectional feeling in regard to the selection of a site, the Government very wisely deter-



**UNIVERSITY SITE COMMISSIONERS, BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1910.**

<b>Walter C. Murray, M.A., LL.D.,</b>	<b>Oscar D. Skelton, M.A., Ph.D.,</b>
<i>President University of Saskatchewan.</i>	<i>Professor of Economics, Queen's University.</i>
<b>Gaspard Dauth, M.A., D.D.,</b>	<b>Richard C. Weldon, M.A., Ph.D., K.C., LL.D.,</b>
<i>Vice-Rector, Laval University, Montreal.</i>	<i>Dean of the Law School, Dalhousie University.</i>
	<b>Cecil C. Jones, M.A., LL.D.,</b>
	<i>Chancellor of the University of New Brunswick.</i>





mined to leave this choice in the hands of men who would be quite unprejudiced by any local predilections, and in 1910, by authority of the Legislature, a Royal Commission was named and empowered to select the most suitable site for the future University. This Commission consisted of five members: Dr. R. C. Weldon, Rev. Canon C. Dauth, Dr. W. C. Murray, Dr. O. D. Skelton, and Dr. Cecil C. Jones. These Commissioners, after an exhaustive examination of the several parts of the Province which had been suggested as suitable for a University site gave in the following report:

"Victoria, B. C., June 28th, 1910.

"To His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in Council:

"Sir:—The University Site Commission begs to submit the following report:

"In accordance with the provisions of the 'University Site Commission Act, 1910,' your Commissioners have visited and made a careful examination of the several cities and rural districts in the Province suggested as suitable University sites, and have selected as the location for the University the vicinity of the City of Vancouver.

"We have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servants,

"R. C. WELDON, Chairman,

"G. DAUTH,

"C. C. JONES,

"O. D. SKELTON,

"WALTER C. MURRAY, Secretary."

Accompanying the main report was the following supplementary report:

"Victoria, B. C., June 28, 1910.

"To the Honourable H. E. Young, M. D., LL. D.,

"Minister of Education.

"Sir:—The University Site Commissioners are strongly of the opinion that the University should not be placed on a site which may in time be completely surrounded by a city. They respectfully suggest that not less than 250 acres be set apart for the University campus and 700 acres for experimental purposes in agriculture and forestry. This is exclusive of a forest reserve for forestry operations on a large scale.

"The Commissioners are of the opinion that the most suitable site is at Point Grey, unless the soils there and that of the delta land adjacent are found to be unsuitable for the experimental work of the College of Agriculture. Should Point Grey prove impossible the Commissioners suggest: first, a site along the shore west of North Vancouver, provided the tunnel and bridge are constructed: second, St. Mary's Hill overlooking Pitt, Fraser and Coquitlam Rivers, provided residences are erected for the students. Central Park, though conveniently situated, will probably be surrounded by the Cities of Vancouver, and New Westminster, and because of this and of the absence of outstanding scenic advantages is undesirable.

"While the Commissioners are firmly convinced that it is of the highest importance to have all the faculties of the University doing work of University grade located together, they believe that the diverse conditions of agriculture in this Province make it advisable to divide the work of agricultural education between the College of Agriculture at the University and Schools of Agriculture of secondary grade located in different centres. The College of Agriculture should conduct researches, provide courses leading to a degree, and supervise the extension work and Schools of Agriculture. These schools should be established in conjunction with the Demonstration Farms in typical centres, and should provide short courses (extending over the winter months) of two or three years for the sons of farmers. Each school might specialize in one or more branches, such as horticulture, dairying, etc.

"Similarly, Technical Evening schools might be opened in the different coal-mining centres for the preparation of candidates for mining certificates, and in the metal-mining districts for the assistance of prospectors and others.

"The Commissioners have been greatly impressed by the marvellous richness, variety, and extent of the natural resources of this Province, and by the very generous provision made for the endowment of the University: and they are of the opinion that if the University adopts a policy of offering salaries ranging from \$3800 to \$5000 to its professors, it will attract men of the highest ability, who, by their scientific investigations, and outstanding reputations, will not only materially aid in developing the resources of the Province, but will also place the University on an equality with the best universities in America."

Accordingly, the site at Point Grey was chosen, and later on, an appropriation was made by the Legislature for clearing and laying out the grounds at the point selected. In order that everything might be done in proper form, in 1912 a list of graduates of British and Canadian universities, who had complied with the requirements of registration, was drawn up, and the First Convocation was duly formed.

Immediately after the members of this Convocation had been registered, they were called upon to elect a Chancellor of the University and Hon. Carter-Cotton was elected to this position of trust and honour. A Senate was also elected by the Members of Convocation, according to the principles laid down in the Act, and a Board of Governors was also appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The necessary machinery being now procured, it was requisite to find a president who should at once commence the labour of organizing the departments required and who should be empowered to make all necessary arrangements for buildings, plans, and grounds, suitable for the various requirements of these departments, finally Doctor Westbrook was selected by the Government as being one conversant with all the requirements and duties of such an office. What steps are being taken in this organization, time will show, but we feel confident as a result of the careful and deliberately formed plans of the President, that the University of British Columbia will be one which will take a high standing among the universities of our empire.

The present educational system of this Province may be summarized as follows:

#### ASSISTED SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Assisted Schools are established in outlying districts where the number of children in attendance does not exceed nineteen pupils of school age. These schools are erected and maintained by the residents, the salary of the teachers being fixed by the Legislature and paid directly from the Provincial Treasury. These districts are without any exact boundaries, and are managed by three trustees elected by the residents of the locality. In all other respects they are subject to the same regulations as the more completely organized schools and districts of the Province.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

## RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

In these the number of pupils must at least be twenty. The building is erected and maintained by the people of the district and all expenses are paid by assessments levied by the local trustees, except in special cases when assistance may be given, if considered necessary, by the Government. The teachers are appointed by the local Board and their salaries are paid partly by grant from the Government and partly from the local assessments, the people having power to fix the amount of such salary or to increase it if considered necessary. Three trustees are elected by the residents at the yearly meeting in July, one retiring annually. The Government makes an allowance of \$480 annually for each teacher.

## RURAL MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS

These correspond with the municipalities and contain within their boundaries numerous schools, according to their respective population and requirements. The teachers are appointed and paid by the Trustee Board, any additional sum required for this purpose beyond that granted by the Government, being met by assessment, and building and maintenance of the schools being also paid from the local assessment tax. Three trustees are elected, one of whom retires annually in rotation, they holding office for three years. To these schools the Government makes an allowance of \$480 for each teacher.

## CITY MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS

All regularly organized cities become automatically City Municipal Districts of First, Second or Third Class, according to their population, having respectively seven, five or three trustees, these holding office for two years. Cities of the First Class can also elect a City Municipal Inspector, who shall have charge of the internal conduct of the schools, subject to the requirements of the School Act, and who shall be the advisor of the Board of Trustees in all educational matters. To City Schools the Government allowance

is \$360.00, \$420.00, or \$465.00 for each Teacher employed according to the class of the city.

The supreme control of Education rests with the Council of Public Instruction, the personnel of which is the same as that of the Executive Council. The Minister of Education is appointed from among the members of this Council and takes the direct control of Educational affairs. To assist him in this, and to direct more especially the professional side of his work, a Superintendent of Education is appointed, who has control of all the various departments, and whose additional duty it is to frame the Annual Report to the Legislature containing information regarding all expenditures and other details requisite for their information. In order that the Superintendent shall be kept informed on the conditions of Education in the Province, each Inspector sends in to the Education Department a full report of the progress, conditions and requirements of the schools in his Inspectorate when they are visited by him. This system of reporting is also carried out by the High School Inspector, and by the Inspector of Manual Training Schools, hence, as far as possible, everything which will advance the education of the children in any particular district is able to be brought to the attention of the Superintendent and of the Minister of Education.

As was remarked before, the ever-varying conditions of a Western Province necessitate a constant change in boundaries of school districts, in location of schools, in the enlarging of one staff of teachers and the reducing of another, but the progress made is very evident as all our statistics show. In fact, as in every other case, life is a constant change, or rather any constant change of growth has its origin in life itself. Evidently the school system, as well as the school population of British Columbia, is indeed very much alive, and we feel confident that as the school population makes greater demands, whether for education or for accommodation, the Education Department will be both able and willing to meet these requests in the future as has been done in the past, and that any demands the Government may make, for this purpose, upon the people of the Province will be as cheerfully met in days to come as they have been in days gone by.

A few statistical facts will show more clearly to our readers the rapid progress of the schools during the past ten years:

Years.	No. of Pupils enrolled.	Percentage of attendance.	Expenditure for Education proper.
1902-3.....	23,903	66.76	\$397,003
1907-8.....	33,314	69.62	464,473
1911-12.....	50,170	74.88	976,415

The total expenditure for maintenance of the Public Schools from 1871 to 1895-6 was \$3,023,595, whereas the amount expended by the Provincial Government together with the amount of outlay by the cities and school districts for 1911-12 alone was \$3,882,488. During this year the number of teachers employed was 1353, namely: in Colleges, 16; in High Schools, 77; in City Graded Schools, 580; in Rural Municipality Schools, 314; in Rural and Assisted Schools, 366;—the cost of each pupil on enrolment amounting to \$17.47 and on actual daily attendance to \$23.32.

Although by the School Law of British Columbia "all public schools shall be free, and shall be conducted on strictly secular and non-sectarian principles," yet this requirement does not in any way prohibit the establishment of private or denominational schools or colleges, consequently many of these institutions have been established in the centres of population, either as boarding schools for younger pupils, or for carrying out the ideas of any parents who may desire their children to receive religious instruction according to their own beliefs, as well as secular education.

The Roman Catholic Church established in early days, Colleges at Victoria and at New Westminster, and have Mission Schools in many places for the teaching and training of Indians.

At New Westminster the Methodist Church has founded Columbia College. In this institution pupils are boarded and are instructed in all subjects up to those required for University Matriculation. In connection with this College higher education is carried on, and by its affiliation with Toronto University, degrees in Arts can be gained by those who have proceeded regularly through the requirements of the University Course.

The Presbyterian body has established two schools at Vancouver, Braemar School for girls and Langara School for boys, thus providing boarding schools of a high standard for those parents who

are desirous of obtaining the services of such institutions. This body has also established a Theological College in the city of Vancouver, namely Westminster Hall, at which young men are trained both in the academic and the theological knowledge required for the ministry of that church.

The Anglican Church has likewise its Theological Colleges, Latimer and St. Marks, both situated at Vancouver.

At Summerland on Lake Okanagan the Baptists have founded a college for education of their children.

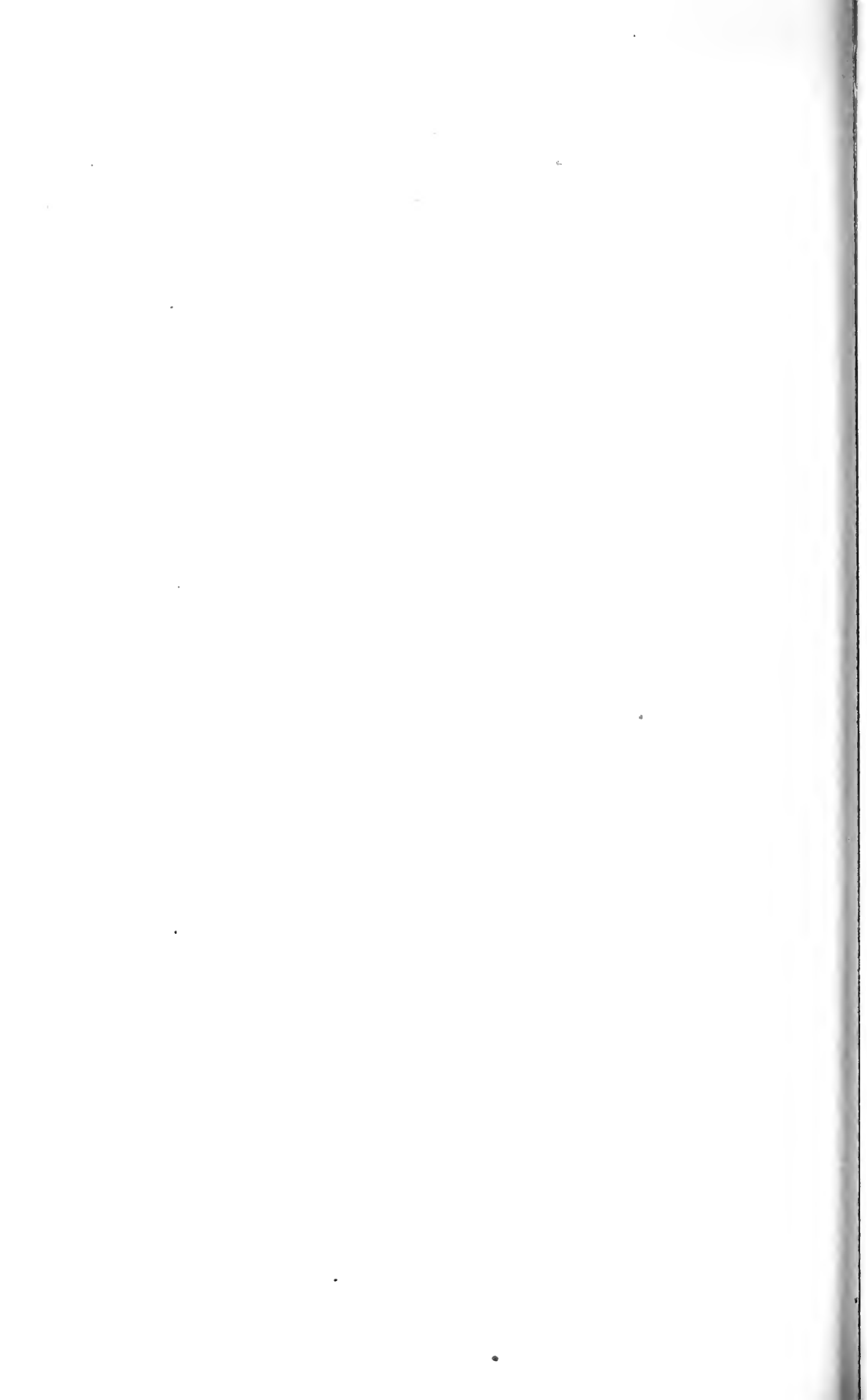
It is impossible in the space allotted to us to explain in detail the work being carried on by these schools and colleges; the character and standing of their teachers are sufficient guarantee for its excellence.

It is the intention of the denominational colleges to affiliate with the University of British Columbia in order that all subjects of general training may be taught by its Faculty, and yet at the same time special subjects, peculiar to their own ideals, be taught in their own class-rooms by their own appointed professors.

To carry out these plans the denominational colleges intend to place their various halls on sites granted for this purpose near the University itself, thus strengthening their courses by enabling their students to make use of its classes, and also aiding the University by enrolling these students among its members. The chief advantage to these students must not be overlooked, namely, the wider view of education that is gained by them for their work in after-life by contact with men of varied opinions and whose studies have proceeded along other lines than those of theology alone.

In concluding these remarks on the Progress of Education in British Columbia, we can only add this further wish, that the free education offered to all may aid in attracting to the Province, settlers worthy of being the defenders of Canada's most Western Province, in any day of need, and who will be willing at all times to lay deep the foundation for her future prosperity by their acting out in their life's work the ideals of true citizenship as taught in her schools.

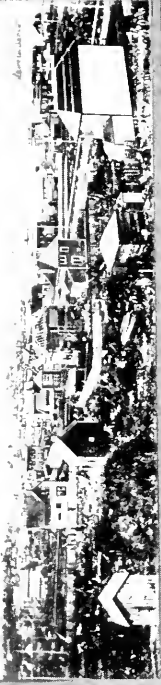
May the educational life of British Columbia ever prove true to the motto which surrounds her shield, "*Splendor sine occasu.*"







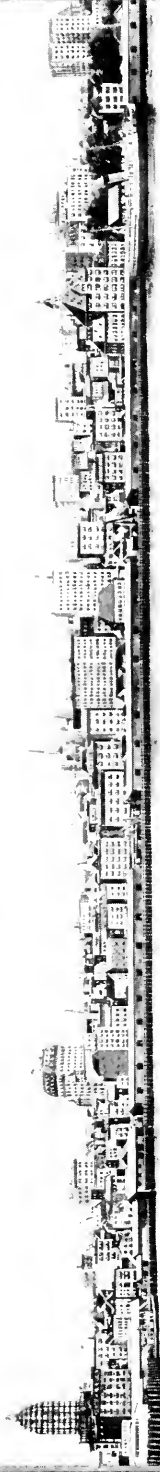
VANCOUVER 20 YEARS AGO



VANCOUVER 10 YEARS AGO



VANCOUVER TODAY



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## CHAPTER XXI

### BANKS AND BANKING

Until 1910 there did not exist within the limits of the province of British Columbia a chartered bank having its head office therein; hence the story of banking in this province is largely the development of the eastern banks.

The first rude attempts at carrying on a banking business were made by the express companies, which early extended their operations within our borders. The miners who foregathered upon the banks of the Fraser river in the first wild rush of 1858 came from California; and soon in their train and from the same place came branches of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s express and Freeman's express. Their connection with California and the eastern United States afforded ready facilities for the safe transport of gold dust. These companies, especially the former, were also large purchasers of dust; in fact, during 1858 and 1859 the greater part of the product reached the outer world through this medium. Wells, Fargo & Co. exported in 1858 \$337,765; in 1859, \$823,488. The total gold output handled by this company up to the end of 1862 was \$5,373,211. This was the only phase of banking which the express companies engaged in for a considerable period, inasmuch as it could scarcely be expected that in colonies so recently established and in such variable conditions as existed at the time advances to merchants and traders could assume any importance. Moneys were received on deposit and for transmission, but no attempt was made to issue money. The express companies always paid in the recognized currency or in drafts upon their branches.

Wells, Fargo & Co. continued to carry on business as bankers and express agents in the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia; but they soon allowed the business on the mainland to pass into the hands of Dietz & Nelson and Barnard's express (which

will be dealt with in another place), and concentrated their efforts in Victoria. During the early '60s, C. C. Prendergast was their representative, but about 1866 F. Garesche became the Victoria agent. Later this gentleman associated with himself, A. A. Green, under the firm name of Garesche, Green & Co. This firm became the agents of Wells, Fargo and ultimately took over the business. The senior partner was lost on the *Pacific* in November, 1875. No business house was better known in Victoria than that of Garesche, Green & Co., which was located at the corner of Government street and Trounce alley. Mr. Green died in 1891. In its later days the business was carried on under the name of Green, Worlock & Co. About 1894 the bank went into liquidation. The Hon. Robert Beaven and Mr. James S. Yates were appointed as trustees to settle its affairs. In the end the depositors received about fifty cents on the dollar.

The first institution to undertake banking in all its branches was Macdonald's Bank, which was founded by Alexander D. Macdonald in Victoria in 1859. This bank, which had its office on Yates street, has the honour of being the first to issue paper money in British Columbia and Vancouver Island. These notes were issued without restriction of any kind and were absolutely unsecured. The bank had no charter and for some time was subject to no rules or supervision. In 1863 a branch was opened in Cariboo, and for about a year it did a large amount of business. Its export of gold up to the end of 1862 was \$1,543,035. In 1864 the bank was robbed and although Macdonald made a gigantic effort to overcome the loss he was unsuccessful and the bank—the first bank in either colony—failed. The details of this story will be found in a subsequent chapter. None of the holders of Macdonald's notes received any payment after the failure. They were simply unsecured creditors.

In 1862 an attempt was made to establish a local chartered bank to be known as the Colonial Bank of British Columbia. The prime movers in the scheme were Henry Holbrook, F. G. Claudet, and John Cooper. The capital proposed was \$250,000 divided into 2,500 shares of \$100 each. The movement did not even reach to the extent of obtaining a charter.

Although the bank known as the Bank of British Columbia had its head office in London, England, yet owing to its name, if for no other reason, a short outline of its growth and development will be given.





VIEW OF VANCOUVER CITY COUNCIL, MEETING AFTER THE FIRE, 13TH JUNE, 1886



J. W. HORNE'S REAL ESTATE OFFICE, AFTER THE VANCOUVER FIRE

The Bank of British Columbia which was for a time known as the Chartered Bank of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, was formed in May, 1862. Its capital was originally £250,000 divided into 12,500 shares of £20 each. The prospectus after referring to the great necessity for additional banking facilities in these colonies and to the discovery of the wealth of Cariboo (which it described as a field of vast extent in which the gold lay near the surface) stated that the yield for 1861 was estimated at \$6,791,409—figures which are now recognized as being about three times the actual production. It then mentioned the discovery of silver, copper, and coal, the abounding wealth of the fisheries, the salubrity of the climate, the possibilities of agricultural development, and the rigid enforcement of English law which would insure the safety of the fortune that the earlier-mentioned factors would provide. As a further inducement to investors a list was subjoined of colonial banks operating under less attractive conditions, principally in Australia and the Orient, whose dividend rate varied from six to sixteen per cent.

The Bank of British Columbia was opened for business on Government street in Victoria in August, 1862. James D. Walker was its first manager, and George Cruickshank, its first accountant. It carried on business for nearly six months before it issued any paper money. In January, 1863, the first notes of this bank, which were of the denomination of five dollars, were received from England and at once placed in circulation. They were printed on good paper and were rather larger than those in circulation in Canada and the United States. They bore in one corner the bust of Queen Victoria, and in the other the figures "\$5.00." On one end was the representation of a miner at work, on the other, a ship. At the top was Britannia bearing the national flag, beneath an arch formed by the words "The Bank of British Columbia." The centre or body was written minutely over with the words "Five dollars." They were dated January 6, 1863, and bore the signature of James D. Walker.

Up to that date the only paper money in circulation, except, of course, foreign money, had been Macdonald's Bank bills. These had not been very favourably looked upon by the public. But when the Bank of British Columbia issued these bills and, later, others of different denominations they worked their way into circulation and as the miners became accustomed to seeing and handling paper

money without loss, a sort of unreasoning faith grew up, in paper money of any kind—men, as a whole, are indiscriminating—which received a bad blow when Macdonald's Bank failed in the following year.

In September, 1862, a branch of the Bank of British Columbia was opened in New Westminster, which was then the capital of the separate colony of British Columbia. Edwin Russell was the first agent in charge. Of course, the mining region of Cariboo could not be overlooked, especially as Macdonald was operating at that point, and in May, 1863, the Bank of British Columbia established a branch on Williams Creek (Richfield at first, but later Barkerville) with H. Shirley Blunt as manager and R. Fraser as clerk. Mr. Walker retired from the management of the Victoria office in July, 1864, and removed to San Francisco. The New Westminster branch of this bank had in the beginning a rather checkered career. It was opened, as already stated, in September, 1862, and was closed in the following November. During that period its rate of discount on gold bars was being gradually raised until it reached three per cent, and then, naturally, the buying soon ceased altogether. The branch was scarcely closed before its re-opening began to be spoken of as a possibility. It was actually re-opened on July 22, 1863. D. M. Lang was the manager, after the departure of James D. Walker. With the advent of "hard times" in 1865-6 this branch was again closed. In August, 1865, the Bank of British Columbia had branches in operation at New Westminster, Yale, Quesnel Mouth, Cariboo, Victoria, and Nanaimo. One by one they were closed, until, of them all, only Victoria and Cariboo remained.

The Bank of British Columbia had, in 1868, branches at Victoria, Cariboo, San Francisco, and Portland. Its capital had then been increased to \$2,500,000. The officers in the Victoria office were: inspector, Alex. Watson; manager, William C. Ward; accountant, C. S. Jones; clerks, E. H. Jackson and Isaac Birch Fisher; in Cariboo: agent, H. S. Blunt; clerk, R. Fraser. In 1872 Isaac B. Fisher became manager of the Cariboo branch. From that date until 1876—being the palmy days of Lightning Creek—Mr. Fisher remained in charge. Soon after his removal the branch was closed, for Cariboo had ceased to produce gold in large quantities. As if to equalize conditions the branch at New Westminster, which had been closed for ten years was reopened in 1878 with Mr. Fisher as manager. The





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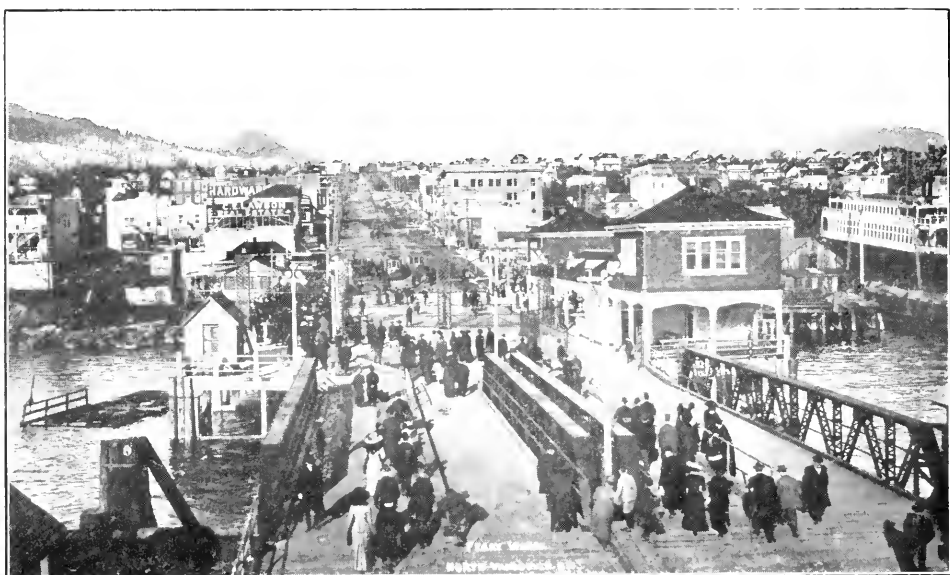
HASTINGS STREET WEST FROM CAMBIE STREET, VANCOUVER



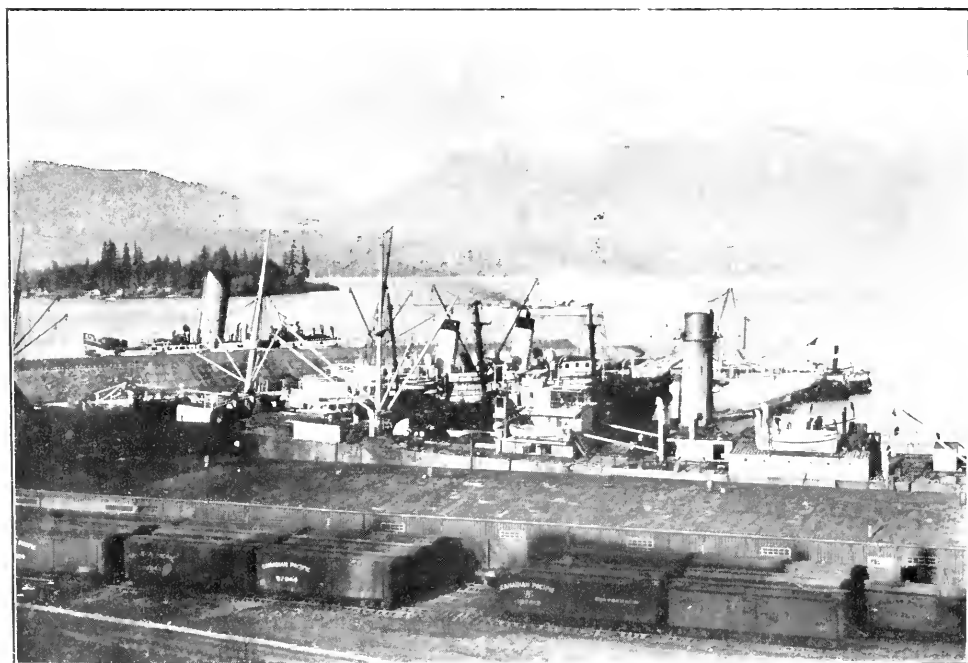
GRANVILLE STREET, LOOKING NORTH FROM DUNSMUIR STREET, VANCOUVER







NORTH VANCOUVER FROM FERRY WHARF



VIEW OF VANCOUVER HARBOUR AND SHIPPING

bank was very slow to open new branches. In 1882, besides the Portland and San Francisco offices, it had only those in Victoria and New Westminster. The Victoria officials, in 1884, were: W. C. Ward, manager; Charles S. Jones, assistant manager; George Gillespie, accountant; J. K. Wilson, teller; Robert Croft, receiving teller; H. Rhodes, George Cruickshank, J. S. Milligan, R. G. Harvey, and H. Beaven, clerks. Eighteen years later the bank had offices in Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster, Nanaimo, Kamloops, Nelson, Sandon, and Rossland. Its capital had been increased to £600,000, and it had a reserve of £100,000. During these years Mr. William C. Ward, one of the most successful bankers in the province, was the general manager.

The Bank of British Columbia ceased to exist in January, 1901. Its shareholders had in the preceding December passed a resolution whereby it had been resolved to sell the whole assets of the bank to the Canadian Bank of Commerce, for \$2,000,000 payable in the latter's stock. The value placed thereupon was \$2,600,000; so that the shareholders of the Bank of British Columbia obtained stock in the purchasing bank at 130. The officers were provided for, as, fortunately, the two banks had but rarely branches in the same places. In order to place these persons on the same footing as their old employees the sum of about \$100,000 was added to the bank's pension fund.

The Bank of British North America was the first chartered bank to enter into business on Vancouver Island. Established in 1836, with branches in the principal cities of the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces, and having a capital of £1,000,000, it was in a position to meet the demand for banking facilities which went up from the people as soon as gold began to flow from the working of the Fraser's bars. In 1859 a branch was established on Yates street, Victoria. This was somewhat in the nature of an experiment. The bank does not appear to have entered keenly into the purchasing of gold dust. It was content, at least in the early years, to leave that to the express companies and Macdonald's Bank. The other lines of banking business were more attractive to it. It was the bank for the city of Victoria and for the government of the colony of Vancouver Island. So slowly did its business grow that in the spring of 1862, the manager, J. G. Shepherd, reduced the small staff of officials to even smaller proportions.

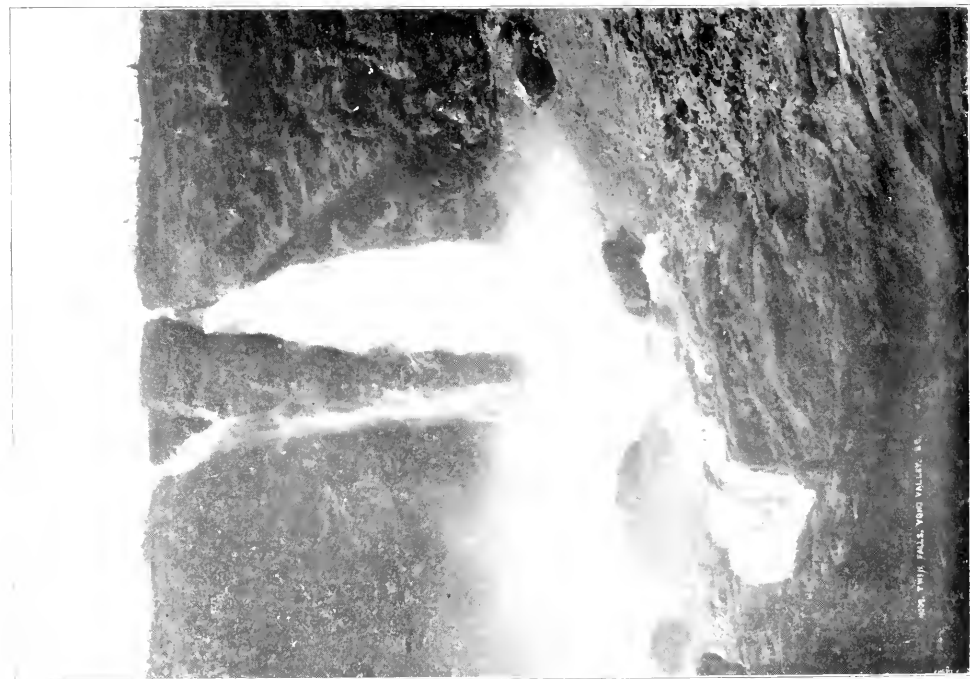
But when both Macdonald's Bank and the Bank of British Columbia reached out into Cariboo, this bank followed the same policy and for some years, while Cariboo was producing millions annually, a branch of the Bank of British North America, which was opened in August, 1865, existed on Williams Creek. In 1867 Robert Burrell was the agent in charge; the clerk was George Grant. At this period the bank entered largely into the purchasing of gold dust and for that purpose opened a fully equipped assay office in Victoria.

In 1877 the Bank of British North America had but one office in the province—viz., at Victoria. Its staff consisted of John Goodfellow, manager; A. B. Ritchie, accountant; A. Maxwell, teller; M. G. Staples, assayer; Alex. Munro, Jr., clerk; and John Hart, messenger. Seven years later it had still only the Victoria office, with the following staff: R. Burns, manager; G. H. Burns, accountant; Alex. K. Munro, teller; H. M. Innes and D. Doig, clerks. No increase was made in its offices until the city of Vancouver came into existence, when Mr. W. Godfrey opened on its behalf a branch there, which has been one of the most successful in the province. The growth of the Kootenay mining region caused the Bank of British North America to break away from its centralizing policy and in 1897 it had no fewer than five offices there, viz., at Rossland, Sandon, Kaslo, Trail, and Slocan City.

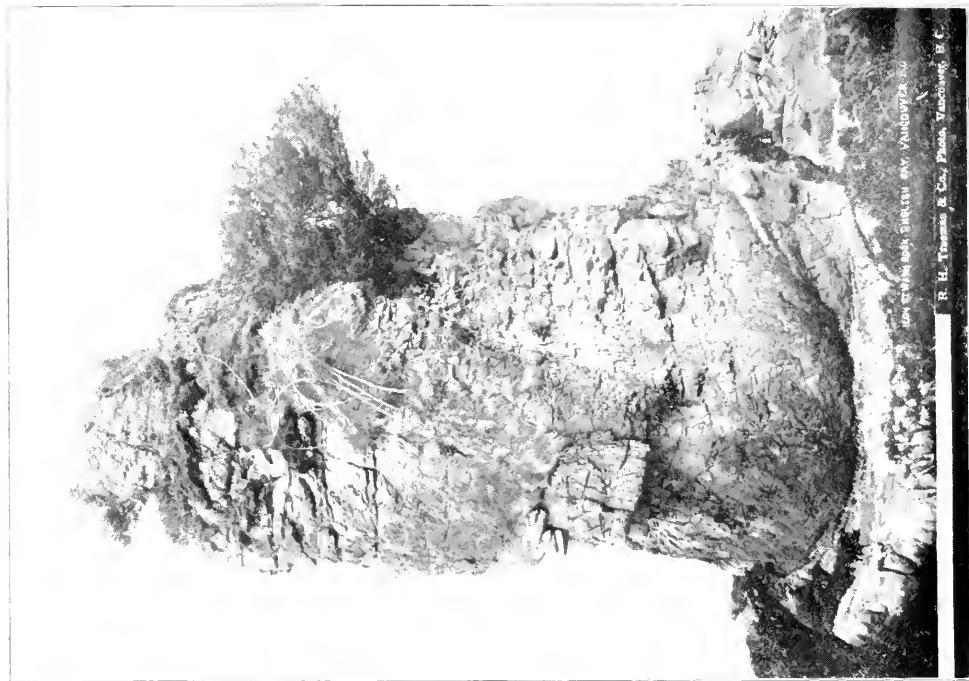
Until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway the Bank of British North America, the Bank of British Columbia, and the private bank of Garesche, Green & Co. were in possession of the whole field of banking in the province. But with that event and the location of the terminus at Vancouver the banks of eastern Canada awoke to the possibilities which the province offered for their operations. The first of these eastern institutions to cross the Rockies was the Bank of Montreal, the oldest bank in all Canada.

In 1887, while Vancouver was yet in her swaddling clothes, Mr. Campbell Sweeny arrived with a staff of three assistants to open in the Terminal city a branch of the Bank of Montreal. Today the staff of the principal office in Vancouver numbers forty-three. The bank at once extended its operations. In 1888 a branch was opened at New Westminster under the able management of Mr. George D. Brymner. Accompanying him as his assistant was Mr. J. S. C.





TWIN FALLS, YOHIO VALLEY



SIWASH ROCK, ENGLISH BAY, VANCOUVER



Fraser, later the manager of the bank's branch at Rossland and now (1913) manager of the branch in Victoria.

Fully alive to the local conditions the Bank of Montreal has consistently followed a policy of expansion—locating its branches in every section of the province, and meeting in every instance all legitimate requirements of the trade and manufacturing interests.

In 1897, ten years after it opened for business in the province the Bank of Montreal had seven branches in operation: Vancouver, manager, Campbell Sweeny; Victoria, manager, A. J. C. Galletly; New Westminster, manager, George D. Brymner; Rossland, manager, J. S. C. Fraser; Nelson, manager, A. H. Buchanan; Vernon, manager, G. A. Henderson; New Denver, manager, J. F. Finucane. It maintains some twenty-six branches in British Columbia. Its pioneer representative, Mr. Campbell Sweeny, now occupies the office of superintendent of the British Columbia branches.

Following upon the footsteps of the Bank of Montreal other eastern banks opened branches in British Columbia. Amongst the earliest were the Canadian Bank of Commerce (which, later, absorbed the Bank of British Columbia, as already mentioned), the Imperial Bank of Canada, the Merchant's Bank of Halifax (which, in January, 1901, changed its name to that of the Royal Bank of Canada), and the Molson's Bank. These institutions together with the Bank of Montreal, the Bank of British Columbia and the Bank of British North America established in 1898 the Vancouver Clearing House. The clearings for 1899 were \$37,820,218.

In 1902 the banks operating in the province were: The Bank of Montreal, eight branches; the Molson's Bank, three branches; the Bank of British North America, seven branches; the Imperial Bank of Canada, five branches; the Bank of Toronto, one branch; the Canadian Bank of Commerce, twelve branches; the Eastern Townships Bank, two branches; the Bank of Hamilton, one branch; and the Royal Bank of Canada, seven branches—a total of nine banks with forty-six branches. In every case these banks had an office in the city of Vancouver.

In 1906 the returns from the Vancouver Clearing House exceeded \$100,000,000. In 1911 they had grown to the enormous sum of \$543,484,354.

One by one the other banking houses of eastern Canada became persuaded that the field offered by British Columbia could no longer

be neglected, until now (1913) besides those mentioned the following banks have branches in this province: The Bank of Nova Scotia, the Quebec Bank, the Northern-Crown Bank, the Merchants' Bank of Canada, the Bank of Ottawa, the Traders' Bank of Canada, the Home Bank of Canada, the Union Bank of Canada, the Dominion Bank, and the Eastern Townships Bank until its absorption by the Royal Bank of Canada.

A clearing house was established in New Westminster—where nine banks had established branches—in 1912.

In 1910 the first bank having its head office in the province was incorporated. This was the Bank of Vancouver, which opened for business in July of that year. It has an authorized capital of \$2,000,000, of which \$1,169,900 has been subscribed and \$830,000 paid up. The first general manager was A. L. Dewar, who was succeeded by L. W. Shatford. The present board of directors include the Hon. T. W. Paterson, Lieutenant-Governor J. A. Mitchell, J. A. Harvey, K. C., E. H. Heaps, C. S. Douglas, M. B. Carlin and A. Istel. Mr. R. P. McLennan is the president, a position which he has occupied from the inception of the bank.

Already the Bank of Vancouver has twelve branches, of which four are in its natal city. The other offices are located in Victoria (two branches), New Westminster, Collingwood East, Cedar Cottage, Coquitlam, Hazelton, and Fort George. Our history, however, and our banking system would lead one to regard as problematical the continued expansion of a local bank when in competition with other institutions having branches over all of Canada.





## APPENDIX CONTAINING PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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1. Memorial of Lieutenant John Meares respecting seizure of vessels by the Spaniards at Nootka Sound, in 1789.
2. Memorial of the Court of Spain, respecting the Nootka Affair, June 13, 1790.
3. Declaration and Counter Declaration, Nootka Sound Affair, July 24, 1790.
4. The Nootka Sound Convention, October 28, 1790.
5. Nootka Claims Convention, February 12, 1793.
6. Convention for the Mutual Abandonment of Nootka, January 11, 1794.
7. Third Article, Convention of October 20, 1818, between Great Britain and the United States.
8. Fifth Article, Convention of October 20, 1818, between Great Britain and the United States.
9. Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies' License of Exclusive Trade, 1821.
10. Convention of 1827 continuing in force Article III, Treaty of 1818.
11. Hudson's Bay Company's License of Exclusive Trade, 1838.
12. Treaty establishing boundary west of the Rocky Mountains, June 15, 1846.
13. Royal Grant of Vancouver Island to Hudson's Bay Company, January 13, 1849.
14. An Act to provide for the administration of Justice in Vancouver Island, 1849.



## APPENDIX

### I

#### MEMORIAL OF LIEUTENANT JOHN MEARES, RESPECTING SEIZURE OF VESSELS BY THE SPANIARDS AT NOOTKA SOUND, IN 1789

"The memorial of John Meares, Lieutenant in his Majesty's navy, most humbly sheweth:

"That early in the year 1786, certain merchants residing in the East Indies, and under the immediate protection of the Company, desirous of opening a trade with the north-west coast of America, for supplying the Chinese market with furs and ginseng, communicated such design to Sir John MacPherson, the Governor-General of India, who not only approved of the plan, but joined in the subscription for its execution; and two vessels were accordingly purchased and placed under the orders and command of your memorialist.

"That in the month of March, your memorialist despatched one of the said vessels, which he named the *Sea-otter*, under the command of Mr. Tipping, to Prince William's Sound, and followed her on the other ship, which he named the *Nootka*.

"That on your memorialist's arrival in Prince William's Sound, in the month of September, he found the *Sea-otter* had left that place a few days before; and from intelligence he has since received, the ship was soon after unfortunately lost off the coast of Kamschatka.

"That your memorialist remained in Prince William's Sound the whole of the winter, in the course of which time he opened an extensive trade with the natives; and having collected a cargo of furs, he proceeded to China in the autumn of 1787.

"That in the month of January, 1788, your memorialist having disposed of the *Nootka*, he, in conjunction with several British merchants residing in India, purchased and fitted out two other vessels, named the *Felice* and *Iphigenia*; the former your memorialist commanded, and the latter he put under the direction of Mr. William Douglas. That your memorialist proceeded from China to the port of Nootka, or King George's Sound, which he reached in the month of May, and the *Iphigenia* arrived in Cook's River in the month of June.

"That your memorialist, immediately on his arrival in Nootka Sound, purchased from Maquilla, the chief of the district contiguous to and surrounding that place, a spot of ground whereon he built a house for his occasional residence, as well as for the more convenient pursuit of his trade with the natives, and hoisted the British colours thereon; that he also erected a breast-work which surrounded the house, and mounted one 3-pounder in the front; that having so done, your memorialist proceeded to trade on the coast, the *Felice* taking her route to the southward, and the *Iphigenia* to the northward, confining themselves within the limits of 60° and 45° 30' north, and returned to Nootka Sound in the month of September; that on your memorialist's arrival there, his people, whom he had left behind, had nearly completed a vessel, which, previous to his departure, he had laid down; and that the said vessel was soon after launched by your memorialist, and called the *North-West America*, measuring about forty tons, and was equipped with all expedition to assist him in his enterprizes.

"That during the absence of your memorialist from Nootka Sound, he obtained from Wicananish, the chief of the district surrounding Port Cox and Port Effingham, situated in the latitudes 48° and 49°, in consequence of considerable presents the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district, and also his permission to build any storehouses or other edifices which he might judge necessary; that he also acquired the same privilege of exclusive trade from Tatouche, the chief of the country bordering on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the said strait, which one of your memorialist's officers took possession of in the King's name, calling the same Tatouche, in honour of the chief.

"That the *Iphigenia*, in her progress to the southward, also visited several ports, and in consequence of presents to the chiefs of the country, her commander had assurances given to him of not only a free access, but of an exclusive trade upon that coast, no other European vessel having been there before her.

"That your memorialist, on the 23d of September, having collected a cargo of furs, proceeded in the *Felice* to China, leaving the *Iphigenia* and the *North-West America* in Nootka Sound, with orders to winter at the Sandwich Islands and to return to the coast in the spring. That your memorialist arrived in China early in the month of December, where he sold his cargo and also the ship *Felice*.

"That a few days after your memorialist's arrival in China, the ships *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal*, fitted out from the port of London by Messrs. John and Cadman Etches & Co., came to Canton from a trading voyage on the north-west coast of America; and your memorialist, finding that they had embarked in this commerce under licenses granted to them by the East India and South Sea Companies, which would not expire until the year 1790, and apprehending at the same time that the trade would suffer by a competition, he and his partners associated themselves with the said Messrs. Etches & Co., and a formal agreement was executed in consequence between your memorialist and Mr. John Etches, then Supra Cargo of the two ships, making a joint stock of all the vessels and property employed in that trade; and under that firm they purchased a ship, which had been built at Calcutta, and called her the *Argonaut*.

"That the *Prince of Wales*, having been chartered to load teas for the East India Company, soon after returned to England; and the *Princess Royal* and *Argonaut* were ordered by your memorialist to sail for the coast of America, under the command of Mr. James Colnett, to whom the charge of all the concerns of the Company on the coast had been committed.

"Mr. Colnett was directed to fix his residence at Nootka Sound, and, with that view, to erect a substantial house on the spot which your memorialist had purchased in the preceding year, as will appear by a copy of his instructions hereunto annexed.

"That the *Princess Royal* and *Argonaut*, loaded with stores and provisions of all descriptions, with articles estimated to be sufficient for the trade for three years, and a vessel on board in frame, of about thirty tons burthen, left China accordingly in the months of April and May, 1789. They had also on board, in addition to their crews, several artificers of different professions, and near seventy Chinese, who intended to become settlers on the American coast, in the service and under the protection of the associated Company.

"That on the 24th April, 1789, the *Iphigenia* returned to Nootka Sound, and that the *North-West America* reached that place a few days after; that they found on their arrival in that port, two American vessels which had wintered there; one of them was called the *Columbia*, the other the *Washington*; that on the 29th of the same month the *North-West America* was despatched to the northward to trade, and also to explore the archipelago of St. Lazarus.

"That on the 6th of May, the *Iphigenia* being then at anchor in Nootka Sound, a Spanish ship of war, called the *Princesa*, commanded by Don Estevan Joseph Martinez, mounting twenty-six guns, which had sailed from the port of San Blas in the Province of Mexico, anchored in Nootka Sound, and was joined on the 13th by a Spanish Snow of sixteen guns, called the *San Carlos*, which vessel had also sailed from the port of San Blas, loaded with cannon and other warlike stores.

"That from the time of the arrival of the *Princesa* until the 14th of May, mutual civilities passed between Captain Douglas and the Spanish officers, and even supplies were obtained from Don Martinez for the use of the ship; but on that day he, (Captain Douglas) was ordered on board the *Princesa*, and, to his great surprise, was informed by Don Martinez that he had the king's orders to seize all ships and vessels he might find upon that coast, and that he, (the commander of the *Iphigenia*) was then his prisoner; that Don Martinez thereupon instructed his officers to take possession of the *Iphigenia*, which they accordingly did, in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and the officers and crew of that ship were immediately conveyed as prisoners on board the Spanish ships, where they were put in irons and otherwise ill-treated.

"That as soon as the *Iphigenia* had been seized, Don Martinez took possession of the lands belonging to your memorialist, on which his temporary habitation before mentioned had been erected, hoisting thereupon the standard of Spain and performing such ceremonies as your memorialist understands are usual on such occasions; declaring at the same time that all the lands comprised between Cape Horn and the sixtieth degree of north latitude did belong to his Catholic Majesty; he then proceeded to build batteries, storehouses, etc., in the execution of which he forcibly employed some of the crew of the *Iphigenia*, and many of them who attempted to resist were very severely punished.



"That during the time the commander of the *Iphigenia* remained in captivity, he had frequently been urged by Don Martinez to sign an instrument, purporting, as he was informed (not understanding himself the Spanish language) that Don Martinez had found him at anchor in Nootka Sound, that he was at that time in great distress; that he had furnished him with everything necessary for his passage to the Sandwich Islands, and that his navigation had in no respect been molested or interrupted; but which paper, on inspection of a copy thereof delivered to Mr. Douglas, and hereunto annexed (No. 2) appears to be an obligation from him and Mr. Vinania, the second captain, on the part of their owners, to pay on demand the valuation of that vessel, her cargo, etc., in case the viceroy of New Spain should adjudge her to be lawful prize for entering the port of Nootka without the permission of his Catholic Majesty; that Captain Douglas, conceiving that the Port of Nootka, did not belong to his Catholic Majesty, did frequently refuse to accede to this proposal; but that Don Martinez, partly by threats, and partly by promises of restoring him to his command and of furnishing him with such supplies of stores and provisions as he might stand in need of, ultimately carried his point; and having so done, he, on the 26th of the same month, was restored to the command of the *Iphigenia*, but restrained from proceeding to sea until the return of the *North-West America*, insisting that he should then dispose of her for four hundred dollars, the price which one of the American captains had set upon her.

"That during the time the Spaniards held possession of the *Iphigenia*, she was stripped of all the merchandise which had been provided for trading, as also of her stores, provisions, nautical instruments, charts, etc., and, in short, every other article (excepting twelve bars of iron) which they could conveniently carry away, even to the extent of the master's watch and articles of cloathing.

"That the Commander of the *Iphigenia*, finding himself thus distressed, applied for relief, and after much solicitation obtained a trifling supply of stores and provisions, for which he was called upon to give bills on his owners. The articles so supplied were charged at a most exorbitant price, and very unequal in quality or quantity to those which had been taken from him.

"That notwithstanding what had been insisted on by Don Martinez, respecting the sale of the *North-West America*, he had constantly refused to dispose of that vessel on any ground, alleging that, as she did not belong to him, he had no right to dispose of her; that the *North-West America* not returning so soon as was expected, he, (Captain Douglas) was told by Don Martinez, that on his ordering that vessel to be delivered to him for the use of his Catholic Majesty, he should have liberty to depart with the *Iphigenia*; that he accordingly on the 1st of June, wrote a letter to the master of the *North-West America*, but cautiously avoided any directions to the effect desired, and availing himself of Don Martinez's ignorance of the English language, he instantly sailed from Nootka Sound, though in a very unfit condition to proceed on such a voyage, leaving behind him the two American vessels which had been suffered to continue there unmolested by the Spaniards from the time of their first arrival; that the *Iphigenia* proceeded from thence to the Sandwich Islands, and after obtaining there such supplies as they were able to procure with the iron before mentioned, returned to China and anchored there in the month of October, 1789.

"Your memorialist thinks it necessary upon this occasion to explain, that in order to evade the excessive high port charges demanded by the Chinese from all other European nations excepting the Portuguese, that he and his associates had obtained the name of Juan Cawalho to their firm, though he had no actual concern in their stock; that Cawalho, though by birth a Portuguese, had been naturalized at Bombay, and had resided there for many years under the protection of the East India Company, and had carried on an extensive trade from thence to their several settlements in that part of the world.

"That the intimacy subsisting between Cawalho and the Governor of Macao, had been the principal cause of their forming this nominal connection, and that Cawalho had in consequence obtained his permission that the two ships above mentioned, in case it should be found convenient so to do, should be allowed to navigate under, or claim any advantages granted to the Portuguese flag.

"That this permission had answered the purpose of your memorialist, so far as respected the port charges of the Chinese until the return of the *Iphigenia*; but the Portuguese governor dying soon after her departure, and Cawalho becoming a bankrupt, his creditors demanded his interest in that ship; that your memorialist having resisted their claim, an application was made by them

to the succeeding governor for possession of the ship; that the governor had, in consequence, investigated the transaction, and finding that Cawwalho had no actual concern or interest in the property, obliged her to quit the port; that this proceeding had subjected the *Iphigenia* at once to the increased port charges which were instantly demanded by and paid to the Chinese.

"Your memorialist has stated this transaction thus fully, in order to show, that the *Iphigenia* and her cargo were actually and bona fide British property, as well as to explain the occasion of the orders which were given to her commander extracts of which accompany this, and are referred to in the journal of that ship, having been under the inspection of Don Martinez.

"Your memorialist further begs leave to state that after the departure of the *Iphigenia*, Don Martinez became apprized of the purport of the letter with which he had been furnished, and that on the return of the *North-West America* off the port of Nootka, on the 9th of June, she was boarded and seized by boats manned and equipped for war, commanded by Don Martinez; that he did tow and convey the said vessel into the sound, and anchoring her close to the Spanish ships of war, did then take possession of her in the name of his Catholic Majesty as good and lawful prize; that the above mentioned vessel was soon after hauled alongside of the Spanish frigate; and that the officers and men, together with the skins which had been collected, amounting to 215, of the best quality, and also her stores, tackle and furniture, articles of trade, etc., were removed on board the Spanish frigate; that the commander of the *North-West America*, his officers and men, were accordingly made prisoners, and Mr. Thomas Barnett, one of the officers of that vessel, and some of her men, were, as appears by the affidavit of William Graham, one of the seamen belonging to that vessel hereunto annexed (No. 4) afterwards put in irons.

"That the *Princess Royal* arriving a few days after the seizure of the *North-West America*, and being allowed by Don Martinez to depart, the skins collected by the last mentioned vessel (excepting twelve of the best quality, which Don Martinez thought fit to retain) were returned to the master, and, with the permission of Don Martinez, were shipped on board the *Princess Royal* for the benefit of the owners; and that ship, as appears by her journal, put to sea on the 2nd of July to pursue the trade upon the coast.

"That Don Martinez, after seizing the *North-West America* in the manner and under the circumstances above stated, employed her on a trading voyage, from which she returned after an absence of about twenty days, with seventy-five skins, obtained by British merchandize which had either been found in that vessel at the time of her capture, or had been taken from the *Iphigenia*; and that the value of the furs so collected cannot, upon a moderate calculation, be estimated at less than \$7,500, and which Don Martinez had applied to his own advantage.

"That the *Argonaut* arrived off the port of Nootka on or about the 3rd of July, 1789; that Don Martinez on observing her in the offing, boarded her in his launch, and with expressions of civility, promised Mr. Colnett, her commander, every assistance in his power; that before the *Argonaut* entered the sound, Mr. Thomas Barnett (who had belonged to the *North-West America*, and was then a prisoner) came off in a canoe and informed Mr. Colnett of the proceedings which had taken place, and of the danger to which he was exposed; but that under the assurances given by Don Martinez that the *Argonaut* should remain unmolested, and being in want of refreshments for the crew, Mr. Colnett proceeded into Nootka Sound.

"That, notwithstanding the assurances given by Don Martinez, he, on the next day, sent the lieutenant of the *Princessa* with a military force to take possession of the *Argonaut*; and that ship was accordingly seized in the name of his Catholic Majesty; the British flag was hauled down and the Spanish flag was hoisted in its stead.

"That on the seizure of the *Argonaut*, her officers and men were made prisoners, and Mr. Colnett was threatened to be hanged at the yard-arm in case of his refusing compliance with any directions which might be given to him.

"That on the 13th of July, the *Princess Royal*, as is stated in her journal, again appeared off the port of Nootka; that her commander approaching the sound in his boat in expectation of finding there the commander of the expedition (from whom he was desirous of receiving instructions for his future proceedings), was seized and made prisoner by Don Martinez, and, under threats of hanging him at the yard-arm forced him to send orders to his officers to deliver up the *Princess Royal* without contest.

"That a Spanish officer was despatched into the offing with these orders; and that the vessel was accordingly seized in the name of his Catholic Majesty and brought into port; that her crew were in consequence made prisoners, and that her cargo, consisting of 473 skins, including

203 which had been put on board her from the *North-West America*, (as appears by the inclosed receipt, No. 5) was seized.

"That Mr. Colnett, from the circumstances of his capture, became so deranged that he attempted frequently to destroy himself; and that, according to the last accounts received, the state of his mind was such as to render him unfit for the management of any business which might have been entrusted to his care; that in this melancholy situation, however, Don Martinez, (notwithstanding the vessel and cargo had before been formally seized) attempted to procure from him the sale of the copper, of which a principal part of the cargo of the *Princess Royal* had been composed, and that such sale would actually have taken place, had not the other officers of that vessel, seeing Colnett's insanity, prevented it.

"Your memorialist further begs leave to represent that the American ship *Columbia*, intending to proceed to China, the crew of the *North-West America* were ordered by Don Martinez on board her, principally, as your memorialist understands, for the purpose of assisting her in her navigation to China; the greater part of her own crew, as well as of her provisions, having been previously put on board the *Washington* in order that she might be enabled to continue on the coast.

"That the *Columbia* having reduced her provisions considerably from the supplies she had spared to her consort, was furnished from the *Argonaut* by order of Don Martinez with what was necessary for her voyage, said to be intended, however, for the supply of the crew of the *North-West America*; that previous to the departure of the *Columbia*, ninety-six skins were also put on board her as appears by the paper hereunto annexed No. 6, to defray the wages of the officers and crew of the *North-West America*, under a supposition that their late employers would be unable to liquidate their demands, first deducting, however, thirty per cent from the sales, which Don Martinez had agreed should be paid for the freight on the said skins to the American commanders.

"That the *Columbia* thus supplied, left Nootka Sound accordingly, and proceeded to the southward; that a few days after she entered Port Cox, where she was joined by her consort, the *Washington*, from whom she received a considerable number of skins, conceived to be the whole (excepting the ninety-six before mentioned) which had been collected by the Americans and Spaniards, as well as by the British traders, and with which, after sparing a further quantity of provisions to the *Washington*, the *Columbia* proceeded to China, where she arrived on the 2nd of November, and landed the crew of the *North-West America*.

"That the crew of the *North-West America* previous to their leaving Nootka Sound in the *Columbia*, saw the *Argonaut* proceed as a prize to San Blas; that her officers and men, who were Europeans, were put on board her as prisoners; and that the *Princess Royal* was shortly to follow with her crew in confinement in the same manner. The *Washington*, on joining the *Columbia* in Port Cox, gave information that the *Princess Royal* had also sailed for San Blas.

"That Don Martinez had thought fit, however, to detain the Chinese and had compelled them to enter into the service of Spain; and that on the departure of the *Columbia* they were employed in the mines, which had then been opened on the lands which your memorialist had purchased.

"Your memorialist begs leave to annex a deposition of the officers and crew of the *N. W. America*, together with an extract of the journal of the *Iphigenia*, and also some letters which he has received from Mr. Duffin, second officer of the *Argonaut*, which papers will serve to throw considerable lights on the several transactions alluded to in this memorial: He also has subjoined a statement of the actual as well as the probable losses which he and his associates have sustained from the unwarrantable and unjustifiable proceedings of Don Martinez, in open violation of the treaty of peace subsisting between this country and the Court of Spain, and at times and in situations where, according to the common laws of hospitality, they might have expected a different conduct.

"Your memorialist therefore most humbly begs leave to submit the case of himself and his associates to the consideration of Government, in full confidence that the proper and necessary measures will be taken to obtain that redress, which he and his associates have, as British subjects, a right to expect.

"(Signed) JOHN MEARES.

"London, 30th April, 1790."

Message from King George III.—"George R. His Majesty has received information that two vessels belonging to his Majesty's subjects, and navigated under the British flag, and two

others, of which the description is not hitherto sufficiently ascertained, have been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north-western coast of America, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war; that the cargoes of the British vessels have been seized, and their officers and crews have been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port.

"The capture of one of these vessels had before been notified by the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, by order of his court, who at the same time desired that measures might be taken for preventing his Majesty's subjects from frequenting these coasts, which were alleged to have been previously occupied and frequented by the subjects of Spain. Complaints were already made of the fisheries carried on by his Majesty's subjects in the seas adjoining to the Spanish continent, as being contrary to the rights of the crown of Spain. In consequence of this communication, a demand was immediately made by his Majesty's order, for adequate satisfaction, and for the restitution of the vessel, previous to any other discussion.

"By answer from the Court of Spain it appears that this vessel and her crew had been set at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico; but this is represented to have been done by him on the supposition that nothing but the ignorance of the rights of Spain encouraged the individuals of other nations to come to these coasts for the purpose of making establishments, or carrying on trade, and in conformity to his previous instructions, requiring him to show all possible regard to the British nation. No satisfaction is made or offered, and a direct claim is asserted by the Court of Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation and commerce in the territories, coasts and seas in that part of the world.

"His Majesty has now directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on this subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently requires. And under these circumstances his Majesty, having also received information that considerable armaments are carrying on in the ports of Spain, has judged it indispensably necessary to give orders for making such preparations as may put it in his Majesty's power to act with vigour and effect in support of the honour of his crown and the interests of his people. And his Majesty commends it to his faithful Commons, on whose zeal and public spirit he has the most perfect reliance, to enable him to take such measures and to make such augmentation of his forces, as may be eventually necessary for this purpose.

"It is his Majesty's earnest wish that the justice of his Majesty's demands may ensure from the wisdom and equity of his Catholic Majesty the satisfaction which is so unquestionably due; and that this affair may be terminated in such manner as may prevent any grounds of misunderstanding in future, and to continue and confirm that harmony and friendship which has so happily subsisted between the two courts, and which his Majesty will always endeavour to maintain and improve by all such means as are consistent with the dignity of his Majesty's crown and the essential interests of his subjects. G. R."

The House of Lords Approved the King's Message.—On the 26th May an "humble address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled," was passed, approving of his Majesty's message.

## II

MEMORIAL OF THE COURT OF SPAIN, DELIVERED JUNE 13TH, 1790, TO MR. FITZ-HERBERT, THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT MADRID.

"By every treaty upon record betwixt Spain and the other nations of Europe, for upwards of two centuries, an exclusive right of property, navigation and commerce to the Spanish West Indies has been universally secured to Spain, England having always stood forth in a particular manner in support of such right.

"By Article 8th of the Treaty of Utrecht (a treaty in which all the European nations may be said to have taken part), Spain and England profess to establish it as a fundamental principle of agreement, that the navigation and commerce of the West Indies, under the dominion of Spain, shall remain in the precise situation in which they stood in the reign of his Catholic Majesty Charles II., and that rule shall be invariably adhered to, and be incapable of infringement.

"After this maxim, the two powers stipulated that Spain should never grant liberty or permission to any nation to trade or introduce their merchandise into Spanish American dominions, nor to sell, cede, or give up to any other nation, its lands, dominions or territories, or any part

thereof. On the contrary, and in order that its territories should be preserved whole and entire, England offers to aid and assist the Spaniards in re-establishing the limits of their American dominions, and placing them in the exact situation they stood in the time of his said Catholic Majesty Charles II., if by accident it shall be discovered that they have undergone any alteration to the prejudice of Spain, in whatever manner or pretext such alteration may have been brought about.

"The vast extent of the Spanish territories, navigation and dominion on the Continent of America, isles and seas contiguous to the South Sea, are clearly laid down and authenticated by a variety of documents, laws and formal acts of possession in the reign of King Charles II. It is also clearly ascertained, that notwithstanding the repeated attempts made by adventurers and pirates on the Spanish coasts of the South Sea and adjacent islands, Spain has still preserved her possession entire, and opposed with success those usurpations by constantly sending her ships and vessels to take possession of such settlements. By these measures and reiterated acts of possession, Spain has preserved the dominion, which she has extended to the borders of the Russian establishments in that part of the world.

"The viceroys of Peru and New Spain having been informed that these seas had been, for some years past, more frequented than formerly; that smuggling had increased; that several usurpations prejudicial to Spain and the general tranquillity had been suffered to be made, they have orders that the western coasts of Spanish America, and islands and seas adjacent should be more frequently navigated and explored.

"They were also informed that several Russian vessels were upon the point of making commercial establishments upon that coast. At the time that Spain demonstrated to Russia the inconveniences attendant upon such encroachments, she entered upon the negotiation with Russia upon the supposition that the Russian navigators of the Pacific Ocean had no orders to make establishments within the limits of Spanish America, of which the Spaniards were the first possessors (limits situated within Prince William's Sound), purposely to avoid all dissensions, and in order to maintain the harmony and amity which Spain wished to preserve.

"The Court of Russia replied, that it had already given orders that its subjects should make no settlement in places belonging to other powers; and that if those orders had been violated, and had been made in Spanish America, they desired the king would put a stop to them in a friendly manner. To this pacific language on the part of Russia, Spain observed that she could not be answerable for what her officers might do at that distance, whose general orders and instructions were not to permit any settlements to be made by other nations on the Continent of Spanish America.

"Though trespasses had been made by the English on some of the islands of those coasts, which had given rise to similar complaints having been made to the Court of London, Spain did not know that the English had endeavoured to make any settlements on the northern part of the Southern Ocean, till the commander of a Spanish ship, in the usual tour of the coasts of California, found two American vessels in St. Lawrence, or Nootka Harbour, where he was going for provisions and stores. These vessels he permitted to proceed on their voyage, it appearing from their papers that they were driven there by distress, and only came in to refit.

"He also found there the *Iphigenia* from Macao, under Portuguese colours, which had a passport from the governor; and though he came manifestly with a view to trade there, yet the Spanish admiral, when he saw his instructions, gave him leave to depart upon his signing an engagement to pay the value of the vessel, should the Government of Mexico declare it a lawful prize.

"With this vessel there came a second, which the admiral detained, and a few days after, a third, named the *Argonaut*, from the above mentioned place. The captain of this latter was an Englishman. He came not only to trade, but brought everything with him proper to form a settlement there and to fortify it. This, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish admiral he persevered in, and was detained, together with his vessel.

"After him came a fourth English vessel, named the *Princess Royal*, and evidently for the same purposes. She likewise was detained and sent to Port San Blas, where the pilot of the *Argonaut* made away with himself.

"The viceroy, on being informed of these particulars, gave orders that the captain and vessels should be released, and that they should have leave to refit, without declaring them a lawful prize; and this he did, on account of the ignorance of the proprietors, and the friendship which subsisted between the Courts of London and Madrid.

"He also gave them leave to return to Macao with their cargo, after capitulating with them in the same manner as with the Portuguese captain, and leaving the affair to be finally determined by the Count de Revillagigado, his successor, who also gave them their liberty.

"As soon as the Court of Madrid had received an account of the detention of the first English vessel at Nootka Sound, and before that of the second arrived, it ordered its ambassador at London to make a report thereof to the English minister, which he did on the 10th of February last, and to require that the parties who had planned these expeditions should be punished, in order to deter others from making settlements on territories occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for a number of years.

"In the ambassador's memorial, mention was only made of the Spanish admiral that commanded the present armament, having visited Nootka Sound in 1774, though that harbour had been frequently visited both before and since, with the usual forms of taking possession. These forms were repeated more particularly in the years 1755 and 1779, all along the coasts, as far as Prince William's Sound, and it was these acts that gave occasion to the memorial made by the Court of Russia as has been already noticed.

"The Spanish ambassador at London did not represent in this memorial at that time, that the right of Spain to these coasts was conformable to ancient boundaries which had been guaranteed by England at the Treaty of Utrecht, in the reign of Charles II., deeming it to be unnecessary; as orders had been given and vessels had actually been seized on those coasts as far back as 1692.

"The answer that the English ministry gave, on the 26th of February, was, that they had not as yet been informed of the facts stated by the ambassador, and that the act of *violence*, mentioned in his memorial, necessarily suspended any discussion of the claims therein, till an adequate atonement had been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain.

"In addition to this haughty language of the British minister, he further added, that the ship must in the first place be restored; and that with respect to any further stipulations, it would be necessary to wait for a fuller detail of all the circumstances of this affair.

"The harsh and laconic style in which this answer was given, made the Court of Madrid suspect that the King of Great Britain's ministers were forming other plans; and they were the more induced to think so, as there were reports that they were going to fit out two fleets, one for the Mediterranean and the other for the Baltic. This of course obliged Spain to increase the small squadron she was getting ready to exercise her marine.

"The Court of Spain then ordered her ambassador at London to present a memorial to the British ministry, setting forth that though the Crown of Spain has an indubitable right to the continent, islands, harbours and coasts in that part of the world, founded on treaties and immemorial possession, yet the viceroy of Mexico had released the vessels that were detained, the king looked upon the affair as concluded, without entering into any disputes or discussions on the undoubted rights of Spain; and desiring to give a proof of his friendship for Great Britain, he should rest satisfied if she ordered that her subjects in future respected those rights.

"As if Spain, in this answer, had laid claim to the empire of that ocean, though she only spoke of what belonged to her by treaties, and as if it had been so grievous an offence to terminate this affair by restitution of the only vessel which was then known to have been taken, it excited such clamour and agitation in the parliament of England that the most vigorous preparations for war had been commenced; and those powers disinclined to peace, charge Spain with designs contrary to her known principles of honour and probity as well as to the tranquillity of Europe, which the Spanish monarch had in view.

"While England was employed in making the greatest armaments and preparations, that court made answer to the Spanish ambassador (upon the 5th of May) that the acts of violence committed against the British flag 'rendered it necessary for the sovereign to charge his minister at Madrid to renew the remonstrances (being the answer of England already mentioned), and to require that satisfaction which his Majesty thought he had an indisputable right to demand.'

"To this was added a declaration not to enter formally into the matter until a satisfactory answer was obtained; 'and at the same time the memorial of Spain should not include in it the question of right,' which formed a most essential part of the discussion.

"The British administration offer, in the same answer, to take the most effectual and pacific measures that the English subjects shall not act 'against the just and acknowledged rights of Spain, but that they cannot at present accede to the pretensions of absolute sovereignty, com-

merce and navigation which appeared to be the principal object of the memorial of the ambassador, and that the King of England considers it as a duty incumbent upon him to protect his subjects in the enjoyment of the right of continuing their fishery in the Pacific Ocean.'

"If this pretension is found to trespass upon the ancient boundaries laid down in the reign of King Charles II. and guaranteed by England in the Treaty of Utrecht, as Spain believes, it appears that that court will have good reason for disputing and opposing this claim; and it is to be hoped that the equity of the British administration will suspend and restrict it accordingly.

"In consequence of the foregoing answer, the *chargé d'affaires* from the Court of London at Madrid insisted, in a memorial of the 16th of May, on restitution of the vessel detained at Nootka and the property therein contained; of an indemnification for the losses sustained, and on a reparation proportioned to the injury done to the English subjects trading under the British flag, and that they have an indisputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce and fishery; and to the possession of such establishments as they should form with the consent of the natives of the country not previously occupied by any of the European nations.

"An explicit and prompt answer was desired upon this head, in such terms as might tend to calm the anxieties and to maintain the friendship subsisting between the two courts.

"The *chargé d'affaires*, having observed that a suspension of the Spanish armaments would contribute to tranquillity upon the terms to be communicated by the British administration, as answer was made by the Spanish administration that the king was sincerely inclined to disarm upon the principles of reciprocity, and proportioned to the circumstances of the two courts, adding that the Court of Spain was actuated by the most pacific intentions and a desire to give every satisfaction and indemnification, if justice was not on their side, provided England did as much if she was found to be in the wrong.

"This answer must convince all the courts of Europe, that the conduct of the king and his administrators is consonant to the invariable principles of justice, truth and peace.

"(Signed) EL CONDE DE FLORIDABLANCA."

Mr. Fitzherbert replied as follows:

"Sir,—In compliance with your Excellency's desire, I have now the honour to communicate to you in writing what I observed to you in the conversation we had the day before yesterday. The substance of these observations are briefly these:

"The Court of London is animated with the most sincere desire of terminating the difference that at present subsists between it and the court of Madrid, relative to the port of Nootka and the adjacent latitudes, by a friendly negotiation; but it is evident, upon the clearest principles of justice and reason, that an equal negotiation cannot be opened till matters are put in their original state; and as certain acts have been committed in the latitudes in question belonging to the royal marine of Spain, against several British vessels, without any reprisals having been made, of any sort, on the part of Britain, that power is perfectly in the right to insist, as a preliminary condition, upon a prompt and suitable reparation for those acts of violence; and in consequence of this principle the practice of nations has limited such right of reparation to three articles, viz., the restitution of the vessels, a full indemnification for the losses sustained by the parties injured, and, finally, satisfaction to the sovereign for the insult offered to his flag; so that it is evident that the actual demands of my court, far from containing anything to prejudice the rights or dignity of his Catholic Majesty, amount to no more, in fact, than what is constantly done by Great Britain herself, as well as every other maritime power, in similar circumstances.

"Finally, as to the nature of the satisfaction which the Court of London exacts upon this occasion and to which your Excellency appears to desire some explanation, I am authorized, sir, to assure you that if his Catholic Majesty consents to make a declaration in his name, bearing in substance that he had determined to offer to his Britannic Majesty a just and suitable satisfaction for the insult offered to his flag, such offer joined to a restitution of the vessels captured, and to indemnify the proprietors, under the conditions specified in the official letter of Mr. Merry on the 16th of May, will be regarded by his Britannic Majesty as constituting in itself the satisfaction demanded; and his said Majesty will accept of it as such by a counter-declaration on his part.

"I have to add that as it appears uncertain if the vessels, the *North-West America*, an American vessel, and the *Iphigenia*, had truly a right to enjoy the protection of the British flag, the king will with pleasure consent that an examination of the question, as well as that relative to the just amount of the losses sustained by his subjects, may be left to the determination of the commissioners to be named by the two courts.

"Having thus recapitulated to your Excellency the heads of what I observed to you in conversation, I flatter myself you will weigh the whole in your mind with that spirit of equity and moderation which characterizes you, that I may be in a condition of sending to my court, as soon as possible, a satisfactory answer as to the point contained in the official paper sent to Mr. Merry on the 4th of this month, and which for the reasons I have mentioned cannot be regarded by his Britannic Majesty as fulfilling his just expectations. I have the honour to be, etc.,

"ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT."

### III

#### DECLARATION AND COUNTER DECLARATION, NOOTKA SOUND AFFAIR

##### DECLARATION.

His Britannic Majesty having complained of the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects in the port of Nootka, situated on the Northwest Coast of America, by an officer in the service of His Catholic Majesty, the undersigned counsellor and principal secretary of state to His Majesty, being thereto duly authorized, declares in the name and by the order of His Majesty, that he is willing to give satisfaction to His Britannic Majesty for the injury of which he has complained, fully persuaded that His said Britannic Majesty would act in the same manner toward His Catholic Majesty under similar circumstances; and His Majesty further engages to make full restitution of all the British vessels which were captured at Nootka, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels for the losses which they may have sustained, as soon as the amount thereof shall have been ascertained. It being understood that this declaration is not to prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which His Catholic Majesty claims to form an exclusive establishment at Nootka.

In witness whereof I have signed this declaration and sealed it with the seal of my arms at Madrid the 24th of July, 1790.

COUNT FLORIDABLANCA.

##### COUNTER DECLARATION.

His Catholic Majesty having declared that he was willing to give satisfaction for the injury done to the King by the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects in the Bay of Nootka; and Count Floridablanca having signed, in the name and by the order of His Catholic Majesty, a declaration to this effect, and by which His said Majesty likewise engages to make full restitution of the vessels so captured and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels for the losses which they shall have sustained, the undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of His Majesty to the Catholic King, being thereto duly and expressly authorized, accepts the said declaration in the name of the King; and declares that His Majesty will consider this declaration, with the performance of the engagements contained therein, as a full and entire satisfaction for the injury of which His Majesty has complained.

The undersigned declares at the same time that it is to be understood that neither the said declaration signed by Count Floridablanca nor the acceptance thereof by the undersigned, in the name of the King, is to preclude or prejudice, in any respect, the rights which His Majesty may claim to any establishment which his subjects may have formed, or may desire to form in the future, at the said Bay of Nootka.

In witness whereof I have signed this counter declaration and sealed it with the seal of my arms at Madrid the 24th of July, 1790.

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

### IV

#### THE NOOTKA SOUND CONVENTION

Their Britannic and Catholic Majesties being desirous of terminating, by a speedy and solid agreement, the differences which have lately arisen between the two Crowns, have considered



that the best way of attaining this salutary object would be that of an amicable arrangement which, setting aside all retrospective discussions of the rights and pretensions of the two parties, should regulate their respective positions for the future on bases which would be conformable to their true interests as well as to the mutual desires with which Their said Majesties are animated, of establishing with each other, in everything and in all places, the most perfect friendship, harmony, and good correspondence. With this in view they have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of His Britannic Majesty, Alleyne Fitzherbert, of the privy council of His said Majesty in Great Britain and Ireland, and his ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to His Catholic Majesty; and on the part of His Catholic Majesty, Don Joseph Moñino Count of Floridablanca, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Spanish Order of Charles III., counsellor of state to His said Majesty, and his principal secretary of state and of the cabinet, who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

## ARTICLE I

It is agreed that the buildings and tracts of land situated on the Northwest Coast of the continent of North America, or on islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

## ARTICLE II

Further, a just reparation shall be made, according to the nature of the case, for every act of violence or hostility which may have been committed since the said month of April, 1789, by the subjects of either of the contending parties against the subjects of the other; and in case any of the respective subjects shall, since the same period, have been forcibly dispossessed of their lands, buildings, vessels, merchandise, or any other objects of property on the said continent or on the seas or islands adjacent, they shall be replaced in possession of them or a just compensation shall be made to them for the losses which they have sustained.

## ARTICLE III

And in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship and to preserve in the future a perfect harmony and good understanding between the two contracting parties, it is agreed that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of those seas in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country or of making establishments there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions and provisions which shall be specified in the three following articles.

## ARTICLE IV

His Britannic Majesty engages to employ the most effective measures to prevent the navigation and fishery of his subjects in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and with this in view it is moreover expressly stipulated that British subjects shall not navigate nor carry on their fishery in the said seas within the distance of 10 maritime leagues from any part of the coast already occupied by Spain.

## ARTICLE V

It is agreed that as well in the places which are to be restored to British subjects by virtue of the first article as in all other parts of the Northwest Coast of North America or of the islands adjacent, situated to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access and shall carry on their commerce without disturbance or molestation.

## APPENDIX

## ARTICLE VI

It is further agreed with respect to the eastern and western coasts of South America and the islands adjacent, that the respective subjects shall not form in the future any establishment on the parts of the coast situated to the south of the parts of the same coast and of the islands adjacent already occupied by Spain; it being understood that the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated for objects connected with their fishery and of erecting thereon huts and other temporary structures serving only those objects.

## ARTICLE VII

In all cases of complaint or infraction of the articles of the present convention the officers of either party without previously permitting themselves to commit any act of violence or assault shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair and of its circumstances to their respective Courts, who will terminate the differences in an amicable manner.

## ARTICLE VIII

The present convention shall be ratified and confirmed within the space of six weeks, to be counted from the day of its signature, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of Their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, have, in their names and by virtue of our full powers, signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at the palace of San Lorenzo the 28th of October, 1790.

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

THE COUNT OF FLORIDABLANCA.

## SECRET ARTICLE

Since by article 6 of the present convention it has been stipulated, respecting the eastern and western coasts of South America, that the respective subjects shall not in the future form any establishment on the parts of these coasts situated to the south of the parts of the said coasts actually occupied by Spain, it is agreed and declared by the present article that this stipulation shall remain in force only so long as no establishment shall have been formed by the subjects of any other power on the coasts in question. This secret article shall have the same force as if it were inserted in the convention.

In witness whereof, etc.

Ratifications were exchanged by Floridablanca and Fitzherbert on November 22.

## V

## NOOTKA CLAIMS CONVENTION

In virtue of the declarations exchanged at Madrid on the 24th of July, 1790, and of the convention signed at the Escorial on the 18th (28th) of the following October, Their Catholic and Britannic Majesties, desiring to regulate and determine definitely everything regarding the restitution of the British ships seized at Nootka, as well as the indemnification of the parties interested in the ships, have named for this purpose and constituted as their commissioners and plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of His Catholic Majesty, Don Manuel de Las Heras, commissary in His said Majesty's armies, and his agent and consul-general in the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; and on the part of His Britannic Majesty, Mr. Ralph Woodford, Knight Baronet of Great Britain; who, after having communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

## ARTICLE I

His Catholic Majesty, besides having restored the ship *Argonaut*, the restoration of which took place in the port of San Blas in the year 1791 (1790), agrees to pay as indemnity to the

parties interested in it the amount of two hundred and ten thousand hard dollars in specie, it being understood that this sum is to serve a compensation and complete indemnification for all their losses, whatever they may be, without any exception, and without leaving the possibility of a future remonstrance or any pretext or motive.

## ARTICLE II

Said payment shall be made on the day on which the present convention shall be signed by the commissioner of His Catholic Majesty in the presence of the commissioner of His Britannic Majesty, which later shall give at the same time an acknowledgment of payment consistent with the terms enunciated in the former article and signed by the said commissioner for himself and in the name and by the order of His Britannic Majesty and of the said interested parties. And there shall be attached to the present convention a copy of the said acknowledgment of payment, executed in the proper form, and likewise of the respective full powers and of the authorizations of the said interested parties.

## ARTICLE III

The ratifications of the present convention shall be exchanged in this city of London within a period of six weeks from the date of its signature, or before if possible.

In witness whereof we, the undersigned commissioners and plenipotentiaries of Their Catholic and Britannic Majesties, have signed the present convention in their names and in virtue of our respective full powers, affixing to it the seals of our arms.

Done at Whitehall, February 12, 1793.

MANUEL DE LAS HERAS.  
R. WOODFORD.

## VI

## CONVENTION FOR THE MUTUAL ABANDONMENT OF NOOTKA

Their Catholic and Britannic Majesties desiring to remove and obviate all doubt and difficulty relative to the execution of article I of the convention concluded between Their said Majesties on the 28th of October, 1790, have resolved and agreed to order that new instructions be sent to the officials who have been respectively commissioned to carry out the said article, the tenor of which instructions shall be as follows:

That within the shortest time that may be possible after the arrival of the said officials at Nootka they shall meet in the place, or near, where the buildings stood which were formerly occupied by the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, at which time and in which place they shall exchange mutually the following declaration and counter declaration:

## DECLARATION

"I, N—— N——, in the name and by the order of His Catholic Majesty, by means of these presents restore to N—— N—— the buildings and districts of land situated on the Northwest Coast of the continent of North America, or the islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed by a Spanish officer toward the month of April, 1789. In witness whereof I have signed the present declaration, sealing it with the seal of my arms. Done at Nootka on the — day of —, 179—."

## COUNTER DECLARATION

"I, N—— N——, in the name and by the order of His Britannic Majesty, by means of these presents declare that the buildings and tracts of land on the Northwest Coast of the continent of North America, or on the islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed by a Spanish officer toward the month of April, 1789, have been restored to me by N—— N——, which restoration I declare to be full and satisfactory. In witness whereof I have signed the present counter declaration, sealing it with the seal of my arms. Done at Nootka on the — day of —, 179—."

That then the British official shall unfurl the British flag over the land so restored in sign of possession. And that after these formalities the officials of the two Crowns shall withdraw, respectively, their people from the said port of Nootka.

Further, Their said Majesties have agreed that the subjects of both nations shall have the liberty of frequenting the said port whenever they wish and of constructing there temporary buildings to accommodate them during their residence on such occasions. But neither of the said parties shall form any permanent establishment in the said port or claim any right of sovereignty or territorial dominion there to the exclusion of the other. And Their said Majesties will mutually aid each other to maintain for their subjects free access to the port of Nootka against any other nation which may attempt to establish there any sovereignty or dominion.

In witness whereof we, the undersigned first secretary of state and of the Cabinet of His Catholic Majesty, and the ambassador and plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, in the name and by the express order of our respective sovereigns, have signed the present agreement, sealing it with the seals of our arms.

Done at Madrid, January 11, 1794.

THE DUKE OF ALCUDIA.  
ST. HELENS.

## VII

### THIRD ARTICLE, CONVENTION OF OCTOBER 20TH, 1818, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

It is agreed, that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall together with its harbours, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open, for the term of ten years from date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two Powers: it being well understood, that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim, which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other Power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences amongst themselves.

## VIII

### FIFTH ARTICLE, CONVENTION OF OCTOBER 20TH, 1818, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

WHEREAS, it was agreed by the first Article of the treaty of Ghent, that "all territory, places, and possessions whatsoever taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay; and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property;" and whereas under the aforesaid article the United States claim for their citizens, and as their private property, the restitution of, or full compensation for all slaves who, at the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the said treaty, were in any territory, places, or possessions whatsoever directed by the said treaty to be restored to the United States, but then still occupied by the British forces, whether such slaves were, at the date aforesaid, on shore, or on board any British vessel lying in waters within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States; and whereas differences have arisen whether, by the true intent and meaning of the aforesaid article of the treaty of Ghent, the United States are entitled to the restitution of, or full compensation for all or any slaves as above described, the high contracting parties hereby agree to refer the said differences to some friendly Sovereign or State to be named for that purpose; and the high contracting parties further engage to consider the decision of such friendly Sovereign or State, to be final and conclusive on all the matters referred.

## IX

HUDSON'S BAY AND NORTH-WEST COMPANIES' LICENSE OF EXCLUSIVE  
TRADE, 1821

GEORGE R.  
(L. S.)

GEORGE THE FOURTH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING.

WHEREAS an Act passed in the second year of our reign, intituled, "An Act for regulating the Fur Trade, and for establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain parts of North America;" wherein it is amongst other things enacted, that from and after the passing of the said Act, it should be lawful for us, our heirs or successors, to make Grants or give our Royal License, under the hand and seal of one of our Principal Secretaries of State, to any body corporate or company, or person or persons, of or for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as should be specified in any such Grants or Licenses respectively, not being part of the lands or territories heretofore granted to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay, and not being part of any of our provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the United States of America, and that all such Grants and Licenses should be good, valid and effectual, for the purpose of securing to all such bodies corporate, or companies or persons, the sole and exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America (except as thereafter excepted) as should be specified in such Grants or Licenses, any thing contained in any Act or Acts of Parliament or any law to the contrary notwithstanding; and it was in the said Act further enacted, that no such Grant or License made or given by us, our heirs or successors, of any such exclusive privileges of trading with the Indians in such parts of North America as aforesaid should be made or given for any longer period than 21 years, and that no rent should be required or demanded for or in respect of any such Grant or License, or any privileges given thereby, under the provisions of the said Act, for the first period of 21 years; and it was further enacted, that from and after the passing of the said Act, the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay, and every body corporate and company and person, to whom every such Grant or License should be made or given as aforesaid, should respectively keep accurate registers of all persons in their employ, in any parts of North America, and should once in each year return to our Principal Secretaries of State accurate duplicates of such registers, and should also enter into such security as should be required by us for the due execution of all criminal processes, and of any civil process in any suit where the matter in dispute shall exceed 200 £., and as well within the territories included in any such Grant as within those granted by Charter to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay, and for the producing and delivering into safe custody, for the purpose of trial, all persons in their employ, or acting under their authority, who should be charged with any criminal offence, and also for the due and faithful observance of all such rules, regulations and stipulations as should be contained in any such Grant or License, either for gradually diminishing and ultimately preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, or for promoting their moral and religious improvement; or for any other object which we might deem necessary for the remedy or prevention of any other evils which have been hitherto found to exist: And whereas it was also in the said Act recited, that by a Convention entered into between his late Majesty and the United States of America, it was stipulated and agreed, that every country on the North-west coast of America to the westward of the Stoney Mountains should be free and open to the citizens and subjects of the two powers for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of that Convention; and it was therefore enacted, that nothing in the said Act contained should be deemed or construed to authorize any body corporate, company or person, to whom his Majesty might, under the provisions of the said Act, make or grant, or give a license of exclusive trade with the Indians, in such parts of North America as aforesaid, to claim or exercise any such exclusive trade within the limits specified in the said article, to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizens of the said United States of America who might be engaged in the said trade: Provided always, that no British subject should trade with the Indians within such limits without such Grant or License as was by the said Act required.

And whereas the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and certain Associations of persons trading under the name of the "North-west Company of Montreal," have respectively extended the fur trade over many parts of North America which had not been before explored: And whereas the competition in the said trade has been found for some years past to be productive of great inconvenience and loss, not only to the said Company and Associations, but to the said trade in general, and also of great injury to the native Indians, and of other persons our subjects: And whereas the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and William M'Gillivray, of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, esquire, Simon M'Gillivray, of Suffolk-lane, in the City of London, merchant, and Edward Ellice, of Spring-gardens, in the County of Middlesex, esquire, have represented to us, that they have entered into an agreement, on the 26th day of March last, for, putting an end to the said competition, and carrying on the said trade for 21 years, commencing with the outfit of 1821, and ending with the returns of 1841, to be carried on in the name of the said Governor and Company exclusively:

And whereas the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, have humbly besought us to make a Grant, and give our Royal License to them jointly, of and for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in North America, under the restrictions and upon the terms and conditions specified in the said recited Act: Now know ye, That we, being desirous of encouraging the said trade and remedying the evils which have arisen from the competition which has heretofore existed therein, do grant and give our Royal License, under the hand and seal of one of our Principal Secretaries of State, to the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the northward and westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America as shall not form part of any of our provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the said United States of America, or to any European government, state or power; and we do by these presents give, grant and secure to the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice jointly, the sole and exclusive privilege, for the full period of 21 years from the date of this our Grant, of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as aforesaid (except as therein-after excepted); and we do hereby declare that no rent shall be required or demanded for or in respect of this our Grant and License or any privileges given thereby, for the said period of 21 years, but that the said Governor and Company, and the said William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice shall, during the period of this our Grant and License, keep accurate registers of all persons in their employ in any parts of North America, and shall once in each year return to our Secretary of State accurate duplicates of such registers, and shall also enter into and give security to us, our heirs and successors, in the penal sum of 5,000 £. for ensuring, as far as in them may lie, the due execution of all criminal processes, and of any civil process in any suit where the matter in dispute shall exceed 200 £., by the officers and persons legally empowered to execute such processes within all the territories included in this our Grant, and for the producing and delivering into safe custody, for purposes of trial, any persons in their employ, or acting under their authority within the said territories, who may be charged with any criminal offence.

And we do also hereby require, that the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice shall, as soon as the same can be conveniently done, make and submit for our consideration and approval such rules and regulations for the management and carrying on the said fur trade with the Indians, and the conduct of the persons employed by them therein, as may appear to us to be effectual for gradually diminishing or ultimately preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and for promoting their moral and religious improvement.

And we do hereby declare, that nothing in this our Grant contained shall be deemed or construed to authorize the said Governor and Company, or William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, or any person in their employ, to claim or exercise any trade with the Indians on the north-west coast of America to the westward of the Stoney Mountains, to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizens of the United States of America, who may be engaged in the said trade: Provided always, that no British subjects other than and except the said Governor and Company, and the said William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward

Ellice, and the persons authorized to carry on exclusive trade by them on Grant, shall trade with the Indians within such limits during the period of this our Grant.

Given at our Court at Carlton-house the 5th day of December, 1821, in the second year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command.

(L. S.) BATHURST.

X

CONVENTION OF 1827 CONTINUING IN FORCE ARTICLE III, TREATY OF 1818

CONCLUDED AUGUST 6, 1827; RATIFICATION ADVISED BY THE SENATE FEBRUARY 5, 1828; RATIFIED BY THE PRESIDENT FEBRUARY 21, 1828; RATIFICATIONS EXCHANGED APRIL 2, 1828; PROCLAIMED MAY 15, 1828.

The United States of America and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally desirous to prevent, as far as possible, all hazard of misunderstanding between the two nations, with respect to the territory on the north-west coast of America, west of the Stoney or Rocky Mountains, after the expiration of the third article of the convention concluded between them on the twentieth of October, 1818; and also with a view to give further time for maturing measures which shall have for their object a more definite settlement of the claims of each party to the said territory, have respectively named their Plenipotentiaries to treat and agree concerning a temporary renewal of the said article, that is to say:

The President of the United States of America, Albert Gallatin, their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Britannick Majesty; and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Charles Grant, a member of his said Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, a member of Parliament, and Vice-President of the Committee of Privy Council for Affairs of Trade and Foreign Plantations; and Henry Unwin Addington, Esquire:

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I

All the provisions of the third article of the convention concluded between the United States of America and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the twentieth of October, 1818, shall be, and they are hereby, further indefinitely extended and continued in force, in the same manner as if all the provisions of the said article were herein specifically recited.

ARTICLE II

It shall be competent, however, to either of the contracting parties, in case either should think fit, at any time after the twentieth of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annul and abrogate this convention; and it shall, in such case be accordingly entirely annulled and abrogated, after the expiration of the said term of notice.

ARTICLE III

Nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of the twentieth of October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be construed to impair, or in any manner affect, the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stoney or Rocky Mountains.

ARTICLE IV

The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in nine months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London the sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven.

(SEAL)

ALBERT GALLATIN.

(SEAL)

CHA. GRANT.

(SEAL)

HENRY UNWIN ADDINGTON.

# XI

## CROWN GRANT OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY OF THE EXCLUSIVE TRADE WITH THE INDIANS IN CERTAIN PARTS OF NORTH AMERICA, FOR A FURTHER TERM OF TWENTY-ONE YEARS, AND UPON THE SURRENDER OF A FORMER GRANT.

VICTORIA R.

(L. S.)

VICTORIA, BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND QUEEN, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING.

WHEREAS, by an Act passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the first and second year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, intituled, "An Act for regulating the Fur Trade, and establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain parts of North America," it was amongst other things enacted, that from and after the passing of the said Act, it should be lawful for his said Majesty, his heirs or successors, to make Grants, or give his or their Royal License, under the hand and seal of one of his or their Principal Secretaries of State, to any body corporate or company, or person or persons, of or for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as should be specified in any such Grants or Licenses respectively, not being part of the lands and territories theretofore granted to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay, and not being any part of any of our Provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the United States of America, and that all such Grants and Licenses should be good, valid and effectual for the purpose of securing to all such bodies corporate, or companies or persons, the sole and exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America (except as hereinafter excepted) as should be specified in such Grants or Licenses, anything contained in any Act or Acts of Parliament, or any law to the contrary notwithstanding; and it was further enacted, that no such Grant or License made or given by his said Majesty, his heirs or successors, of any such exclusive privileges of trading with the Indians in such parts of North America as aforesaid, should be made or given for any longer period than 21 years, and that no rent should be required or demanded for or in respect of any such Grant or License, or any privileges given thereby under the provisions of the said Act for the first period of 21 years; and it was further enacted, that from and after the passing of the said Act, the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay, and every body corporate and company and person to whom any such Grant or License should be made or given as aforesaid, should respectively keep accurate registers of all persons in their employ in any parts of North America, and should once in each year return to the Principal Secretaries of State accurate duplicates of such registers, and should also enter into such security as should be required for the due execution of all processes criminal and civil, as well within the territories included within any such Grant, as within those granted by Charter to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay, and for the producing or delivering into safe custody, for the purpose of trial, all persons in their employ or acting under their authority, who should be charged with any criminal offence, and also for the due and faithful observance of all such rules, regulations and stipulations as should be contained in any such Grant or License, either for gradually diminishing and ultimately preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, or for promoting their moral and religious improvement or for any other object which might be deemed necessary for the remedy or prevention of any other evils which had hitherto been found to exist: And whereas it was in the said Act recited, that by a convention entered into between his said late Majesty and the United States of America, it was stipulated and agreed, that every country on the North-west coasts of America to the westward of the Stoney Mountains should be



free and open to the citizens and subjects of the two powers for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of that convention; and it was therefore enacted, that nothing in the said Act contained should be deemed or construed to authorize any body corporate, company or person to whom his said Majesty might, under the provisions of the said Act, make or grant or give a License of exclusive trade with the Indians in such parts of North America as aforesaid, to claim or exercise any such exclusive trade within the limits specified in the said article, to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizens of the said United States of America who might be engaged in the said trade; with a proviso, that no British subject should trade with the Indians within such limits without such Grant or License as was by the said Act required:

And whereas by an instrument under the hand and seal of the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, then one of his said late Majesty's Secretaries of State, and dated the 6th day of December 1821, after reciting therein, as or to the effect aforesaid, and also reciting that the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay, and certain Associations of persons trading under the name of "The North-west Company of Montreal," had respectively extended the fur trade over many parts of North America which had not been before explored, and that the competition in the said trade had been found, for some years then past, to be productive of great inconvenience and loss, not only to the said Company and Associations, but to the said trade in general, and also of great injury to the native Indians and of other persons his said Majesty's subjects; and that the said Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay; and William M'Gillivray of Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, esquire; Simon M'Gillivray, of Suffolk-lane, in the city of London, merchant; and Edward Ellice, of Spring-gardens, in the county of Middlesex, esquire; had represented to his said Majesty that they had entered into an agreement, on the 26th day of March last, for putting an end to the said competition, and carrying on the said trade for 21 years, commencing with the outfit of 1821, and ending with the returns of the outfit of 1841, to be carried on in the name of the said Governor and Company exclusively, and that the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice had humbly besought his said late Majesty to make a Grant and give his Royal License to them jointly of and for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in North America, under the restrictions and upon the terms and conditions specified in the said recited Act; his said late Majesty, being desirous of encouraging the said trade, and remedying the evils which had arisen from the competition which had theretofore existed therein, did give and grant his Royal License, under the hand and seal of one of his Principal Secretaries of State, to the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the northward and to the westward of the said lands and territories belonging to the United States of America, as should not form part of any of his said Majesty's Provinces in North America or of any lands or territories belonging to the said United States of America, or to any European government, state or power; and his said late Majesty did also give and grant and secure to the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, the sole and exclusive privilege, for the full period of 21 years from the date of that Grant, of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as aforesaid (except as thereafter excepted), and did thereby declare that no rent should be required or demanded for or in respect of that Grant and License, or any privileges given thereby for the said period of 21 years, but that the said Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay, and the said William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, should, during the period of that Grant and License, keep accurate registers of all persons in their employ in any parts of North America, and should once in each year return to his said Majesty's Secretary of State accurate duplicates of such registers, and enter into and give security to his said Majesty, his heirs and successors, in the penal sum of 5,000 £., for ensuring, as far as in them might lay, or as they could by their authority over the servants and persons in their employ, the due execution of all criminal processes, and of every civil process in any suit where the matter in dispute shall exceed 200 £., by the officers and persons legally empowered to execute such processes within all the territories included in that Grant, and for the producing or delivering into custody for purposes of trial all persons in their employ or acting under their authority within the said territories, who should be charged with any criminal offence; and his said Majesty did thereby require that the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, should, as soon as the same could

be conveniently done, make and submit for his said Majesty's consideration and approval, such rules and regulations for the management and carrying on of the said fur trade with the Indians, and the conduct of the persons employed by them therein, as might appear to his said Majesty to be effectual for diminishing or preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and for promoting their moral and religious improvement; and his said Majesty did thereby declare, that nothing in that Grant contained should be deemed or construed to authorize the said Governor and Company, and William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, or any persons in their employ, to claim or exercise any trade with the Indians on the North-west coast of America to the westward of Stoney Mountains, to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizens of the United States of America who might be engaged in the said trade; and providing also by the now reciting Grant, that no British subjects other than and except the said Governor and Company, and the said William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, and the persons authorized to carry on exclusive trade by them on Grant, should trade with the Indians within such limits during the period of that Grant:

And whereas the said Governor and Company have acquired to themselves all the rights and interests of the said William M'Gillivray, Simon M'Gillivray and Edward Ellice, under the said recited Grant, and the said Governor and Company having humbly besought us to accept a surrender of the said Grant, and in consideration thereof to make a Grant to them, and give to them our Royal License and authority of and for the like exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in North America, for the like period and upon similar terms and conditions to those specified and referred to in the said recited Grant: Now know ye, That in consideration of the surrender made to us of the said recited Grant, and being desirous of encouraging the said trade, and of preventing as much as possible a recurrence of the evils mentioned or referred to in the said recited Grant; as also in consideration of the yearly rent hereinafter reserved to us, We do hereby grant and give our License, under the hand and seal of one of our Principal Secretaries of State, to the said Governor and Company, and their successors, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America, to the northward and to the westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America, as shall not form part of any of our provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the said United States of America, or to any European government, state or power, but subject nevertheless as hereinafter mentioned: And we do by these presents give, grant and secure to the said Governor and Company, and their successors, the sole and exclusive privilege, for the full period of 21 years from the date of this our Grant, of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as aforesaid (except as hereinafter mentioned): And we do hereby declare, that no rent shall be required or demanded for or in respect of this our Grant and License, or any privileges given thereby, for the first four years of the said term of 21 years; and we do hereby reserve to ourselves, our heirs and successors, for the remainder of the said term of 21 years, the yearly rent or sum of 5s. to be paid by the said Governor and Company, or their successors, on the first day of June in every year, into our Exchequer, on the account of us, our heirs and successors; and we do hereby declare, that the said Governor and Company, and their successors, shall, during the period of this our Grant and License, keep accurate registers of all persons in their employ in any parts of North America, and shall once in each year return to our Secretary of State accurate duplicates of such registers; and shall also enter into and give security to us, our heirs and successors, in the penal sum of 5,000 £., for ensuring as far as in them may lie, or as they can by their authority over the servants and persons in their employ, the due execution of all criminal and civil processes by the officers and persons legally empowered to execute such processes within all the territories included in this our Grant, and for the producing or delivering into custody for the purposes of trial all persons in their employ or acting under their authority within the said territories who shall be charged with any criminal offence: And we do also hereby require, that the said Governor and Company, and their successors, shall, as soon as the same can be conveniently done, make and submit for our consideration and approval such rules and regulations for the management and carrying on the said fur trade with the Indians, and the conduct of the persons employed by them therein, as may appear to us to be effectual for diminishing or preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and for promoting their moral and religious improvement: But we do hereby declare, that nothing in this our Grant contained shall be deemed or construed to authorize the said Governor and Company, or their successors, or any persons in their

employ, to claim or exercise any trade with the Indians on the North-west coast of America to the westward of the Stoney Mountains, to the prejudice or exclusion of any of the subjects of any foreign states, who, under or by force of any convention for the time being between us and such foreign states respectively, may be entitled to and shall be engaged in the said trade: Provided nevertheless, and we do hereby declare our pleasure to be, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to prevent the establishment by us, our heirs or successors, within the territories aforesaid, or any of them, of any colony or colonies, province or provinces, or for annexing any part of the aforesaid territories to any existing colony or colonies to us, in right of our Imperial Crown, belonging, or for constituting any such form of civil government as to us may seem meet, within any such colony or colonies, province or provinces:

And we do hereby reserve to us, our heirs and successors, full power and authority to revoke these presents, or any part thereof, in so far as the same may embrace or extend to any of the territories aforesaid, which may hereafter be comprised within any colony or colonies, province or provinces as aforesaid:

It being nevertheless hereby declared, that no British subjects other than and except the said Governor and Company, and their successors, and the persons authorized to carry on exclusive trade by them, shall trade with the Indians during the period of this our Grant within the limits aforesaid, or within that part thereof which shall not be comprised within any such colony or province as aforesaid.

Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, 30th day of May, 1838.

By Her Majesty's command.

(L. S.) (signed) GLENELG.

## XII

### TREATY ESTABLISHING BOUNDARY WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, 1846

CONCLUDED JUNE 15, 1846; RATIFICATION ADVISED BY THE SENATE JUNE 18, 1846; RATIFIED BY THE PRESIDENT JUNE 19, 1846; RATIFICATIONS EXCHANGED JULY 17, 1846; PROCLAIMED AUGUST 5, 1846.

#### ARTICLES

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| I. Boundary established; free navigation. | IV. Property of Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. |
| II. Navigation of Columbia River.         | V. Ratification.                                    |
| III. Property rights.                     |   |

The United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, deeming it to be desirable for the future welfare of both countries that the state of doubt and uncertainty which has hitherto prevailed respecting the sovereignty and government of the territory on the northwest coast of America, lying westward of the Rocky or Stony Mountains, should be finally terminated by an amicable compromise of the rights mutually asserted by the two parties over the said territory, have respectively named Plenipotentiaries to treat and agree concerning the terms of such settlement, that is to say:

The President of the United States of America has, on his part, furnished with full powers James Buchanan, Secretary of State of the United States, and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has, on her part, appointed the Right Honourable Richard Pakenham, a member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

#### ARTICLE I

From the point on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between the United States and Great Britain terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of the United States and those of Her Britannic Majesty shall be continued westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean: Provided,

however, that the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits, south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, remain free and open to both parties.

#### ARTICLE II

From the point at which the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia River, the navigation of the said branch shall be free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the Columbia, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean, with free access into and through the said river or rivers, it being understood that all the usual portages along the line thus described shall, in like manner, be free and open. In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods and produce, shall be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States; it being, however, always understood that nothing in this article shall be construed as preventing, or intended to prevent, the Government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river or rivers not inconsistent with the present treaty.

#### ARTICLE III

In the future appropriation of the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, as provided in the first article of this treaty, the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property lawfully acquired within the said territory, shall be respected.

#### ARTICLE IV

The farms, lands, and other property of every description belonging to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, on the north side of the Columbia River, shall be confirmed to the said company. In case, however, the situation of those farms and lands should be considered by the United States to be of public and political importance, and the United States Government should signify a desire to obtain possession of the whole, or of any part thereof, the property so required shall be transferred to the said Government, at a proper valuation, to be agreed upon between the parties.

#### ARTICLE V

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Britannic Majesty; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London, at the expiration of six months from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Washington the fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

(Seal)

JAMES BUCHANAN.

(Seal)

RICHARD PAKENHAM.

#### XIII

CHARTER OF GRANT OF VANCOUVER'S ISLAND TO THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, DATED 13 JANUARY, 1849, AND CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE COLONIAL OFFICE AND THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY THEREON, SINCE DATE OF LAST PAPERS LAID BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

#### VANCOUVER'S ISLAND—ROYAL GRANT

VICTORIA, BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND QUEEN, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING.

WHEREAS by the Royal Charter or Letters Patent of his late Majesty King Charles the Second, bearing date the 2d day of May in the 22d year of his reign, his said late Majesty did

(amongst other things) ordain and declare that the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, thereby incorporated, and their successors by that name, should at all times thereafter be personable and capable in law to have, purchase, receive, possess and enjoy and retain lands, rents, privileges, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises and hereditaments, of what nature or kind soever they were, to them or their successors: And also to give, grant, demise, alien, assign and dispose lands, tenements and hereditaments, and to do and execute all and singular other things by the same name that to them should or might appertain to do:

And his said late Majesty did thereby for himself, his heirs and successors, give, grant and confirm unto the said Governor and Company and their successors, the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they should be, that lay within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that were not already actually possessed by or granted to any of his said late Majesty's subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons and all other royal fishes in the seas, bays, inlets and rivers within the premises, and the fish therein taken; together with the royalty of the seas upon the coasts within the limits aforesaid, and all mines royal, as well then discovered as not then discovered, of gold, silver, gems and precious stones to be found or discovered within the territories, limits and places aforesaid, and that the said land should be from thenceforth reckoned and reputed as one of his said late Majesty's plantations or colonies in America:

And further, his late Majesty did thereby for himself, his heirs and successors, make, create and constitute the said Governor and Company for the time being, and their successors, the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the same territory, limits and places aforesaid, and of all other the premises (saving always the faith, allegiance and sovereign dominion due to his said late Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the same); to hold, possess and enjoy the said territory, limits and places, and all and singular other the premises thereby granted as aforesaid, with their and every of their rights, members, jurisdictions, prerogatives, royalties and appurtenances whatsoever to them the said Governor and Company and their successors forever; to be holden of his said late Majesty, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not *in capite* or by knight's service; yielding and paying yearly to his said late Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the same, two elks and two black beavers whensoever and as often as his said late Majesty, his heirs and successors, should happen to enter into the said countries, territories and regions thereby granted:

And whereas by an Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the 43d year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act for extending the Jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice in the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, to the Trial and Punishment of Persons guilty of Crimes and Offences within certain Parts of North America adjoining to the said Provinces," it was enacted, that from and after the passing of that Act all offences committed within any of the Indian territories or parts of America not within the limits of either of the said provinces of Lower or Upper Canada, or of any civil government of the United States of America, should be and be deemed to be offences of the same nature, and should be tried in the same manner and subject to the same punishment as if the same had been committed within the provinces of Upper or Lower Canada, and provisions were contained in the said Act regulating the committal and trial of the offenders:

And whereas by an Act passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the first and second years of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Fourth, intituled, "An Act for regulating the Fur Trade, and establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain Parts of North America," after reciting, among other things, that doubts had been entertained whether the provisions of said Act of the 43d year of George the Third, extended to the territories granted by charter to the said Governor and Company, and that it was expedient that such doubts should be removed, and that the said Act should be further extended; it was enacted (amongst other things), that from and after the passing of said last-mentioned Act, it should be lawful for his then Majesty, his heirs and successors, to make grants, or give his royal

license, under the hand and seal of one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to any body corporate or company, or person or persons, of or for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as should be specified in any of such grants or licenses respectively, not being part of the lands or territories theretofore granted to the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and not being part of any of his Majesty's provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the United States of America, subject to the provisions and restrictions in the said Act mentioned:

And it was thereby further enacted, that the said Act of the 43d year of George the Third, and all the clauses and provisos therein contained, should be deemed and construed, and was and were thereby respectively declared to extend to and over, and to be in full force in and through all the territories theretofore granted to the said Company of Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay:

And whereas by Our grant or royal license, bearing date the 13th day of May 1838, under the hand and seal of one of Our then Principal Secretaries of State, We granted and gave Our license to the said Governor and Company and their successors, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the northward and westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America as should not form part of any of Our provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the United States of America, or to any European government, state or power, subject nevertheless as therein mentioned:

And We did thereby give and grant and secure to the said Governor and Company and their successors, the sole and exclusive privilege, for the full period of 21 years from the date thereof, of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as aforesaid, except as therein mentioned, at the rent therein reserved, and upon the terms and subject to the qualification and power of revocation therein contained:

And whereas by a treaty between Ourselves and the United States of America, for the settlement of the Oregon boundary, signed at Washington on the 15th day of June 1846, it was agreed upon and concluded (amongst other things) as follows:—That from the point of the 49th parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between Great Britain and the said United States terminated, the line of boundary between Our territories and those of the United States should be continued westward along the said parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of De Fuca's Straits to the Pacific Ocean: Provided, however, that the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits south of the 49th parallel of south latitude should remain free and open to both parties:

And whereas certain of Our lands and territories in North America lie to the westward and also to the northward of the territory granted to the said Governor and Company by the hereinbefore recited grant or letters patent of his said late Majesty King Charles the Second, and which is, pursuant to the direction in that behalf contained in such grant or letters patent, called or known as Rupert's Land, and to the eastward of the territories the boundary line of which is defined by the hereinbefore recited treaty with the United States of North America:

And whereas under the said last-mentioned grant or letters patent, and also under our hereinbefore recited grant or license of the 13th day of May 1838, the said Governor and Company have traded as well within as beyond the limits of the lands and territories granted to them by the said grant or letters patent of his said late Majesty King Charles the Second, and have, in connection with and for the protection of their trade beyond the said limits, been in the habit of erecting forts and other isolated establishments without the said limits, and some of such forts and establishments of the said Governor and Company are now existing in that part of Our said territories in North America, including Vancouver's Island, the boundary line between which and the territories of the said United States is determined by the hereinbefore recited treaty between Ourselves and the said United States:

And whereas it would conduce greatly to the maintenance of peace, justice and good order, and the advancement of colonization and the promotion and encouragement of trade and commerce in, and also to the protection and welfare of the native Indians residing within that portion of Our territories in North America, called Vancouver's Island, if such island were

colonized by settlers from the British dominions and if the property in the land of such island were vested for the purpose of such colonization in the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay; but nevertheless, upon condition that the said Governor and Company should form on the said island a settlement or settlements, as hereinafter mentioned, for the purpose of colonizing the said island, and also should defray the entire expense of any civil and military establishments which may be required for the protection and government of such settlement or settlements (except, nevertheless, during the time of hostilities between Great Britain and any foreign European or American power):

Now know ye, that We, being moved by the reasons before mentioned, do by these presents, for Us, Our heirs and successors, give, grant and confirm unto the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and their successors, all that the said island called Vancouver's Island, together with all royalties of the seas upon the coasts within the limits aforesaid, and all mines royal thereto belonging:

And further We do, by these presents, for Us, Our heirs and successors, make, create and constitute the said Governor and Company for the time being, and their successors, the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the same territories, limits and places, and of all other the premises (saving always the faith, allegiance and sovereign dominion due to Us, Our heirs and successors for the same): to have, hold, possess and enjoy the said territory, limits and places, and all and singular other the premises hereby granted as aforesaid, with their and every of their rights, members, royalties and appurtenances whatsoever to them, the said Governor and Company, and their successors forever, to be holden of Us, Our heirs and successors in free and common soccage, at the yearly rent of Seven shillings, payable to Us and Our successors forever, on the First day of January in every year:

Provided always, and We declare, that this present grant is made to the intent that the said Governor and Company shall establish upon the said island a settlement or settlements of resident colonists, emigrants from Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or from other Our dominions, and shall dispose of the land there as may be necessary for the purposes of colonization; and to the intent that the said Company shall, with a view to the aforesaid purposes, dispose of all lands hereby granted to them at a reasonable price, except so much thereof as may be required for public purposes; and that all monies which shall be received by the said Company for the purchase of such land, and also from all payments which may be made to them for or in respect of the coal or other minerals to be obtained in the said island, or the right of searching for and getting the same, shall (after deduction of such sums by way of profit as shall not exceed a deduction of 10 per cent. from the gross amount received by the said Company from the sale of such land and in respect of such coal or other minerals as aforesaid) be applied towards the colonization and improvement of the island; and that the Company shall reserve for the use of Us, Our heirs and successors, all such land as may be required for the formation of naval establishments, We, Our heirs and successors, paying a reasonable price for the same; and that the said Company shall, once in every two years at the least, certify under the seal of the said Governor and Company to one of Our Principal Secretaries of state, what colonists shall have been from time to time settled in the said island, and what land shall be disposed of as aforesaid:

And We further declare, that this present grant is made upon this condition, that if the said Governor and Company shall not, within the term of five years from the date of these presents, have established upon the said island a settlement of resident colonists, emigrants from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or from other Our dominions; and it shall at any time, after the expiration of such term of five years, be certified to Us, Our heirs or successors, by any person who shall be appointed by Us, Our heirs or successors, to inquire into the condition of such island, that such settlement has not been established according to the intent of this Our grant, or that the provisions hereinbefore mentioned respecting the disposal of land, and the price of lands and minerals, have not been respectively fulfilled, it shall be lawful for Us, Our heirs and successors, to revoke this present grant, and to enter upon and resume the said island and premises hereby granted, without prejudice, nevertheless, to such dispositions as may have been made in the meantime by the said Governor and Company of any land in the said island for the actual purpose of colonization and settlement, and as shall have been certified as aforesaid to one of Our Principal Secretaries of State:

And We hereby declare, that this present grant is and shall be deemed and taken to be made upon this further condition, that We, Our heirs and successors, shall have, and We accordingly reserve unto Us and them, full power, at the expiration of the said Governor and Company's grant or license of or for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians, to re-purchase and take of and from the said Governor and Company the said Vancouver's Island and premises hereby granted, in consideration of payment being made by Us, Our heirs and successors, to the said Governor and Company, of the sum or sums of money theretofore laid out and expended by them in and upon the said island and premises, and of the value of their establishments, property and effects then being thereon.

In witness whereof, We have caused these Our letters to be made patent. Witness Ourselves, at Westminster, the 13th day of January 1849, in the twelfth year of Our reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal.

#### XIV

### AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN VANCOUVER'S ISLAND

(28th July, 1849)

WHEREAS an Act was passed in the Forty-third Year of King George the Third, intituled "An Act for extending the Jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice in the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada to the Trial and Punishment of Persons guilty of Crimes and Offences within certain Parts of North America adjoining to the said Provinces": And whereas by an Act passed in the Second Year of King George the Fourth, intituled "An Act for regulating the Fur Trade, and establishing Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain Parts of North America," it was enacted, that from and after the passing of that Act the Courts of Judicature then existing or which might be thereafter established in the Province of Upper Canada should have the same Civil Jurisdiction, Power and Authority, as well in the Cognizance of Suits as in the issuing Process, mesne and final, and in all other respects whatsoever, within the Indian Territories and other Parts of America not within the Limits of either of the Provinces of Lower or Upper Canada or of any Civil Government of the United States, as the said Courts had or were invested with within the Limits of the said Provinces of Lower or Upper Canada respectively, and that all and every Contract, Agreement, Debt, Liability and Demand whatsoever made, entered into, incurred, or arising within the said Indian Territories and other Parts of America, and all and every Wrong and Injury to the Person or to Property, real or personal, committed or done within the same, should be and be deemed to be of the same Nature, and be cognizable by the same Courts, Magistrates, or Justices of the Peace, and be tried in the same Manner, and subject to the same Consequences in all respects, as if the same had been made, entered into, incurred, arisen, committed, or done within the said Province of Upper Canada, and in the same Act are contained Provisions for giving Force, Authority, and Effect within the said Indian Territories and other Parts of America to the Process and Acts of the said Courts of Upper Canada; and it was thereby also enacted, that it should be lawful for His Majesty, if he should deem it convenient so to do, to issue a Commission or Commissions to any Person or Persons to be and act as Justices of the Peace within such Parts of America as aforesaid, as well within any Territories theretofore granted to the Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay as within the Indian Territories of such other parts of America as aforesaid; and it was further enacted, that it should be lawful for His Majesty from Time to Time by any Commission under the Great Seal to authorize and empower any such persons so appointed Justices of the Peace as aforesaid to sit and hold Courts of Record for the Trial of Criminal Offences and Misdemeanours, and also of Civil Causes, and it should be lawful for His Majesty to order, direct, and authorize the Appointment of proper Officers to act in aid of such Courts and Justices within the Jurisdiction assigned to such Courts and Justices in any such Commission, provided that such Courts should be constituted as to the Number of Justices to preside therein, and as to such Places within the said Territories of the said Company, or any Indian Territories or other Parts of North America as aforesaid, and the Times and Manner of holding the same, as His Majesty should from Time to Time order and direct, but should not try any Offender upon any Charge or Indict-



ment for any Felony made the Subject of Capital Punishment, or for any Offence or Passing Sentence affecting the Life of any Offender, or adjudge or cause any Offender to suffer Capital Punishment or Transportation, or take cognizance of or try any Civil Action or Suit in which the Cause of such Suit or Action should exceed in Value the Amount or Sum of Two Hundred Pounds, and in every Case of any Offence subjecting the Person committing the same to Capital Punishment or Transportation, the Court, or any Judge of any such Court, or any Justice or Justices of the Peace before whom any such Offender should be brought, should commit such Offender to safe Custody, and cause such Offender to be sent in such Custody for Trial in the Court of the Province of Upper Canada: And whereas for the Purpose of the Colonization of that Part of the said Indian Territories called Vancouver's Island, it is expedient that further Provision should be made for the Administration of Justice therein: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the Proclamation of this Act in Vancouver's Island the said Act of the Forty-third Year of King George the Third, and the said recited Provisions of the Second Year of King George the Fourth, and the Provisions contained in such Act for giving Force, Authority, and Effect within the said Indian Territories and other Parts of America to the Process and Acts of the said Courts of Upper Canada, shall cease to have Force in and to be applicable to Vancouver's Island aforesaid, and it shall be lawful for Her Majesty from Time to Time (and as well before as after such Proclamation) to make Provision for the Administration of Justice in the said Island, and for that Purpose to constitute such Court or Courts of Record and other Courts, with such Jurisdiction in Matters Civil and Criminal, and such equitable and ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, subject to such Limitations and Restrictions, and to appoint and remove or provide for the Appointment and Removal of such Judges, Justices, and such Ministerial and other Officers, for the Administration and Execution of Justice in the said Island, as Her Majesty shall think fit and direct.

2. Provided always, and be it enacted That, when and so soon as a Local Legislature has been established in Vancouver's Island it shall be lawful for such Legislature from Time to Time, by any Law or Ordinance made in the Manner and subject to the Conditions which may be by Law required in respect of Laws or Ordinances made by such Local Legislature, to make such Alterations as to such Legislature may seem meet in the Constitution or Jurisdiction of the Courts which may be established in the said Island, and to make all such other Provisions as to such Local Legislature may seem meet for and concerning the Administration of Justice in the said Island.

3. Provided always, and be it enacted, That all Judgments given in any Civil Suit in the said Island shall be subject to Appeal to Her Majesty in Council, in the Manner and subject to the Regulations in and subject to which Appeals are now brought from the Civil Courts of Canada, and to such further or other Regulations as Her Majesty with the Advice of Her Privy Council shall from Time to Time appoint.

4. And be it enacted That all such Islands adjacent to Vancouver's Island or to the Western Coast of North America, and forming Part of the Dominions of Her Majesty, as are to the Southward of the Fifty-second Degree of North Latitude, shall be deemed Part of Vancouver's Island for the Purposes of this Act.

5. And be it enacted, That this Act may be amended or repealed by any Act to be passed in this Session of Parliament.



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